

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
OCTOBER 4 TO 14, INCLUSIVE

1943



RANDELL INC., Washington, D. C.

OFFICERS

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION

OF LABOR

1944

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DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	1	177	Paul Dullzell, 45 W. 47th St., New York, N. Y.
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1	17	David L. Behncke, 3145 W. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	2	20	Joseph A. Mullaney, 41-32 Benham St., Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.
		20	C. W. Sickles, 211 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United.....	4	108	Irvan Cary, Room 205, 82 W. Montcalm St., Detroit, Mich.
		108	Jerry Aldred, 82 W. Montcalm St., Detroit, Mich.
		108	George B. Kiebler, c/o J. Aldred, 82 W. Montcalm St., Detroit, Mich.
		107	Peter G. Noll, c/o Jerry Aldred, 82 W. Montcalm St., Detroit, Mich.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America...	4	218	A. A. Myrup, 2719, N. Wilton Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		217	William F. Schnitzler, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		217	Robert F. Hart, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		217	Wm. McGuern, 2915 E. Cherry St., Seattle, Wash.
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen.....	5	99	William C. Birthright, 1141 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		99	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward St., Rochester, N. Y.
		98	Anthony Merlino, 615 Central Ave., New Haven, Conn.
		98	Charles T. Crane, 407 Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.
		98	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Ave., Dallas, Tex.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	G. Leo Abernathy, 303 Bessemer Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of...	3	34	Roy Horn, 2922 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		33	Marshall W. Martin, 2417 Alexandra Pike, Southgate, Newport, Ky.
		33	A. J. Eberhardy, 3869 E. Martin St., Cudahy, Wis.
			*Walter W. Cenerazzo.

* Substituted for A. J. Eberhardy, October 11, Sixth Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	8	359	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans.
		359	J. N. Davis, 6411 Washington, Kansas City, Mo.
		359	Harry Nacey, 147 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		358	Wm. E. Walter, 504 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans.
		358	Charles J. MacGowan, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans.
		358	William J. Buckley, Essex Hotel, Phila- delphia, Pa.
		358	George Nolan, 4452 W. Adams St., Chi- cago, Ill.
		358	Thomas Crowe, 2471 Randolph St., Huntington Park, Calif.
Bookbinders, International Brother- hood of	4	68	John B. Haggerty, 300-306 A. F. of L. Bldg., 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		68	J. B. Frewitt, 300-306 A. F. of L. Bldg., 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Wash- ington, D. C.
		68	Mrs. Mary G. Morley, 406 Old South Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		67	John Connolly, 406 Old South Bldg., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	3	134	John J. Mara, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
		133	George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
		133	Daniel J. Goggin, 23 Garner Road, Dor- chester, Mass.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America...	6	109	William J. Bowen, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		109	Harry C. Bates, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		108	Al. J. Cleland, 815-823 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		108	Thomas H. O'Donnell, 910 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
		108	William J. Moran, care Labor Advocate, El Paso, Tex.
		108	J. Raymond Britton, 501 White St., Springfield, Mass.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	2	50	Frank Kasten, 1550 W. 95th St., Chi- cago, Ill.
		50	William Tracy, 1550 W. 95th St., Chi- cago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	6	188	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		188	J. H. Lyons, 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		187	J. A. Evensen, 6104 Berenice Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		187	Gay Borrelli, 1805 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		187	L. L. Myers, Hamilton Hotel, Washing- ton, D. C.
		187	Wm. J. Reynolds, 390 Tremont St., Bos- ton, Mass.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Building Service Employees' International Union	6	117	William L. McFetridge, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		117	William H. Cooper, Room 721, 212 W. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		117	George Bradley, 124 W. 4th St., Suite 300, Los Angeles 13, Calif.
		117	Charles Hardy, 109 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif.
		116	Jess Fletcher, 1905½ Third Ave., Seattle 1, Wash.
		116	Walter Collins, 52 Chauncy St., Boston 11, Mass.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	4	200	Felix H. Knight, 107 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
		200	Irvin Barney, 107 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
		200	Alfred E. McCormick, 88 Hunter Ave., Albany, N. Y.
		200	Henri Vaillancourt, 4261-A Bordeaux-Del, Montreal, Que., Canada.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	9	667	Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		667	M. A. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		667	Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		667	Chas. Hanson, 130 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
		667	M. J. Sexton, 12 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
		667	I. E. Lane, 2118 W. 40th St., Des Moines, Iowa.
		666	F. C. Allen, 82 W. Montcalm Ave., Detroit, Mich.
		666	Chas. A. Coombes, 223 Webb St., Hammond, Ind.
		666	John M. Christenson, 232 Union Center Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United.....	4	48	Wm. Schoenberg, 549 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
		48	Arthur J. Strunk, 3632 Detroit Ave., Toledo 12, Ohio.
		47	Samuel R. Diskan, 5419 W. Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		47	Toney Gallo, 549 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	2	50	R. E. Van Horn, 1003 K St., N. W., Room 604, Washington, D. C.
		50	A. P. Bower, 705 Walnut St., Reading, Pa.
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of.....	4	43	W. S. Gross, 1 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
		43	Harold E. Greenwald, 1740 E. 12th St., Room 219, Cleveland, Ohio.
		43	John Zitello, 1740 E. 12th St., Room 219, Cleveland, Ohio.
		42	M. Minaden, 1740 E. 12th Street, Room 219, Cleveland, Ohio.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	3	143	Leo E. George, 4121 31st St., Mt. Rainier, Md.
		143	James M. Murphy, care Post Office, Boston, Mass.
		143	William I. Horner, 2316 N. Wakefield St., Arlington, Va.

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Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway..... 4		480	George M. Harrison, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Bldg., 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		479	Phil E. Ziegler, 7th floor, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Bldg., Court and Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		479	E. E. Longley, 150 Causeway St., Room 728, Boston, Mass.
		479	Harold D. Ulrich, 150 Causeway St., Room 704, Boston, Mass.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail 3		334	W. G. Desepte, 175 Miramar Ave., San Francisco, Calif.
		333	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
		333	G. A. Sackett, 418 E. 22nd St., Pittsburg, Kans.
Coopers' International Union of North America 2		25	James J. Doyle, Park Square Bldg., Room 958, Boston 16, Mass.
		25	Gust Ladik, 1310 Porterfield St., Pittsburgh 12, Pa.
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union..... 3		32	Joseph O'Neill, 216 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		31	Sol Cilento, 401, 1417 K St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		31	Mortimer Brandenburg, 250 W. 57th St., New York, N. Y.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and 2		24	Foster J. Pratt, 200 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		23	J. Lawrence Raimist, 15 E. 40th St., New York, N. Y.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of..... 7		362	Ed. J. Brown, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		362	G. M. Bugniatet, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		361	Chas. M. Paulsen, 128 N. Wells St., Room 1812, Chicago, Ill.
		361	Walter R. Lenox, 3043 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		361	Charles Stenger, 2931 N. 5th, Milwaukee, Wis.
		361	Carl G. Scholtz, 1222 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md.
		361	John J. Regan, 424 Park Square Bldg., Boston, Mass.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of 3		34	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont St., Room 10, Boston, Mass.
		34	F. B. Comfort, 20 W. Queen Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.
		34	John Proctor, Room 204, Columbian Bldg., 416 5th St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
Engineers, International Union of Operating 6		156	William E. Maloney, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		156	F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		156	Joseph S. Fay, Room 1519, 111 8th Ave., New York 11, N. Y.
		155	O. W. Carter, 3906 S. E. Pine St., Portland 15, Ore.
		155	Joseph J. Delaney, Room 1519, 111 8th Ave., New York 11, N. Y.
		155	Frank P. Converse, 216 High Ave., Cleveland 15, Ohio.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo	3	36	Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
		36	Matthew Woll, 570 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
		36	Wilfred T. Connell, 294 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
Fire Fighters, International Association of	4	92	Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		91	Joseph Lehan, 29 Reed St., Cambridge, Mass.
		91	John P. Redmond, 1837 N. Austin St., Chicago, Ill.
		91	Vincent J. Kane, 1534 E. 14th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	5	95	John F. McNamara, Room 517, Paddock Bldg., 101 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
		95	John Clinton, Suite 1410, 350 S. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
		95	Joseph P. Clark, 1411 N. Grand Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		95	James L. Kelley, 504 Second St., White Bear Lake, Minn.
		95	George Wright, Suite 1410, 330 S. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
Garment Workers of America, United. 5	5	80	Joseph P. McCurdy, 702 Bromo Seltzer Tower Bldg., Baltimore, Md.
		80	W. R. Brooks, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
		80	A. Adamski, 547 Doat St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		80	Anne Peterson, Room 1116, Continental Bldg., 408 S. Spring St., Los Angeles, Calif.
		80	Geo. C. Slater, Room 905, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies	7	322	David Dubinsky, 3 W. 16th St., New York, N. Y.
		322	Luigi Antonini, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		322	Isidore Nagler, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		321	Philip Kramer, 25 La Grange St., Boston, Mass.
		321	Miss Sadie Reisch, 34 William St., Newark, N. J.
		321	Max Bluestein, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		321	Nathan Solomon, 1766 E. 12th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	4	60	James Maloney, Room 1531, 12 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		60	William W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Ave., Rochester, N. Y.
		60	John J. Griffin, 1800 W. North Ave., Baltimore, Md.
		60	George Baxter, 1431 Woodlawn, Indianapolis 3, Ind.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	1	16	Joseph E. Mayeur, Suite 3, 9 E. Long St., Columbus 15, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint 3	3	73	Harry H. Cook, 1508 Sabra Road, Toledo, Ohio.
		72	Clifton Vogt, Route 3, Bellaire, Ohio.
		72	Thomas Martin, 1218 Michigan St., Toledo, Ohio.

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Government Employees, American Federation of	3	81	James B. Burns, 900 F St., N. W., Room 716, Washington, D. C.
		81	Bernice B. Heffner, 900 F St., N. W., Room 716, Washington, D. C.
		80	John B. Murray, Fain Furniture Bldg., Dist. Office, Navy Dept., Boston, Mass.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	1	43	Laurence Foley, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies	3	48	Samuel Reinlib, 265 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.
		48	Samuel Laderman, 417 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		48	Joseph Levitsky, 124 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Hatters, Cap and Military Workers' International Union, United.....	5	64	Max Zaritsky, 245 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		64	Michael F. Greene, 245 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		64	Israel H. Goldberg, 31 W. 37th St., New York, N. Y.
		64	Max Finger, 621 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		64	Miss Nellie H. Gallagher, 6 Clifton Place, Danbury, Conn.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	8	526	Joseph V. Moreschi, 821 15th St., N. W., 5th Floor, Washington, D. C.
		526	Joseph Marshall, 25 Taylor St., 201 Golden Gate Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.
		525	Herbert Rivers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		525	M. D. Cox, 404-407 Leland Office Bldg., 523 E. Capital Ave., Springfield, Ill.
		525	Edward I. Hannah, 55 W. 42nd St., 731 Bryant Park Bldg., New York 18, N. Y.
		525	Joseph B. Etchison, 414 Atlas Bldg., 8 E. Long St., Columbus, Ohio.
		525	A. C. D'Andrea, 814 W. Harrison St., Chicago, Ill.
		525	John J. Falvey, 949 Little Bldg., 80 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America...	7	333	Edward Flore, 422 Sidway Bldg., Buffalo 3, N. Y.
		333	Hugo Ernst, Edwards Bldg., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		333	Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State St., Rochester 4, N. Y.
		333	Chris Lane, 184 W. Canton St., Boston 16, Mass.
		332	Louis Koenig, 1442 Griswold St., Detroit 26, Mich.
		332	Pauline Newman, Labor Temple, Room 103, care Local 240, 2800 First Ave., Seattle 1, Wash.
		332	J. W. Van Hook, 681 Kip St., Los Angeles 14, Calif.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	1	81	Leon Williams, 551 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	27	William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	Harry J. Hagen, 4769 Highland Ave., St. Louis 13, Mo.
		27	Walter M. Matthews, 1322 Third Ave., New York 21, N. Y.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Laundry Workers' International Union	3	{ 167 Ray Nickelson, 7 N. Meridian St., Room 812, Indianapolis 4, Ind. 167 Sam Byers, 7 N. Meridian St., Room 812, Indianapolis 4, Ind. 166 Isadore Frankel, 1239 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia, Pa.	
Leather Workers' International Union, United	1	32 Bernard G. Quinn, 826 Lafayette Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.	
Letter Carriers, National Association of	5	{ 120 William C. Doherty, Room 405, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. 120 William J. Gorman, Room 405, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. 120 Joseph P. Considine, Letter Carrier, Cambridge A. Station, Boston, Mass. 120 Louis Horlbeck, 1512 Orchles St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 120 L. V. McGuigan, Letter Carrier, care Post Office, Tulsa, Okla.	
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada	3	{ 46 William J. Riehl, 450 7th Ave., New York, N. Y. 45 Robert Bruck, 1737 Howard St., Chicago, Ill. 45 John Blackburn, 205 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.	
Longshoremen's Association, International	3	{ 180 Joseph P. Ryan, 19th Floor, 265 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y. 180 John R. Owens, 19th Floor, 265 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y. 179 Harry R. Hasselgren, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.	
Machinists, International Association of	6	{ 764 H. W. Brown, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C. 764 N. P. Alifas, Room 303, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C. 764 James Edgar, 58-27 60th Lane, Maspeth, N. Y. 764 John Clayton, 370 Chestnut Hill Ave., Boston, Mass. 764 Don Burrows, care, E. C. Davison, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C. 764 S. L. Newman, care, E. C. Davison, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.	
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of	6	{ 198 E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich. 198 J. J. Farnan, 1202 Belmont, South Bend, Ind. 198 W. Jewkes, 500 Plaza Bldg., Ottawa, Ont., Canada. 197 John F. Towle, Room 209, 457 Stuart St., Boston, Mass. 197 George H. Davis, 711 Scott Blvd., Covington, Ky. 197 R. Freccia, 401 E. 26th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.	
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of	2	{ 24 William McCarthy, Room 306, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 24 John J. Conway, Suffolk Apartments, 1415 Clearview St., Philadelphia, Pa.	
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization	1	30 John J. Scully, Room 1104-5, 15 Moore St., New York 4, N. Y.	

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	6	162	E. W. Jimerson, 160 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
		162	Patrick E. Gorman, 160 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
		162	Joseph P. McCoy, 712 Concord St., St. Paul, Minn.
		162	John J. Walsh, Pearl River, N. Y.
		162	M. S. Maxwell, 3012 16th St., San Francisco, Calif.
		161	Joseph Belsky, 37 Union Square West, New York, N. Y.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet	4	63	Robert Byron, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		63	James J. Ryan, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		62	James T. Moriarty, 473 State House, Boston, Mass.
		62	James W. Close, 620 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Mine Workers of America, International Union Progressive.....	2	175	Lloyd A. Thrush, 506 So. 6th St., Springfield, Ill.
		175	John Marchiando, 506 So. 6th St., Springfield, Ill.
Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International....	5	124	Harry Stevenson, Lock Box 683, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		124	Alfred Yoder, 1323 Moss St., Reading, Pa.
		124	Louis Haeffele, 1332 Bowman Ave., Cincinnati 8, Ohio
		124	Henry Rosendale, 2035 Locust St., Quincy, Ill.
		123	William Burke, 84 Lux St., Rochester, N. Y.
Musicians, American Federation of....	6	167	James C. Petrillo, 570 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.
		167	Joseph N. Weber, 621 Alta Drive, Beverly Hills, Calif.
		167	C. L. Bagley, 900 Continental Bldg., 408 So. Spring St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.
		167	Harry J. Steeper, 225 74th St., North Bergen, N. J.
		166	Vincent Castronovo, 123 Sutton St., Providence, R. I.
		166	Frank B. Field, 45 Lincoln Ave., South Norwalk, Conn.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of....	6	222	L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		222	L. M. Raftery, Painters and Decorators Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		221	James P. Meehan, 84 Towerhill, Lawrence, Mass.
		221	Christian M. Madsen, 3209 Evergreen Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		221	Pete Yablonski, 272 Peshine Ave., Newark, N. J.
		221	George Meyers, 100 No. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	3	88	Arthur Huggins, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.
		87	Joseph Addy, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.
		87	Ernest B. Lambton, 30 Sheridan Ave., Albany 1, N. Y.
Pattern Makers' League of North America	1	107	George Q. Lynch, 311 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes which Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	4	63	John E. Rooney, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		63	Michael J. McDonough, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		62	John J. Hauck, 3409 St. Vincent St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		62	Francis O'Toole, 165 La Salle St., West Roxbury, Mass.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada.....	6	109	Martin P. Durkin, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		109	Edward J. Hillock, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		108	George Meany, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		108	William J. McLaughlin, 568 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		108	Charles M. Rau, 408 So. Leavitt St., Chicago, Ill.
		108	Robert Lynch, 269 Central Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal.....	1	100	Ray Kelsay, 48 Blymyer Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car..	2	44	A. Philip Randolph, Room 301, 217 W. 125th St., New York, N. Y.
		43	Milton P. Webster, 4231 So. Michigan St., Chicago, Ill.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	4	54	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		54	Charles F. Jordan, 176 E. Virginia Ave., Sebring, Ohio.
		54	James T. Slaven, R. D. 1, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		53	George Pace, 6111 Pacific Blvd., Huntington Park, Calif.
			* E. L. Wheatley.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate	1	9	James Mowatt, 3709 Quincy St., Brentwood, Md.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International	5	97	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		97	Anthony J. DeAndrade, 42 United Press Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		97	Stephen W. Farly, 42 United Press Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		97	Bertram W. Kohl, 51 Montebello Road, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
		97	Walter F. McLoughlin, Suite 31, 150 St. Botolph St., Boston, Mass.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	5	120	John P. Burke, Drawer 30, Fort Edward, N. Y.
		120	Herbert W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Mass.
		120	James S. Killen, P. O. Box 31, Route 6, Olympia, Wash.
		120	Samuel Ashton, 526 Dawson St., Port Arthur, Ont., Canada.
		120	Elmer P. Meinz, 1955 University Ave., St. Paul, Minn.

* Substituted for James M. Duffy, October 13, Eighth Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	6	165	Edward McMorow, 260 E. Vernor Highway, Detroit, Mich.
		165	Joseph J. Kehoe, 1608 Van Buren St., Room 215, Chicago 12, Ill.
		165	William L. Robinson, 59 Mount Vernon St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		165	Andrew D. Wigstrom, 1153 Blair Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
		164	Robert Arnott, 457 St. Johns Road, Toronto 9, Ont., Canada.
		164	Arthur Seward, 229 Hickory Ave., Tenafly, N. J.
Railway Mail Association.....	4	55	C. M. Harvey, 507 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		55	J. L. Reilly, 507 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		54	William A. Taylor, 10-01 Fair Lawn Ave., Fair Lawn, N. J.
		54	Patrick Leonard, 71 Hampstead Road, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	2	35	Charles Aquadro, 3335 Portola Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		35	J. M. Gaviak, 1703 Terminal Tower, Cleveland, Ohio.
Seafarers' International Union of North America	3	100	Harry Lundeberg, 402-404 Lumbermen's Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.
		100	Patrick McHugh, 62 Hall Ave., Watertown, Mass.
		100	John Mogan, 56 Templeton St., Dorchester, Mass.
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of.....	1	9	George L. Warfel, 301 First St., S. E., Washington 3, D. C.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	5	84	Richard F. Walsh, 630 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		84	Louis Krouse, 630 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		84	Thomas V. Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark 2, N. J.
		84	E. J. Brock, 760 Hippodrome Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		84	Michael J. Mongovan, 334 University Ave., Rochester 7, N. Y.
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of.....	2	180	Arnold S. Zander, 448 W. Washington Ave., Madison, Wis.
		180	Gordon W. Chapman, 448 W. Washington Ave., Madison, Wis.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International....	3	30	Leo J. Buckley, Room 1206, 475 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
		29	Joseph L. O'Neil, 752 Old South Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		29	Charles Sinnigen, Bible House, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	1	19	Paul A. Givens, 324 Insurance Bldg., 8 East Market St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stove Mounters' International Union..	2	40	Edw. W. Kaiser, Rooms 203-205, 2806 No. Grand Ave., St. Louis 7, Mo.
		40	John Surman, Jr., 321 East Mulberry St., Kokomo, Ind.
Switchmen's Union of North America	1	88	John Lundergan, Imperial Hotel, 92nd and Broadway, New York, N. Y.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Teachers, American Federation of....	4	58	Joseph F. Landis, 967 Elbon Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
		57	Irvin R. Kuenzli, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		57	Miss Selma M. Borchardt, 1741 Park Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		57	John M. Fewkes, 10525 S. Prospect Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	1005	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		1005	John M. Gillespie, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		1005	Frank W. Brewster, 552 Denny Way, Seattle, Wash.
		1005	John O'Rourke, 265 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.
		1005	Robert Lester, 720 Fifth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		1004	John O'Brien, 4217 So. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad..	2	150	V. O. Gardner, 3673 W. Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
		150	E. J. Manion, 106 Palisades Ave., Santa Monica, Calif.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial.....	3	36	W. L. Allen, 5913 Georgia Ave., N. W., Washington 11, D. C.
		36	Arthur Markel, 2127 California St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		35	Hugh C. McKenny, 5913 Georgia Ave., N. W., Washington 11, D. C.
Textile Workers of America, United..	5	82	Francis J. Gorman, 306 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		82	Lloyd Klenert, 306 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		82	William E. G. Batty, Room 3, Vera Bldg., New Bedford, Mass.
		81	Joseph Sylvia, 603 Bible House, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
		81	Philip Salem, Room 4, 575A Essex St., Lawrence, Mass.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	2	105	R. G. Powell, 806-808 Realty Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
		105	Elmer D. Keen, 806 Realty Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	2	80	Sal B. Hoffmann, 2812 No. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		80	Alfred Rota, 610 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United.....	1	31	Rudolph Heintz, 710 E. 84th St., Chicago, Ill.
Building and Construction Trades Department	1	1	Richard J. Gray, 501 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	John P. Frey, 402 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employees' Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, 936 N. Michigan Ave., 4th Floor, Chicago, Ill.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	I. M. Ornburn, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor..	1	1	John L. Busby, 600 Lyric Bldg., Birmingham, Ala.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Arizona State Federation of Labor..	1	1	William A. Gray, 302 W. Washington St., Phoenix, Ariz.
California State Federation of Labor..	1	1	C. J. Haggerty, 2450 McCready Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Colorado State Federation of Labor..	1	1	George W. Brayfield, 312 Insurance Bldg., Denver, Colo.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor	1	1	John J. Egan, 76 Overland Ave., Bridge- port, Conn.
Georgia State Federation of Labor...	1	1	William Van Houten, 170 Fifth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Aug. Rosqvist, Box 249, Pocatello, Idaho.
Illinois State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, 503 Security Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Carl H. Mullen, 701 Peoples Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. A. Couch, 612 Paramount Bldg., Des Moines, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor....	1	1	William C. Fox, 412 No. Market St., Wichita, Kans.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Robert L. Soule, 627 North St., New Orleans, La.
Maine State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Benjamin J. Dorsky, 36 Pier St., Bangor, Me.
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Clark Ellis, 1222 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor	1	1	Thomas E. Wilkinson, 11 Beacon St., Room 801, Boston, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor..	1	1	John Reid, 306 Bauch Bldg., Lansing, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor	1	1	R. A. Olson, Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Perrin D. McElroy, 101 E. Armour Blvd., Kansas City 2, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor..	1	1	James D. Graham, Room 17, Montana Bldg., Helena, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor..	1	1	George F. Williams, 2813 Arlington St., Lincoln, Nebr.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor	1	1	Ambrose E. Breen, Henry Law Ave., Dover, N. H.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor	1	1	Louis P. Marcianite, 509 Parkway Ave., Trenton, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.	1	1	Thomas A. Murray, 265 W. 14th St., Room 902, New York 11, N. Y.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor	1	1	C. A. Fink, P. O. Box 522, Spencer, N. C.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Phil Hannah, 405 Atlas Bldg., 9 E. Long St., Columbus, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor	1	1	O. A. Vinall, 114 S. Boulder St., Tulsa, Okla.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Oregon State Federation of Labor...	1	1	D. E. Nickerson, 506 Labor Temple, Portland 4, Oreg.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor	1	1	James L. McDevitt, 430 North St., Harrisburg, Pa.*
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen	1	1	Prudencio Rivera Martinez, 13 McKinley St., Miramar, Santurce, Puerto Rico.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor	1	1	Elizabeth M. Cahir, 3 Dixon St., Providence, R. I.
South Carolina State Federation of Labor	1	1	Walter P. Hooker, 65 Hassel St., Charleston, S. C.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.	1	1	Lev. G. Loring, Labor Temple, Memphis, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Acreman, 717 Littlefield Bldg., Austin, Tex.
Vermont State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Max Wexler, 100 South St., Bennington, Vt.
Virginia State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Ernest J. Shave, 219 Mallory Ave., Hampton, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	James A. Taylor, 619 Lyon Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor	1	1	Thomas Cairns, 307-8 Dominion Bldg., Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.	1	1	Wm. Nagorsne, 1012 N. 3rd St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Martin Cahill, Lock Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Akron, Ohio, Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	K. D. Statler, 230 W. Center St., Akron, Ohio.
Alexandria, Va., Central Labor Union	1	1	Willy Arnheim, 1702 N. Troy St., Apt. 833, Arlington, Va.
Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Joseph A. Ruccio, 126 N. 6th St., Allentown, Pa.
Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas V. Bowen, 714 E. Grant Ave., Altoona, Pa.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council....	1	1	Redmond M. Burr, 320 S. 5th Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades..	1	1	Albert W. Gossett, 416 Hurt Bldg., Atlanta 3, Ga.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor..	1	1	Harry Cohen, 39 South St., Baltimore, Md.
Barberton, Ohio, Central Labor Union	1	1	F. B. Gerhart, Box 101, Barberton, Ohio.
Baton Rouge, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Perry A. Turner, 109 S. 18th St., Baton Rouge 11, La.
Battle Creek and Calhoun County, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ed Willis, 135 Walters St., Battle Creek, Mich.
Bergen County, N. J., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Lawrence McGinley, Beech St., Hackensack, N. J.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council....	1	1	Ted Williams, P. O. Box 1426, Birmingham 1, Ala.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor	1	1	Paul Campbell, 403 W. 5th St., Bloomington, Ind.
Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union	1	1	John J. McCartin, 6831 S. Damen Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Bogalusa, La., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Al. Morin, 322 Columbia St., Bogalusa, La.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John J. Kearney, 184 W. Canton St., Boston, Mass.
Bradford, Pa., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Martin C. McIntyre, care A. P. Anderson, 129 Interstate Parkway, Bradford, Pa.
Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Peter Benard, 1836 E. Main St., Bridgeport, Conn.
Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Oscar R. Pratt, 582 N. Cary St., Brockton 14, Mass.
Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor....	1	1	Robert A. Smith, 310 White Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Howard H. Litchfield, 91 Everett St., Arlington, Mass.
Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank W. Snyder, 362 Fairview Drive, Charleston, W. Va.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Richard B. Erwin, 9409 S. Loomis St., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union	1	1	John J. Hurst, 1739 Northcutt Ave., Cincinnati 29, Ohio.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.	1	1	Thomas A. Lenehan, 1248 Walnut Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Coconino County, Ariz., Central Labor Council	1	1	Wm. H. Browne, 6 N. San Francisco St., Flagstaff, Ariz.
Coeur d'Alene and Vicinity, Idaho, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	A. W. Galipeau, 1402 Coeur d'Alene Ave., Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.
Columbia, S. C., Federation of Trades	1	1	Claud R. Boland, 5307 Holmes Ave., College Place, Columbia, S. C.
Council Bluffs, Iowa, Central Labor Union	1	1	Gordon E. Beck, 2640 Avenue D, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union..	1	1	John E. Breidenbach, 202 S. Ludlow St., Dayton, Ohio.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	R. L. Voorhees, 1356 Bannock St., Denver, Colo.
Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Jas. W. Soutter, 1367 E. 14th St., Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, 82 W. Montcalm St., Detroit 1, Mich.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Stewart A. Seifert, P. O. Box 407, or 1322 Washington St., Easton, Pa.
El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Kenneth G. Bitter, c/o Cornelius T. Hansen, Labor Temple, 897 Main St., El Centro, Calif.
Elizabeth, N. J., Trades Council.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, 639 Salem Ave., Elizabeth, N. J.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	George H. Cottell, 894 High St., Fall River, Mass.
Fort Smith, Ark., Central Trades Council	1	1	A. U. Debrucque, 2200 N. 9th St., Fort Smith, Ark.
Fostoria, Ohio, Central Trades Council	1	1	Harry Stoneberger, 218 Potter St., Fostoria, Ohio.
Galveston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	B. A. Gritta, Box 327, Galveston, Tex.
Hamilton, Ont., Canada, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Ed. L. Moore, 110 Catharine St., S., Hamilton, Ont., Can. *John F. Cauley.
Harrisburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	George Heine, 422 W. South St., Harrisburg, Ill.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Michael Johnson, 8 S. 4th St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	William A. Scott, 244 Fairfield Ave., Hartford, Conn.
Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Labor Union	1	1	H. W. De Witt, P. O. Box 706, Hattiesburg, Miss.
Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	John H. Gillis, 43 Merrimac St., Haverhill, Mass.
Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Francis M. Curran, 100 St. James Ave., Holyoke, Mass.
Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Joseph G. Quinn, 217 44th St., Union City, N. J.
Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	M. A. Fitzgerald, 504½ N. Main St., Hutchinson, Kans.
Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Tony Augustino, 508 N. Chicago St., Joliet, Ill.
Kalamazoo, Mich, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Florence H. Bailey, 206 Capital Theatre Bldg., Kalamazoo, Mich.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	Roy R. Graham, 2233 Russell St., Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council..	1	1	Hugh S. O'Neill, 101 E. Armour Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council	1	1	Jeff O. Johnson, 11014 Lowe Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Peter Doll, 39 W. McMicker Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Kingsport, Greeneville and Vicinity Tenn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Paul Hicks, P. O. Box 408, Kingsport, Tenn.
Kingston, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	George E. Yerry, Jr., 133 Highland Ave., Kingston, N. Y.
Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union	1	1	John L. Essary, 311 Morgan St., Knoxville, Tenn.
Lake County, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	Edward J. Dwyer, 3 Ruth St., Hammond, Ind.

* Substituted for Ed. L. Moore, October 12, Seventh Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Timothy H. O'Neil, 29 Oregon Ave., Lawrence, Mass.
Lincoln, Nebr., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Lee Chapman, 3420 Washington St., Lincoln, Nebr.
Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union	1	1	Richard J. Seltzer, 1347 American Ave., Long Beach, Calif.
Los Angeles, Calif., Los Angeles County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. W. Buzzell, Labor Temple, 540 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Sidney E. Le Bow, 38 Highland Ave., Lowell, Mass.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Leo F. Barber, 9 Shirley Road, Lynn, Mass.
Malden, and Vicinity, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Jack Halpern, 888 Washington St., Boston 9, Mass.
Marquette, Mich., Central Labor Union	1	1	Dexter D. Clark, Box 605, Marquette, Mich.
Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Ray F. Brown, 1005 Calloway Ave., Memphis, Tenn.
Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Henry J. Burke, 47 Webster St., Meriden, Conn.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Walter Hoyt, P. O. Box 106, Miami, Fla.
Michigan City, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	Michael Joseph, 225 W. Michigan St., Michigan City, Ind.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council	1	1	F. H. Ranney, 1012 N. 3rd St., Room 518, Milwaukee 3, Wis.
Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Chester Maxey, 114 W. Carpenter St., Moberly, Mo.
Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council..	1	1	M. W. Miller, 72½ St. Michael St., Mobile 11, Ala.
Montreal, Que., Canada, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Paul Fournier, 1440 Bleury St., Montreal, Que., Canada.
Nampa, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	F. L. Kirtley, 507 11th Ave., S., Nampa, Idaho.
Nashua, N. H., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John D. Dugan, 31 Fletcher St., Nashua, N. H.
Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	William C. De Koning, Labor Lyceum, Front St., Hempstead, Uniondale, L. I., N. Y.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council	1	1	Jacob C. Baer, 6 Henry Place, Maplewood, N. J.
New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Seraphin P. Jason, 129 Union St., New Bedford, Mass.
New Haven, Conn., Central Labor Council	1	1	Harold V. Feinmark, 137 Goffe St., New Haven, Conn.
New London, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Edwin Rice, Maple Ave., Montville, Conn.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Steve Quarles, 621 North St., New Orleans, La.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union	1	1	Hugh O'Connell, 23 Channing St., Newport, R. I.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Harry S. Jordan, 204 5th St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas Yoczik, 25 Lexington Ave., South Norwalk, Conn.
Norwood, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Daniel J. Collins, 21 Summit Ave., Norwood, Mass.
Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union..	1	1	J. J. Guenther, 7715 N. 39th St., Omaha, Nebr.
Ottawa, Ont., Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 166 Clemon Ave., Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Pasadena-San Gabriel Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Burt B. Curigan, Room 32, 846 S. Union Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Pasco-Kennewick, Wash., Central Labor Union	1	1	D. M. Hurley, R. F. D. No. 1, Pasco, Wash.
Pawtucket, R. I., Central Labor Union	1	1	Edwin A. Patt, 213 Cross St., Central Falls, R. I.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank Burch, 260 W. Nedro Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council	1	1	Nick Lazzari, 405 First Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Portland, Me., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Horace E. Howe, 55 Morning St., Portland, Me.
Portland and Vic., Oreg., Central Labor Council	1	1	Gust Anderson, Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.
Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union	1	1	Will E. Furber, c/o Fred E. Cushman, 979 Maplewood Ave., Portsmouth, N. H.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Morton Goodman, 75 Cannon St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union	1	1	Joseph T. Cahir, 3 Dixon St., Providence, R. I.
Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Kenneth J. Kelley, 4 Maple St., Quincy, Mass.
Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Joe Powers, 316 N. Boundary St., Raleigh, N. C.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council	1	1	George M. Rhodes, 132 N. 10th St., Reading, Pa.
Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	W. F. Robinson, 3102 E. Grace St., Richmond 23, Va.
Rome, N. Y., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Albert R. Tully, 700 Walnut St., Rome, N. Y.
St. Catharines, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Alex Milne, 123 Albert St., St. Catharines, Ont., Canada.
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union	1	1	Martin A. Dillmon, 3019 N. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 7, Mo.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Mary Toman, 317 W. 6th St., St. Paul, Minn.
Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union...	1	1	John C. Whiting, 30 Japonica St., Salem, Mass.
Salina, Kans., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Clem Blangers, 959 S. Santa Fe St., Salina, Kans.
Salinas, Calif., Monterey County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. G. Kenyon, 141 Main St., Salinas, Calif.
San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Robt. E. Noonan, 525 E St., San Diego, Calif.
San Fernando Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	Thomas Pitts, 846 S. Union St., Los Angeles, Calif.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council..	1	1	Daniel P. Haggerty, 936 Capp St., San Francisco, Calif.
Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	Al Mason, 1418 2d St., Santa Monica, Calif.
Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	W. L. Ferrell, Arcade Bldg., Savannah, Ga.
Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor	1	1	Richard J. Carmichael, 123 Western Parkway, Schenectady, N. Y.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Joseph L. Downes, 1911 Electric St., Dunmore, Pa.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council	1	1	Claude O'Reilly, 552 Denny Way, Seattle 1, Wash.
Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Kenneth E. McCreery, 312½ W. 9th St., Sioux Falls, S. Dak.
Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Robert F. Maguire, 34 Prescott St., Somerville, Mass.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Union	1	1	David Stalker, 100 W. 3rd Ave., Spokane, Wash.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor..	1	1	Robert E. Woodmansee, 223½ S. 6th St., Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	George E. Hayes, 7 Littleton St., Springfield, Mass.
Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union	1	1	George P. Ryan, 624 E. Page St., Springfield, Mo.
Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	George E. McKenna, 119 E. Clark St., Springfield, Ohio.
Stamford, Conn., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Richard Rogers, 41 Division St., Stamford, Conn.
Taunton, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Arthur Ancil, 29 Garfield St., Taunton, Mass.
Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	O. B. Soucie, 210 I. O. O. F. Bldg., Terre Haute, Ind.
Vancouver, Wash., Clark County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	W. R. Smith, c/o L. O. Palmer, 2502 E. 18th St., Vancouver, Wash.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Waltham and Newton, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank C. Burke, 372 River St., Waltham, Mass.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank J. Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas F. Brennan, Sr., 168 E. Main St., Waterbury, Conn.
Waterville, Fairfield, Vassalboro and Oakland, Me., Central Labor Union. 1	1	1	Aldric F. Cormier, 27 Water St., Waterville, Me.
Westerly, R. I., Central Labor Union.. 1	1	1	Arthur W. Devine, 167 High St., Westerly, R. I.
Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Claude M. Lucas, 448 N. Huron St., Wheeling, W. Va.
Windsor, Ont., Canada, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John T. Breeze, 355 Curry Ave., Windsor, Ontario, Canada.
Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union	1	1	Wm. Scott, 241 12th Ave., N. E., Wisconsin Rapids, Wis.
Woonsocket, R. I., Central Labor Union	1	1	John A. McConnell, 1130 Industrial Trust Bldg., Providence, R. I.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union 1	1	1	Leonard A. Ryan, 50 Trumbull St., Worcester, Mass.
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	Maury E. Rubin, 605 Clara Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Brushmakers' Union No. 16303, New York, N. Y.....	1	5	Anthony Varrone, 1349 85th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Brush Workers' Union No. 22179, Boston, Mass.	1	2	William Flanigan, 20 Fulda St., Roxbury, Mass.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20324, Sacramento, Calif.....	1	20	Mike R. Elorduy, 710 12th St., Sacramento, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20676, Stockton, Calif.....	1	14	Lloyd J. Hill, 425 E. Miner Ave., Stockton, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20843, Southern Alameda County, Calif.... 1	1	13	Hal P. Angus, 3034 Queen St., Hayward, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20852, Santa Clara County, Calif.....	1	42	John A. Dunn, 252 S. Bayview Ave., Sunnyvale, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20905, Northern Alameda County, Calif... 1	1	20	Frank Martin Terra, Room 102, 1924 Broadway, Oakland, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 22382, Modesto, Calif.....	1	15	R. M. Tomson, 1113 J St., Modesto, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 22473, Sunnyvale, Calif.	1	9	Fred Less, 784 Loma Verde, Palo Alto, Calif.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 23104, Salem, Oreg.....	1	1	Charles R. Smith, c/o Mrs. Oneta Griggs, Secy., Labor Temple, 259 Court St., Salem, Oreg.
Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	14	Catharine Connelly, N. E. Cor. 13th and Spring Garden Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
Designers' Union No. 22280, Boston, Mass.	1	1	Robert Klamann, c/o Maurice LaPato, Secy., 129 Columbia Rd., Dorchester, Mass.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.....	1	20	Ernest Treeroci, 1614 53rd St., Kenosha, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 18518, Chi- copee, Mass.	1	2	William F. Malone, 558 S. Summer St., Holyoke, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Phila- delphia, Pa.	1	44	William Ketner, 1841 Rose Tree Lane, Westgate Hills, Manoa, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 19508, Wau- kegan, Ill.	1	7	Gerald J. Crawford, c/o Arvo Heikkila, Secy., 27 Greenwood Ave., Waukegan, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 19587, Madi- son, Wis.	1	10	Alfred Breitzke, 174 Jackson St., Madi- son, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 19987, Jersey City, N. J.	1	1	George Kane, 777 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 20121, Clo- quet, Minn.	1	4	John P. Holmes, 329 3rd St., Cloquet, Minn.
Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Bar- berton, Ohio	1	33	Walter J. Mason, 544 Creedmore Ave., Barberton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 20713, Lan- caster, Ohio	1	5	Russell Hart, 611 McKinley Ave., Lan- caster, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 20941, Web- ster, Mass.	1	2	Mederic Morgan, c/o Rose Bacovin, Secy., 30 Brandon Road, Dudley, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 21243, Dor- chester Lower Mills, Mass.....	1	4	William H. Gordon, c/o Augustine Mc- Donough, Secy., 107 Greenbrier St., Dorchester, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 21577, Mid- dletown, Conn.	1	15	Arthur J. La Barge, 5 Greenfield Ave., Middletown, Conn.
Federal Labor Union No. 21754, Knox- ville, Tenn.	1	15	Manly W. Hood, 1021 Oak St., Knox- ville, Tenn.
Federal Labor Union No. 22619, Brain- tree, Mass.	1	2	Stephen J. Dunleavy, Jr., 90 Waterston Ave., Quincy, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 22694, Brock- ton, Mass.	1	29	Joseph A. Picone, 255-A Union St., Rockland, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 22824, Man- chester, N. H.	1	1	Frank T. Kelley, 102 Huse Road, Man- chester, N. H.
Federal Labor Union No. 23252, Bir- mingham, Ala.	1	1	John W. Ellis, 7107 London Ave., Bir- mingham, Ala.
Federal Labor Union No. 23259, Provi- dence, R. I.	1	1	Raymond J. Jamieson, 30 Hatfield St., Pawtucket, R. I.
Fertilizer Workers' Union No. 22305, Cambridge, Mass.	1	1	Bart P. Saunders, c/o Frank Cleary, Secy., 9 Dawson St., Dorchester, Mass.
Newspaper Writers and Reporters, American Federation of Labor, No. 21432, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Edward F. Sullivan, 14 Evelyn Ave., Malden, Mass.
News Writers' Union No. 22269, Wor- cester, Mass.	1	1	Freeman M. Saltus, 17 Federal St., Worcester, Mass.
Office Employees' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.	1	7	William Robert Probey, 918 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Office Employees' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.....	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Office Employees' Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	9	Mrs. Elma L. Goodwin, Room 735, 112 W. 9th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Office Employees' Union No. 21320, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	4	A. J. Bock, 420 Collingwood St., San Francisco, Calif.
Office Employees, American Federation of Trade Union (Greater New York) No. 23076, New York, N. Y.	1	8	Florence Feinstone, 175 E. Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Paper Box Makers' Union No. 20605, North Bergen County, N. J.....	1	6	Joseph Respoli, c/o Chris. Jackman, Secy., 315 56th St., West New York, N. J.
Photographers and Photo Finishers' Union No. 22295, Watertown, Mass.	1	1	Guy Nordstrom, 10 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass.
Public Safety Service Employees' Union No. 23152, Douglas Dam, Jefferson City, Tenn.	1	1	James Orland Rickman, Douglas Dam, Jefferson City, Tenn.
Quarry Workers' Union No. 21469, Bloomington, Ind.	1	1	Carl Mull, R. R. 5, Bloomington, Ind.
Rubber Workers' Union No. 21640, Boston, Mass.	1	7	Jesse E. Peaslee, 11 Fells Ave., Milford, Mass.
Rubber Workers' Union No. 21914, Watertown, Mass.	1	29	S. A. Percoro, 557 Mt. Auburn St., Watertown, Mass.
Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 22763, Malden, Mass.....	1	7	Thomas J. Moriarty, 343 Medford St., Malden, Mass.
Seltzer Water Workers' Union No. 23181, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Meyer G. Wolpert, 175 E. Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Shorthand Reporters' Union, Illinois Federation of, No. 20145, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	A. Levin, 715 Irving Park Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 14965, Boston, Mass.....	1	2	Aaron Velleman, 11 Beacon St., Room 813, Boston, Mass.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20422, Fort Edward, N. Y.....	1	1	Raymond Leon, 90 Hooper St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20485, Providence, R. I.....	1	1	Arthur P. Patt, 53 3rd St., Providence, R. I.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 21142, Rochester, N. Y.....	1	1	Jack Cadden, 16 State St., Rochester, N. Y.
Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 22125, Longmont, Colo.	1	1	A. R. Wagner, c/o William M. Hamilton, Secy., 429 Martin St., Longmont, Colo.
Telegraph Employees' Federal Labor Union (Southern Division) No. 22671, Nashville, Tenn.....	1	23	Don R. Skinner, 1223 E. Jean St., Tampa 4, Fla.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union (Greater New York), No. 18205, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
Theatrical Agents and Managers, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.	1	4	Milton Weintraub, 25 W. 45th St., New York, N. Y.
Wardrobe Attendants, Theatrical, No. 17329, Boston and Vic., Mass.....	1	1	Edith Howland, 3 Way St., Roxbury, Mass.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-THIRD CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Wool Sorters and Strippers' Union No. 22114, Chelsea, Mass.....	1	1	Benj. Hurwitz, 74 Clark Ave., Chelsea 50, Mass.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	H. N. Harrison, 5 Endsleigh Gardens, London, W. C. 1, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	1	1	W. Bayliss, Miners' Offices, Nottingham Rd, Old Basford, Nottingham, England.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	1	1	Joseph Matte, 124 de L'Eglise St., Quebec, Canada.
		—	Rose Schneiderman, 247 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
89	National and International.....	321	59,179
4	Departments	4	4
39	State Bodies	39	39
141	Central Labor Unions.....	141	141
58	Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	58	477
3	Fraternal Organizations	4	3
334		567	59,843

LIST OF DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan. *1915	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 { Samuel Gompers. { P. J. McGuire.	1911 { Wm. B. Macfarlane. { Daniel J. Tobin.	1927 { John Coefield. { Michael Casey.
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. { Adolph Strasser.	1912 { George L. Berry. { John H. Walker.	1928 { Michael F. Greene. { William B. Fitzgerald.
1897 { Martin Fox. { Geo. E. McNeill.	1913 { Charles L. Baine. { Louis Kemper.	1929 { William J. Rooney. { William P. Clarke.
1898 { James Duncan. { Harry Lloyd.	*1914 { W. D. Mahon. { Matthew Woll.	1930 { John J. Manning. { Thomas E. Maloy.
1899 { James O'Connell. { Thomas F. Tracy.	†1915 { W. D. Mahon. { Matthew Woll.	1931 { Joseph P. Ryan. { Joseph V. Moreschi.
1900 { J. M. Hunter. { Sidney J. Kent.	1916 { W. D. Mahon. { Matthew Woll.	1932 { Joseph A. Franklin. { E. E. Milliman.
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. { Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1917 { John Golden. { James Lord.	1933 { Thomas E. Burke. { Christian M. Madsen.
1902 { Patrick Dolan. { Henry Blackmore.	1918 { J. A. Franklin. { Wm. J. Bowen.	1934 { Michael J. Colleran. { Edward Flore.
1903 { Max S. Hayes. { Martin Lawlor.	1919 { Wm. L. Hutcheson. { John J. Hynes.	1935 { Henry F. Schmal. { Dennis Lane.
1904 { W. D. Ryan. { D. D. Driscoll.	1920 { Timothy Healy. { Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	1936 { William J. McSorley. { Edward Canavan.
1905 { John A. Moffitt. { James Wood.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. { James J. Forrester.	1937 { William C. Birthright. { John B. Haggerty.
1906 { Frank K. Foster. { James Wilson.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. { E. J. McGivern.	1938 { P. J. Morrin. { Daniel J. Tobin.
1907 { John T. Dempsey. { W. E. Klapetzky.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. { Anthony J. Chlopek.	1939 { Felix H. Knight. { James Maloney.
1908 { Andrew Furuseth. { James J. Creamer.	1924 { Peter J. Brady. { Edward J. Gainor.	**1940
1909 { John P. Frey. { B. A. Larger.	1925 { A. Adamski. { Edw. J. Evans.	**1941
1910 { W. B. Wilson. { T. V. O'Connor.	1926 { †Frank Farrington. { Wm. L. Hutcheson.	1942 { Daniel J. Tobin. 1943 { Isidore Nagler. { Harold D. Ulrich.

From British Trades Union Congress		
1894 { John Burns. { David Holmes.	1906 { Allen Gee. { J. N. Bell.	1918 { F. Hall. { Miss Margaret Bondfield.
1895 { Edward Cowey. { James Mawdsley.	1907 { David J. Shackleton. { John Hodge.	1919 { S. Finney. { Miss Margaret Bondfield.
1896 { Sam Woods. { John Mallinson.	1908 { John Wadsworth. { H. Skinner.	1920 { J. W. Ogden. { J. Jones.
1897 { Edward Harford. { J. Havelock Wilson.	1909 { A. H. Gill. { J. R. Clynes.	1921 { J. H. Thomas. { James Walker.
1898 { William Inskip. { William Thorne.	1910 { W. Brace. { Ben Turner.	1922 { E. L. Poulton. { H. Smith.
1899 { James Haslam. { Alexander Wilkie.	1911 { G. H. Roberts. { J. Crinion.	1923 { R. B. Walker. { W. C. Robinson.
1900 { John Weir. { Pete Curran.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. { R. Smillie.	1924 { C. T. Cramp. { A. B. Swales.
1901 { Frank Chandler. { Ben Tillett.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. { T. Greenall.	1925 { Ben Smith. { A. A. Purcell.
1902 { M. Arrandale. { E. Edwards.	**1914	1926 { J. Bromley. { G. Hicks.
1903 { William Mullin. { James O'Grady.	1915 { C. G. Ammon. { E. Bevin.	1927 { Arthur Pugh. { W. Sherwood.
1904 { William Abraham. { James Gignall.	1916 { H. Gosling. { W. Whitefield.	1928 { John Marchbank. { E. Edwards.
1905 { William Mosses. { David Gilmour.	1917 { John Hill. { Arthur Hayday.	1929 { J. T. Brownlie. { J. Bell.

LIST OF DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES (Continued)

1930 { A. A. Findlay. A. Shaw.	1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Naesmith.	1940 { Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Citrine.
1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard.	1936 { William Kean. George Gibson.	1941 { George W. Thomson. Edward Hough.
1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Duke.	1937 { William R. Townley. John C. Little.	1942 { Jack Tanner. Arthur Bryn Roberts.
1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall.	1938 { Joseph Jones. J. W. Stephenson.	1943 { Harry N. Harrison. W. Bayliss.
1934 { A. G. Walkden. John Stokes.	1939 { Herbert Henry Elvin. † John Brown.	

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1917 Emanuel Koveski.	1932 Frank B. Powers.
1903 John Coleran.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1933 James C. Quinn.
1904 John H. Richards.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1935 James Maloney.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1921 John O'Hara.	1936 M. J. Gillooly.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	1937 R. A. Henning.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	1938 Joseph J. Kehoe.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1924 Walter W. Britton.	1939 E. L. Wheatley.
1910 John J. Manning.	1925 James Duncan.	1940 Claude O'Reilly.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1926 James B. Connors.	1941 Harry Stevenson.
1912 John T. Smith.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.	1942 Thomas J. Lyons.
		1943 Arnold S. Zander.

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1913 Gus Franceq.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1899 David A. Carey.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1900 David A. Carey.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1903 James Simpson.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1933 Fred J. White.
1904 John A. Flett.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1934 William Dunn.
1905 William V. Todd.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1935 J. A. F. Haydon, M. C.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1936 George R. Brunet.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1937 Rod Plant.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	1938 W. G. Russell.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1924 John Colbert.	1939 D. W. Kennedy.
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1925 Donald Dear.	1940 E. A. Jamieson.
1911 Wm. Glockling.	1926 Richard Lynch.	1941 H. C. Simpson.
1912 John W. Bruce.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.	1942 Donovan Swailes.
		1943 Joseph Matte.

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino Jose F. Gutierrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
		1941 { Luis N. Morones. Roberto Haberman

* No convention

** No delegates.

† Did not attend.

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Quebec, Canada	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada	October 5-15.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13.
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12.
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19.
1936	Tampa, Fla.	November 16-27.
1937	Denver, Colo.	October 4-15.
1938	Houston, Tex.	October 3-13.
1939	Cincinnati, Ohio	October 2-13.
1940	New Orleans, La.	November 18-29.
1941	Seattle, Wash.	October 6-16.
1942	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 5-14.
1943	Boston, Mass.	October 4-14.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1943

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behoves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention, together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered, has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of 15 members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organization; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least 10 days previous to the holding of the annual convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the

American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding 12 months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.—¹All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

²All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

³Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

⁴Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

⁵All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced, and committees to which they are to be referred, and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

⁶The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention, to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pro-

pare for the use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, 13 Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December succeeding the convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be

required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$20,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

Sec. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President, with the approval of the Executive Council, shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect, and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served them the emergency action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President, who shall, within 15 days, render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing

and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution, and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$18,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended;

close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee, and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so

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far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The salaries of organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council, in addition to which they shall receive railroad fare and hotel expenses when traveling away from the city in which they reside. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds

majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

A National or International Union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution, except in cases where two (2) or more National or International Unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and, if found guilty by it, said organization or organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself, but without the right to vote.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws, as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions, and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one and one-half (1½) cents per member per month up to 300,000 members, and one (1) cent per member per month for members in excess of 300,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five and one-half (35½) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid

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in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other

Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the unions involved, the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of Local Unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of 1 cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding 10 weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National,

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or Local, failing to pay within 60 days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council, the moneys of the Defense Fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the Defense Fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within 24 hours, call a meeting of said union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the Defense Fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said Defense Fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize

the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the Defense Fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of 10 cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) in the Defense Fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the Defense Fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than 5 cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall not be less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar (\$1.00), together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and

months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the financial secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership, and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five dollars (\$5.00), payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not

be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this, in no instance, shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The executive council of each department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Department has conformed to the laws, pro-

cedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall, on roll call, be entitled to two votes. A roll call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

FOLLOWING ARE RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION DULY MADE, SECONDED AND PASSED, THE FOLLOWING RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 8, OF ARTICLE 9, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5-20, 1936, AND AMENDED BY CONVENTION ACTION, NEW ORLEANS, LA., NOVEMBER 26, 1940.

1. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adopt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council. In the event the Executive Council finds a State Federation of Labor guilty after hearing of charges filed, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without condition to be fulfilled by said State Federation of Labor; (b) suspend said State Federation from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said State Federation for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said State Federation of Labor have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor shall be severed, revoke its charter subject to appeal to the next succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any Central Labor Union or any Federal or

Local Labor Union and where the President of the American Federation of Labor, in pursuance of this authority, has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

3. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and of Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor.

Approved by 1936 convention, held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497 official proceedings). THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 14, 1937:

EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED.

"Whenever a directly chartered Trade or Federal Labor Union or State or City Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor secedes, or its charter is suspended or revoked, and demand is made upon such organization or its officers to deliver to the President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved, and on recovery thereof the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."

Sixty-third Annual Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor

1943

Boston, Massachusetts, October 4, 1943

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY — MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Pursuant to law the Sixty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the Ball Room of the Statler Hotel at 10 o'clock, Mr. John J. Del Monte, Vice President of the Boston Central Labor Union, presiding as Temporary Chairman.

Preceding the opening of the convention Ed Andrews' Orchestra, composed of Union musicians, entertained the delegates and visitors as they were assembling.

Chairman Del Monte: Will you please rise while David McSweeney, a member of Machinists Local Union No. 264, sings the National Anthem.

(The delegates and visitors remained standing while Mr. McSweeney sang the National Anthem.)

Chairman Del Monte: The Reverend Father Joseph Donohue will deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

**(Reverend Joseph Donohue
Working Boys Home, Chicago,
Illinois)**

O Lord God, behold us, Thy children, gathered here today when all the world is swept into darkness, and as you behold us gathered here to decide questions for our members, help us and bless us in our work. Amen.

MR. JOHN J. DEL MONTE
**(Vice President, Boston Central
Labor Union)**

Father Donohue, Officers of the American Federation of Labor, Delegates, Guests and Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have been highly honored by the Boston Central Labor Union, who have chosen me and granted me the privilege of acting as pre-

siding officer at the official opening of the 63rd convention of the American Federation of Labor. I wish to assure them that I am highly appreciative and grateful for their consideration.

In welcoming you to our city, we realize the tremendous tasks that lie before you. We well know that the deliberations and careful considerations you will give to these problems will benefit our entire nation.

It is not my intention to deliver a long address of welcome, as we have with us here this morning many dignitaries of our City, State and Labor Department who are here for that purpose.

I shall, however, bring to your attention some of the things which you should see during your visit to our great City of Boston.

Boston, as you know, is replete with history, architecture and art.

Of course, as Bostonians, we believe that labor and industry are second to none. You will be thrilled at our narrow, winding streets. You may comment on them, as most people do on their maiden trip to our city. However, most of the streets will lead you to a spot where our forefathers fought or deliberated for our freedom.

Ironically enough, you are gathered here today to continue the same precedent. We hope that you all have an opportunity to visit our many historic shrines, such as the Cradle of Liberty, Faneuil Hall, the Old State House, and the Old South Meeting House in which the Boston Tea Party March was organized, our beautiful harbor that is now teeming with the commerce of war material, and many other cultural and spiritual institutions and museums too numerous to mention.

True to the tradition of Bostonian hospitality, our committee has arranged a program of entertainment. We trust that with brotherly affection you will feel free to accept this hospitality during your stay in our city.

The Entertainment Committee did not forget the wives and guests of the delegates and they are invited also to partake and accept freely of the entertainment for which a special committee of ladies has been appointed.

We sincerely hope and trust your visit to our city will be one that will never depart from your memories.

I take this opportunity to thank Ed Andrews and his orchestra for the splendid rendition of music they gave us here this morning, in conjunction with the Boston Protective Musicians Association No. 9.

At this time it gives me great pleasure to bring to you a young man who has helped very much in the progress of our labor movement in the City of Boston. He is here today to welcome you, being a delegate from his own International Union of Boot and Shoe Workers.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you, Edwin J. Goggin, President of the Boston Central Labor Union.

MR. DANIEL J. GOGGIN (President of the Boston Central Labor Union)

It is my pleasure as President of the Central Labor Union of Boston to extend to all of you a most cordial greeting on behalf of the Central Labor Union.

The last time the American Federation of Labor honored our city by holding its convention here was in 1930. No one at that time could foresee the many difficult problems that would confront the labor movement and our country as a whole that have developed during the intervening period.

The Central Labor Union and the local unions of the American Federation of Labor have met these many problems in accordance with the best traditions of the American Federation of Labor. The unions, as well as the Central Labor Union, have accepted the responsibility in this present crisis and have given service in every possible way in all endeavors that have been undertaken to serve our country. They have been zealous in guarding the rights of their membership. They are proud of the record they have achieved. They will continue to support the policies and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

We welcome the officers and delegates to the Convention, not only because of the honor bestowed on the labor movement of Boston by your meeting here, but also because of the opportunity given to the citizens of our community to personally get acquainted with the officers and delegates and to have the opportunity of seeing this convention of a great labor movement in action.

The officers and delegates of the Boston Central Labor Union are at your service in every way that we may be able to aid you in carrying out the very important work of this convention.

Chairman Del Monte: Thank you, Brother Goggin. We have also in our midst one who has not alone helped the city but who has done state-wide things for organized labor, a great young fellow who has helped us tremendously in the hard task of trying to get workmen's compensation. He has never stopped, he is continuing to try, and I take great pleasure in presenting William J. Doyle, President of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

MR. DANIEL J. GOGGIN (President, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, members of the Executive Council, delegates and friends of the American Federation of labor:

It is a distinct pleasure for me as President of the Massachusetts Branch of the American Federation of Labor to welcome the delegates to the 63rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to Massachusetts.

Only two short months ago in this very hall, the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor held its 58th annual convention—so we are all coming of age.

The war, coming as it did after years of depression and unemployment, nevertheless, found Massachusetts Unions of the American Federation of Labor ready for all calls made upon them. Massachusetts labor has responded to all requests made of it. Labor in Massachusetts has been working long hours, six and in many cases seven days a week. The production record of Massachusetts speaks for itself. Massachusetts' share of all the war supply contracts up to August first was 3.8 per cent of the entire United States, and 39 per cent of New England.

Labor has not failed the government in the purchase of war bonds. A shortage of many food items; a shortage of gasoline and a shortage of fuel—all have been our lot. These have been accepted with the minimum of complaint.

Labor's "no strike" pledge has been well kept in this commonwealth. In spite of the fine record of labor in this commonwealth, as in many other states, it was necessary to take time out to fight vicious and unnecessary anti-labor legislation. We were successful in defeating these bad bills.

The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor has a fine record of accomplishments down through the years. I ask that all national and international officers urge their local unions not now affiliated with the Massachusetts Branch of the American Federation of Labor to do so, that they may take part in protecting the membership of their organizations in the Massachusetts Legislature through the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

No doubt you have read in the newspapers of the charge by a Boston City Councilor of over-manning of the Boston Navy Yard. These charges should be thoroughly investigated and corrected if found true. This should be done at once. Many employers have been crying for additional labor. Now we find these same employers, through their representatives, objecting to having this area classified in Group Two.

Labor is well aware of the need for "all-out" production effort for the next five months, which will be the most crucial in our American history. We must win this war in order to preserve our "free" trade unions.

We hope your stay will be pleasant. You have great problems to solve during this convention and I am sure that these problems will be solved and the American Federation of Labor will go forward to new accomplishments for the successful prosecution of the war and the post-war period to come.

I thank you.

Chairman Del Monte: No city the size of our beloved city could be successful without good administration. We probably boast of

our municipal administration in the city and organized labor has a right to do so. Every time any of us have gone down to the City Hall the administration there not only welcomes us but things are done for us and done promptly. So it gives me great pleasure to present to you our beloved Mayor, the son of a Union carpenter, who has been outstanding in his efforts in behalf of the organized labor movement, the Honorable Maurice J. Tobin.

MAYOR MAURICE J. TOBIN (City of Boston, Massachusetts)

Chairman Del Monte, Your Excellency Governor Saltonstall, President Green, President Doyle, National and State Officers of the American Federation of Labor, and Delegates to this Sixty-third Annual Convention:

It is indeed a real pleasure for me, as Mayor of the City of Boston, to have the privilege of welcoming here the delegates to this convention, and particularly the old pioneers in the labor movement who made the fight when the going was hard.

I know that in coming to Boston you are coming to a community that appreciates the benefits of organized labor to an extent equal to that of any other community in the United States. There were days when the labor movement was struggling and labor in this section was not economically strong, and we may have suffered in an economic way both in Boston and Massachusetts, but that condition no longer exists in the United States and that fight, made over that long period of years, now gives to the laboring man in the forty-eight States of the Union the equalities of opportunity that were guaranteed in Boston and in Massachusetts, and a great deal of those rights flow from this particular section of the country to the other sections. We can now get back, or at least fight for our rights on an equal basis, due to the great progress made in the course of the last fifteen or twenty years.

I don't want to make too long a talk because I realize I am going to talk to you at a banquet later in the course of this convention, but I would just like to reminisce for a moment and point out some of the struggles they had way back in the early days, shortly after our Declaration of Independence was written and after our Bill of Rights was placed on the law books of the United States of America.

Back in 1806, a small group of cordwainers banded together in Philadelphia, and the Judge who sat on the case—after an injunction was sought—found that they were guilty of criminal conspiracy and said the men who had banded together for that purpose were criminals. That was a philosophy that came over here from England. The next obstacle that had to be overcome was in 1890, when the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was turned against organized labor and it was held by the Courts

to apply to labor. Men banded together in labor unions were then looked upon as being within the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and it was very effectively used against them.

Your labor leaders repeatedly attempted to get legislation through the Congress of the United States but were unable to do so, until in 1907 when the Clayton Anti-Trust Act was passed. At that time, President Samuel Gompers said the Magna Charta of labor had arrived, but when the Courts finished speaking it was found that labor had an empty act on the books that did not protect them against the Yellow Dog contract.

I could go down through the years this way, but the great progress came in 1926, with the passage of the Labor Relations Act and finally the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932, which protected you specifically against the Yellow Dog contract and specifically protected you against the injunction. But the real job was done with the passage of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, and that truly was the Magna Charta of American Labor.

Now you have a great responsibility, and while I don't want to appear to be lecturing to you, labor today has tremendous power and it likewise has a tremendous responsibility to your membership numbering millions, and to the American people as a whole. Organized labor has lived up to that responsibility during these trying days of war and I know after the war is over we can bank upon organized labor to work hand in hand with government and employers to see to it that we will never again have to live through the terrible depression days that began in 1929 and continued through to the start of this present war, about 1939. We do not want to see the great mistakes that were made, such as England's general strike of 1926, when many of the gains that were made after a hard struggle in that country were wiped out.

Every gain you have made, you want to preserve for the men and women of America who toil, for those men and women depend on you men and women for leadership. But that leadership cannot be confined directly and alone to your work with Labor organizations,—you have got to study and take a broad outlook at the economic picture of the future in order that we may be able to carry on with the American way of life—the American way of life that the American Federation of Labor has fought to preserve right down to the present hour—in order that our boys, who are out fighting on the fighting fronts of all the world, on the seven seas and on every continent, may enjoy that American way of life when they come back.

I have great confidence that the American Federation of Labor is going to play a great part in that leadership and I hope that out of the deliberations of this convention will come some of the things that will start people thinking on the objectives and problems that will come after the war.

My congratulations to the American Federation of Labor for the great progress they have brought about for the benefit of the men and women who toil for a living, and my earnest prayer is that that great success of

the past may be translated into similar success in solving the great economic and social problems that will be ours to settle in the future.

Chairman Del Monte: Thank you, Mayor Tobin.

In our Commonwealth we probably can also boast of men who are able to handle our labor problems. The State of Massachusetts has an outstanding Labor Commissioner, and it is through the continued efforts of our present Governor that he is returned to us year after year.

Our Governor is also one of us; he is with us at all times and if you will look in the program of entertainment, you will see that our Governor and Mrs. Saltonstall have invited the lady folks here present to take tea with them at their mansion on Chestnut Hill in Newton Center, Massachusetts, and I am sure that the ladies will be glad to visit the home of Governor and Mrs. Saltonstall.

We, too, when we go to the State House, get the same reception there that we do in City Hall. So, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to present to you His Excellency, Leverett P. Saltonstall, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

HONORABLE LEVERETT P. SALTONSTALL (Commonwealth of Massachusetts)

Mr. Chairman, Your Honor, Mayor Tobin, Mr. Green, Mr. Doyle, Officers and Delegates to the National American Federation of Labor Convention of 1943:

Mr. Del Monte mentioned Commissioner of Labor and Industry, Mr. Jim Moriarty. I was awfully pleased that your local committee delegated him to bring me here this morning. You know we have a terrible time. He is a Democrat and I am a Republican but it is remarkable how much advice I take from him.

It is a great pleasure to bring the greetings of our Commonwealth to this national convention of the American Federation of Labor. You are meeting in historic Boston at an historic time. In the days of 1776 our forebears were fighting a war for freedom and laying the foundation for a great country. Now we are fighting and beginning to win another war for freedom and to build a country of greater security and opportunity for all of us.

We are specially proud to be your host this year because Massachusetts was one of the first states in which unions were established.

Yankee ingenuity in manufacturing, combined with the skill, energy and initiative of organized workers, brought this region to a position of industrial leadership. Today we are going all out to manufacture the equipment with which to win the war. We have lost comparatively few man hours from disputes; and we have brought about a colossal expansion of industrial activity and of employment.

Recently I heard General Marshall say to the American Legion that we were now on the offensive and that the stronger we made it and the more of us who joined it, the quicker we must win the war and bring our boys back home. Our own job in the offensive is to produce the equipment with which those boys must fight to win.

At the same time we must look to the future. We must prepare to keep our country a going concern in the change from war to peace. In peace we must provide jobs for all willing workers. What each one of us wants first of all is permanent employment. Relatively the troubles of a government where there is full employment are few. We all know that permanent employment can only come from jobs in private industry if our method of living is to continue as we know it. The Federal Government is rightly planning jobs and useful projects. Most of our States are planning public projects within their boundaries, but we must remember that all such schemes can be only temporary. Permanent jobs can only come from the stimulation of our present industries and the building of new ones with the great inventions growing out of the present war. But employment will not be permanent and there will not be sufficient jobs for all our willing workers unless the business leaders of the country, and the labor leaders, work together: frankly, sincerely and with a common understanding.

To be efficient, industry must make a profit and the workers in industry good wages. Business men must plan in terms of volume of output, large employment and total profits over a long period rather than in terms of high unit prices and high margins. Labor leaders must recognize, as I know you do, that they must think in terms of permanent jobs rather than in terms of high wages in short-lived jobs.

I personally believe that the leaders of the great unions will have more to say concerning the future prosperity of our citizens than any one group of men that I meet. You leaders have tremendous power. Many thousands of men look to you for guidance and leadership. Your public officeholders consequently are mindful of your thoughts and your wishes. I know that you are thorough believers in our system of government, and our way of life. To continue our government and our way of life, we must depend upon your willingness and ability to cooperate with the management of our industries; to take responsibility in seeing to it that there is continuity of employment; to have the "guts," if I may use that term, to make readjustments that may be necessary in order that some industries may live. And above all, to do your part within your unions to make it possible for

returning soldiers to get employment, and if they are injured and cannot work at their old jobs to learn new ones and get positions which they are capable of performing.

I know that you are thinking of the importance of trade agreements and understandings with the other nations of the world, for only by trading with other nations of the world can we give full employment. To trade with those nations we must make goods that can sell within those nations and we must allow them to sell to us those articles which they can successfully produce.

The average citizen looks to his government for an increasing amount of economic security especially in the forms of unemployment compensation and old age security. Compensation for illness or disability may well be added gradually. But no government unit should ever make a promise of a benefit it cannot see its way clear to carry out. There is no greater hypocrisy and no quicker way to destroy the confidence of the average citizen in his government. Of the need for government help in social security there can be no question but we must always remember that the most effective help which Americans have known from 1620 to 1943 has been help to help themselves.

In all these fundamental affairs, your leadership, your courage, and your willingness to assume responsibility, will play a tremendous part in whether or not the peace for which our boys are fighting will be made worth while. The stupendous war production is traceable to the team play between government, labor and industry. The fervor of this wartime effort can and must be duplicated in peacetime. More respect between workers and management, friendly intervention or regulation by government, can accomplish astonishing results. It has done so in war. It can do so in peace. The future well-being of our whole country will depend on the average citizen: his initiative, his courage, his willingness to work hard and to take risks. We must fight anything which threatens the individual freedom and opportunity of that man, and that means every one of us who are in this great assemblage today, whether the threat comes from business, unions, or government itself.

On the other hand, we must fight with all our force for everything that develops that freedom. War has united our great country as never before. May the opportunities which peace will bring draw us even closer together. It is in that spirit that I bring to this great conference in wartime, a conference that is united to win the war, and a conference that must begin planning the outlines of activities in peace,—the greetings of our old Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Chairman Del Monte: Thank you, Governor Saltonstall. Ladies and gentlemen, that just about winds up our program for this morning.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank the Committee on Arrangements for

the splendid work they have done in arranging the program of entertainment. I would also like to thank the Executive Board for their kind assistance in helping us.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I just don't quite know how to say this. This is the biggest thing in my life. I thought when I introduced the Governor and the Mayor that was big, but I must say right here and now that this is bigger.

But I don't think the man I am about to present to you needs any introduction. I am proud and pleased, and any other adjective you might find necessary to use to express it, to present to you, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green, I now hand you the symbol of authority, the gavel.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Mr. Chairman, Father Donohue, Representatives of the Boston Central Labor Union, the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, Your Honor, Mayor Tobin, and Your Excellency, Governor Saltonstall, my Colleagues of the Executive Council, Distinguished Officers, Delegates and Visitors in attendance at this historic convention:

I know I share with you a deep feeling of appreciation over the cordial welcome extended to us by these representatives of labor of the City of Boston and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. We anticipate the pleasure of being the guests of this city and of this State and of enjoying all of its hospitality. This meeting on this occasion and this warm welcome extended to us revives pleasant memories in the minds of a large number of officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. We recall with a feeling of deep pleasure and satisfaction our attendance at a convention of the American Federation of Labor held in this city and in this hall in the year 1930. We were then privileged to enjoy the hospitality of the people of this historic city. We left at that time carrying home with us the fondest memories of a delightful visit spent here. We will repeat that experience.

It seems appropriate for me to point out on this occasion that our great family of labor has grown since 1930. We represented at that time, at the convention held in this hall, 2,961,096 paid-up members in the American

Federation of Labor. Today you represent 5,939,021 paid-up members. We are proud of the progress we have made. We possess a deep sense of responsibility which this progress has imposed upon us, and because we understand it all, it is our firm purpose and determination to discharge our responsibilities not only to our government but to labor and to society as well.

I am proud of our great movement. I still maintain without modification that it represents the labor movement in the United States and Canada. It is the historic instrumentality through which the workers of this Continent express themselves, and it is the agency through which they seek to achieve their objective, to realize a higher standard of life and of living.

And so, conscious of our responsibilities, we are determined that we shall measure up to the higher standards set by the American Federation of Labor in previous conventions, and that our work will be constructive, that we will devote our efforts to the maintenance of the American way of life and find ways and means by which and through which we can give to our government a larger and a more vital measure of support in the prosecution of the war effort.

It seems that a new era began, dating from the time when the cowardly Japanese attacked our peace-loving country at Pearl Harbor. That incident is still fresh in our memories, but even prior to Pearl Harbor the American Federation of Labor, with a vision that penetrated the future, decided to give support to Great Britain and her Allies when they were fighting with their backs to the wall against the Nazi and Fascist invaders. We, the American Federation of Labor, understood then the issues involved in the conflict. We understood what was hanging in the balance. We understood quite clearly that if we were to maintain our free democratic form of government, the American way of life, and protect American traditions, we must see to it with all the power at our command that Great Britain and her Allies won the war.

But fate, Providence, or call it what you may, ordered that America should enter the conflict, and so the attack at Pearl Harbor was the match which started the flame of action here in the United States of America. We responded wholeheartedly, and then began the formation of our armies—I say armies be-

cause I want to refer to it in the plural sense. Not only was our government called upon to organize an Army to serve on the battlefields, but it became necessary to organize an army of production to produce in the mills, the mines, the factories and on the transportation lines of our nation, and so simultaneously these armies were organized, and we have accomplished wonders since then. We have organized an army of more than 5,000,000 stalwart young Americans who are facing the armies of the Nazis and the Fascists abroad and the Japanese in the Southern Pacific in a way that challenges our admiration.

In the workshops and mills and mines and factories of the nation, the army of production is serving just as faithfully and just as well as our armies on the battlefield. Just listen a moment: The efforts of American labor have given our country the mightiest fleet in history, the most powerful naval force in the world and the finest ordnance throughout the entire universe.

Behold the figures, men and women: In 1940, we had in America only 1,076 vessels in our Navy. Today, after three years of inspired work our Navy boasts of 14,072 fighting ships. In 1940 the Navy possessed only 1,744 planes. Today our fleet is protected and strengthened by 18,269 of the most modern planes. This is over and beyond the tremendous fleet of merchant ships that have been completed in record time in the shipyards. These ships now comprise the greatest fleet the world has ever known. We are building them at the rate of more than one hundred per month at a speed never before dreamed of in the shipbuilding industry.

These ships are carrying vital supplies to our soldiers on the fighting fronts and to our Allies. Now the latest report from the War Production Board shows that American workers produced 7,612 fighting planes during the month of August. That is the highest figure we have yet reached, but it is still going up, and in my opinion will pass the 8,000 mark during this month.

Most of the airplanes we are making now are heavy bombers; America's plane production alone is now more than double the total Axis production of planes, and that spells doom for the enemy.

Chairman Nelson of the War Production Board reports that America's productivity

in the airplane industry has increased 25 per cent in the last eight months.

Production of tanks and bombs and guns is proceeding far ahead of schedule. The month of August, for instance, showing a gain of 32 per cent over July—32 per cent in only one month in the production of self-propelled artillery which constitutes a vital weapon in modern warfare.

All of these figures which I have cited to you are tremendously significant, because victory in this war is going to the side which has superior equipment. We enjoy that superiority now along with our Allies and the margin of our superiority is going to grow as we increase production levels, while those of our enemies will be lowered as a result of destructive air raids.

But there is another factor in the production picture which should be especially significant to the delegates in attendance at this convention. The War Production Board officially announces that more than 85 per cent of war material is being produced in America by Union labor.

I challenge any group, business, economic or administrative, to show a better record than the soldiers of production have made since Pearl Harbor in America.

Now I want to present to you some tragic figures, just for a moment, and I think that they will certainly be surprising to some of those who say that Labor is making no sacrifice during the war.

Listen: casualties in the United States armed forces since Pearl Harbor have been 20,104 dead, 23,226 wounded, 32,985 missing and 23,970 imprisoned—a total of 105,205. These figures are from the latest report from the Office of War Information. That is the armies in the field, those who are facing the guns and the destructive planes of the enemy. What about the soldiers of production, those who constitute the other army? Casualties to American workers through accident since Pearl Harbor number 80,000 dead; 7,000,000 injured, on and off the job.

These figures are taken from the latest report of the National Safety Council. The soldiers of production have lost 80,000 of their colleagues fighting the war in the production plants of the nation. Twenty thousand have been killed in the armed forces of our nation. What a striking comparison! I do not claim that labor is giving

more or doing more, because I know that our soldiers on the battlefield are giving their all, but I do want these figures to be presented to those who have denounced labor from one end of the country to the others. You men and women who make up the American Federation of Labor, and all our friends, have listened to commentators over the radio who have denounced labor as shirkers. You have listened to demagogues who have moved from the North to the South and from the East to the West visiting towns and cities denouncing labor. You have read vicious editorials and the reactionary press of the nation, and who did they denounce? This army of production that has given 80,000 lives to the service of the nation, 80,000 lives in the war production effort.

Therefore, we can claim a large share of credit for the marvelous production result, because the members of our own American Federation of Labor Unions have made them possible by their unmatched skill and by their unrelenting hard work.

The planes, the tanks, the guns, the bombs, that will eventually crush our enemies are being made largely by Union labor, and we hope that the bullet that will finally end Hitler's life will bear the Union label.

There's the answer to our critics. There's the answer to those who hate labor and go up and down the land denouncing labor. I denounce those, my friends, who denounce us. I challenge them to show a better record in any emergency, in any crisis in the world's history, and I am proud this morning as I stand here of the wonderful record made by this army of production which is fighting here in the workshops of America.

But I know that it is the spirit and purpose of our workers to reach new heights in production, to establish new standards. The government is calling upon us for more. Notwithstanding the record we have made, we are going to respond and give more. The efficiency of our skilled workers will be increased. The service they give will be improved. Ways and means will be found and we will help find the ways and means through which the manpower of America, who serve in the army of production, can produce more and more in support of the war effort. I know that that is a matter that will be given vital consideration by this convention. A complete analysis will be made of the war manpower situation. We will make a sur-

vey ourselves and we will endeavor to promote better utilization of the available manpower and womanpower of our nation, because we are opposed to a resort to force or the enactment of forcible measures to compel free American workers to do things against their will.

Now may I carry you for just a moment with your faces toward the future. We are thinking not only of the war as it now exists, but we are thinking of the days to come when the war will be ended and we must deal with the question of peace.

Victory in this war would be empty and meaningless unless we win the peace. Therefore, while labor's primary duty is to do everything possible to crush our enemies as quickly as possible, we must at the same time give immediate and increasing consideration to the formulation of a post-war program which will enhance and overshadow military victory.

The great problems we face are two-fold—domestic and foreign.

In our own country after the war we will face the supreme challenge of making good the pledge to abolish fear of want in America. This is the first duty of industry, of labor and of the government. It can be fulfilled by the launching of a vast peace time production drive which will provide jobs for all and by the enactment of broad Social Security legislation which will provide economic insurance for the masses of the American people.

We hear a great deal of talk these days from business men about preserving the free enterprise system. That free enterprise system faces a life or death test in the post-war era. Private industry itself can do more to preserve free enterprise than anyone else. The business leaders of the nation must be prepared to move boldly and swiftly the moment the last gun in this war is fired. They must be ready to convert almost overnight from war time to peace time production.

The leaders of American industry must have confidence in the future of America or the American people will lose confidence in them. They must face the risk and responsibility of investing funds for the expansion of free enterprise on a scale never before contemplated. The millions of workers now engaged in war industries and the millions of young men now serving in the armed

forces will need jobs. We dare not, and we must not, offer them bread lines. Nor does labor want to see another WPA in America.

How can this be avoided? The opportunities are limitless. The construction industry offers a striking example. Since the war started private construction, especially housing, has been at a complete standstill. As a result there is an acute shortage of decent housing in every community in the land. It is estimated that we will need 15,000,000 new homes in the ten years following the end of the war. This presents a glorious opportunity to private investment and private industry. Construction of a million and a half homes a year for ten years will provide steady employment for two million construction workers and perhaps an additional five million workers in industries making building materials and home furnishings and equipment. Thus, prompt revival of the construction industry when peace comes can prove the key to nation-wide business expansion and provide a miraculous stimulus to post-war prosperity.

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions are determined to do everything in their power to encourage and assist private industry in fulfilling its responsibilities to the nation. We also call upon our government to give private industry full support in the critical days that lie ahead.

This war has taught us that America cannot isolate herself from the rest of the world. As a nation we face a new era in international relations when the war ends. Our first objective must be to assure lasting peace. We know now that peaceful intentions on our part are not enough, that we must assume our full share of responsibility that the warlike tendencies of other nations do not break beyond bounds. To win this war against the enemies of democracy, freedom and human decency, America has allied herself with other nations. Likewise, in the post-war era, America must join with other nations of good will in preserving peace throughout the civilized world.

This is the outstanding reason why labor demands full representation at the peace conference. We intend to see to it that the desire for permanent peace of the American people is not thwarted by professional international diplomats. We also will insist on the restoration of political and economic independence to those nations which have been overrun and

pillaged and despoiled by our enemies. And we will not be satisfied until the guarantees of justice and democracy embodied in the Four Freedoms are established for all time throughout the civilized world.

We shall insist that the peoples of the world shall be made free—free from Prussian militarism, free from Fascism, free from Nazism and free from Japanese savagery.

It is our firm purpose and determination to serve in every way we can to establish free democratic trade unions throughout the world. That is an objective that we place high as our ideal and our goal. We want to help, because the record shows that those were the institutions first destroyed by the leaders of Nazism and Fascism in order to establish totalitarian forms of government. We are encouraged now, as we meet in this Sixty-third Annual Convention, because the armies of the free peoples of the world are marching forward. We rejoice over their victories. We knew they would win just as soon as our military and economic strength was finally mobilized. They are not winning, however, for the purpose of establishing despotic control in any nation. The invasion of Italy by the Allied Armies does not mean despotic control in Italy, but it means that at last the Italian people will be made free. And so it is in North Africa and in other countries.

In conclusion, may I state that we all realize that these are trying days. We, along with the people of the world, are living and moving in the shadows of sorrow and sadness. The clouds of adversity hang heavily over a war-torn world, and in characteristic fashion, as hope springs eternal in the human breast, we have turned our faces toward the rising sun, toward the dawn of a new day—a day when peace will come, when we can live normal lives again, a day when righteousness will triumph over injustice and wrong, when the Allied Armies will finally have won a decisive victory. These are the days we are looking for, and with scrutinizing vision we pierce the clouds and the shadows that lie between us now and the realization of that great objective.

But our slogan is victory, and we will stand with our great President, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and with our Allies in the fight which is being made to achieve victory—victory for free democratic labor, victory for helpless peo-

ple, victory for those who suffer from the yoke of Nazism, Fascism, and Japanese savagery, victory for righteousness—the victory that must be achieved before we quit the war. I thank you.

Now, I declare the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor legally and properly convened and open for business.

I wish to announce that Brother James Moriarty was officially designated as the Committee on Escort for Governor Saltonstall, who addressed this Convention this morning. Brother Moriarty, as you all know, is a member of the Sheet Metal Workers International Union and Commissioner of Labor in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

INTRODUCTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

In order that we may become properly acquainted and know our distinguished visitors from Great Britain and Canada, I want to introduce them to you now, so that you may know them when you meet them in the corridors of the hotel, in the convention hall or elsewhere.

First, may I present to you Brother Harry Harrison, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. His good wife has come all the way from Great Britain along with him to meet you and greet you and to visit with you in this Convention. I know we appreciate that very much—Mrs. Harry Harrison.

Sitting beside Mrs. Harrison is our very dear friend, another fraternal delegate from Great Britain, Brother W. Bayliss.

Now, I want to present to you Brother Matte from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, sitting right beside me here, and his good wife, who has come along with him from Canada—Mrs. Matte.

Now, we are acquainted. You know them. Extend to them a warm and cordial greeting as you meet them. We want to make their visit here a happy and memorable one.

Post Office

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcement.

Secretary Meany: I wish to announce that through the kindness of Mr. P. J. Connelly, Postmaster of the City of Boston, a postoffice has been opened just outside the entrance hall on the left. There you will find general delivery service, together with the sale of postage stamps. This office will be in charge of John W. Grages for the convenience of the delegates.

I also wish to announce the appointment of the following convention officers, appointed by President Green:

Convention Officers

Assistant Secretary—Harry Grages.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Charles F. Burns.

Messengers—Dorothy Shultz and Francis F. Morse.

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce that the beautiful official program of Entertainment of this Convention will be distributed before we adjourn, so please remain here and receive them before you leave after the morning session.

Now, the Chair recognizes Chairman McCarthy, of the Credentials Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Boston, Mass.

October 4, 1943

Delegate McCarthy, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following report:

To President Green, Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report:

We have examined the credentials of 555 delegates, representing 87 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 39 State Branches, 137 Central Bodies, and 56 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 4 Fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated.

The Secretary will now read the Credential Committee's report.

Secretary Scholtz, on behalf of the committee, read the following list of delegates entitled to seats in the Convention:

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Paul Dullzell, 177 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, C. W. Sickles, 40 votes.

Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United—Ivan Cary, Jerry Aldred, George Kiebler, Peter G. Noll, 431 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, William F. Schnitzler, Robert F. Hart—Wm. McGuern, 863 votes.

Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journey-

men—William C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino, Charles T. Crane, John B. Robinson, 492 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—G. Leo Abernathy, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, Marshall W. Martin, A. J. Eberhardy, 100 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, Harry Nacey, Wm. E. Walter, Charles J. MacGowan, William J. Buckley, George Nolan, Thomas Crowe, 2,867 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, J. B. Previtt, Mary G. Morley, John Connolly, 271 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Daniel J. Goggin, 400 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Al J. Cleland, Thomas H. O'Donnell, William J. Moran, J. Raymond Britton, 650 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 100 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, J. H. Lyons, J. A. Evensen, Gay Borrelli, L. L. Myers, Wm. J. Reynolds, 1,124 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, George Bradley, Charles Hardy, Jess Fletcher, Walter Collins, 700 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Felix H. Knight, Irvin Barney, Alfred E. McCormick, Henri Vaillancourt, 800 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, M. A. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Chas. Hanson, M. J. Sexton, I. E. Lane, F. C. Allen, Chas. A. Coombes, John M. Christenson, 6,000 votes.

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United—Wm. Schoenberg, Arthur J. Strunk, Samuel R. Diskan, Toney Gallo, 190 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—R. E. Van Horn, A. P. Bower, 100 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of—W. S. Gross, Harold E. Greenwald, John Zitello, M. Minaden, 171 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, James M. Murphy, William I. Horner, 429 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, Phil E. Ziegler, E. E. Longley, Harold D. Ulrich, 1,917 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—W. G. Desette, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, 1,000 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, Gust Ladik, 50 votes.

Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union—Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, Mortimer Brandenburg, 94 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—Foster J. Pratt, J. Lawrence Raimist, 47 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—Ed J. Brown, G. M. Bugnizet, Chas. M. Paulsen, Walter R. Lenox, Charles Stenger, Carl G. Scholtz, John J. Regan, 2,529 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—John C. MacDonald, F. B. Comfort, John Proctor, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, O. W. Carter, Joseph J. Delaney, Frank P. Converse, 933 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Wilfred T. Connell, 108 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, Joseph Lehan, John P. Redmond, Vincent J. Kane, 365 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, John Clinton, Joseph P. Clark, James L. Kelley, George Wright, 475 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—Joseph P. McCurdy, W. R. Brooks, A. Adamski, Anne Peterson, Geo. C. Slater, 400 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Isidore Nagler, Philip Kramer, Sadie Relach, Max Bluestein, Nathan Solomon, 2,250 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, William W. Campbell, John J. Griffin, George Baxter, 240 votes.

Glass Cutters' League of America, Window—Joseph E. Mayeur, 16 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Harry H. Cook, Clifton Vogt, Thomas Martin, 217 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—James B. Burns, Bernice B. Heffner, John B. Murray, 242 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Laurence Foley, 43 votes.

Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies—Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, Joseph Levitsky, 114 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Max Zaritsky, Michael F. Greene, Israel H. Goldberg, Max Finger, Nellie H. Gallagher, 320 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, M. D. Cox, Edward I. Hannah, Joseph B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, John J. Falvey, 4,202 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Hugo Ernst, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, Louis

Koenig, Pauline Newman, J. W. Van Hook, 2,328 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Leon Williams, 81 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, Harry J. Hagen, Walter M. Matthews, 81 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Ray Nickelson, Sam. J. Byers, Isadore Frankel, 500 votes.

Leather Workers' International Union, United—Bernard G. Quinn, 32 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—William C. Doherty, William J. Gorman, Joseph P. Considine, Louis Horlbeck, L. V. McGuigan, 600 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—William J. Riehl, Robert Bruck, John Blackburn, 136 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, Harry R. Hasselgren, 539 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—E. E. Milliman, J. J. Farnan, W. Jewkes, John F. Towle, George H. Davis, R. Freccia, 1,185 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, John J. Conway, 48 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—John J. Scully, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—E. W. Jimereson, Patrick E. Gorman, Joseph P. McCoy, John J. Walsh, M. S. Maxwell, Joseph Belsky, 971 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—Robert Byron, James J. Ryan, James T. Moriarty, James W. Close, 250 votes.

Mine Workers of America, International Union Progressive—Lloyd A. Thrush, John Marchiando, 350 votes.

Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International—Harry Stevenson, Alfred Yoder, Louis Haeffele, Henry Rosendale, William Burke, 619 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—James C. Petrillo, Joseph N. Weber, C. L. Bagley, Harry J. Steeper, Vincent Castronovo, Frank B. Field, 1,000 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Pete Yablonski, George Meyers, 1,328 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Arthur Huggins, Joseph Addy, Ernest B. Lambton, 262 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, 107 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—John E. Rooney, Michael J. McDonough, John J. Hauck, Francis O'Toole, 250 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, William J. McLaughlin, Charles M. Rau, Robert Lynch, 650 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal—Ray Kelsay, 100 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car—A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, 87 votes. Pottery, National Brotherhood of Operative—James N. Duffy, Charles F. Jordan, James T. Slaven, George Pace, 215 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—James Mowatt, 9 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Anthony J. DeAndrade, Stephen W. Fardy, Bertram W. Kohl, Walter F. McLoughlin, 485 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, Herbert W. Sullivan, James S. Killen, Samuel Ashton, Elmer P. Noinz, 600 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—Edward McMorrow, Joseph J. Kehoe, William L. Robinson, Andrew, D. Wigstrom, Robert Arnott, Arthur Seward, 988 votes.

Railway Mail Association—C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, William A. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, 218 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—Charles Aquadro, J. M. Gavlak, 70 votes.

Seafarers' International Union of North America—Harry Lundeborg, Patrick McHugh, John Mogan, 300 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of—George L. Warfel, 9 votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—Richard F. Walsh, Louis Krouse, Thomas V. Green, E. J. Brock, Michael J. Mongovan, 420 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, 360 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leo J. Buckley, Joseph L. O'Neil, Charles Sinnigen, 88 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Paul A. Givens, 19 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. W. Kaiser, John Surman, Jr., 80 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—John Lundergan, 88 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchart, John M. Fewkes, 229 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Frank W. Brewster, John O'Rourke, Robert Lester, John O'Brien, 6,029 votes.

Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad—V. O. Gardner, E. J. Manion, 300 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—W. L. Allen, Arthur Markel, Hugh C. McKenny, 107 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Francis J. Gorman, Lloyd Klenert, William E. G. Batty, Joseph Sylvia, Philip Salem, 408 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—R. G. Powell, Elmer D. Keen, 210 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—Sal B. Hoffman, Alfred Rota, 160 votes.

Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United—Rudolph Heintz, 31 votes.

Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—Richard J. Gray, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—I. M. Ornburn, 1 vote.

State Branches

Alabama State Federation of Labor—John L. Busby, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—William A. Gray, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—C. J. Haggerty, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—George W. Brayfield, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—John J. Egan, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—William Van Houten, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—Aug. Rosqvist, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—A. A. Couch, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—William C. Fox, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—Robert L. Soule, 1 vote.

Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Frank Clark Ellis, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Thomas E. Wilkinson, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—John Reid, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—R. A. Olson, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Perrin D. McElroy, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—George F. Williams, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—Ambrose E. Breen, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis P. Marcianite, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Murray, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—C. A. Fink, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Phil Hannah, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—O. A. Vinall, 1 vote.

Oregon, State Federation of Labor—D. E. Nickerson, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—James L. McDevitt, 1 vote.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Prudencio Rivera Martinez, 1 vote.

Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—Elizabeth M. Cahill, 1 vote.

South Carolina State Federation of Labor—Walter P. Hooker, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Acreman, 1 vote.

Vermont State Federation of Labor—Max Wexler, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—Ernest J. Shave, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Thomas Cairns, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Wm. Nagorsne, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Martin Cahill, 1 vote.

City Central Bodies

Akron, O., Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly—K. D. Statler, 1 vote.

Alexandria, Va., Central Labor Union—Willy Arnheim, 1 vote.

Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council, Joseph A. Ruccio, 1 vote.

Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union—Thomas V. Bowen, 1 vote.

Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council—Redmond M. Burr, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Albert W. Gossett, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—Harry Cohen, 1 vote.

Baton Rouge, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Perry A. Turner, 1 vote.

Battle Creek and Calhoun County, Mich., Federation of Labor—Ed Willis, 1 vote.

Bergen County, N. J., Trades and Labor Council—Lawrence McGinley, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Ted Williams, 1 vote.

Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor—Paul Campbell, 1 vote.

Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union—John J. McCartin, 1 vote.

Bogalusa, La., Central Labor Union—Al. Morin, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Kearney, 1 vote.

Bradford, Pa., Trades Assembly—Martin C. McIntyre, 1 vote.

Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—Oscar R. Pratt, 1 vote.

Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Robert A. Smith, 1 vote.

Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—Howard H. Litchfield, 1 vote.

Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union—Frank W. Snyder, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Richard B. Erwin, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Union—John J. Hurst, 1 vote.

Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Lenahan, 1 vote.

Cocoonino County, Ariz., Central Labor Council—Wm. H. Browne, 1 vote.

Coeur d'Alene and Vicinity, Ida., Central Labor Council—A. W. Galipeau, 1 vote.

Columbia, S. C., Federation of Trades—Claud R. Boland, 1 vote.

Council Bluffs, Iowa, Central Labor Union—Gordon E. Beck, 1 vote.

Dayton, O., Central Labor Union—John E. Breidenbach, 1 vote.

Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—R. L. Voorhees, 1 vote.

Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Jas. W. Soutter, 1 vote.

Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Federation of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.

Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Stewart A. Seifert, 1 vote.

El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central Labor Union—Kenneth G. Bitter, 1 vote.

Elizabeth, N. J., Trades Council—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.

Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union—George H. Cottell, 1 vote.

Fort Smith, Ark., Central Trades Council—A. U. Debrueque, 1 vote.

Forstoria, O., Central Trades Council—Harry Stoneberger, 1 vote.

Galveston, Tex., Labor Council—B. A. Gritta, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Ed. L. Moore, 1 vote.

Harrisburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—George Heine, 1 vote.

Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—Michael Johnson, 1 vote.

Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union—William A. Scott, 1 vote.

Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Labor Union—H. W. DeWitt, 1 vote.

Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union—John H. Gillis, 1 vote.

Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union—Francis M. Curran, 1 vote.

Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union—Joseph G. Quinn, 1 vote.

Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union—M. A. Fitzgerald, 1 vote.

Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades and Labor Council—Tony Augustino, 1 vote.

Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Florence H. Bailey, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Roy R. Graham, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—Hugh S. O'Neill, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Jeff O. Johnson, 1 vote.

Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly—Pete Doll, 1 vote.

Kingsport, Greeneville and Vicinity, Tenn., Central Labor Union—Paul Hicks, 1 vote.

Kingston, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—George E. Yerry, Jr., 1 vote.

Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union—John L. Essary, 1 vote.

Lake County, Ind., Central Labor Union—Edward J. Dwyer, 1 vote.

Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—Timothy H. O'Neill, 1 vote.

Lincoln, Nebr., Central Labor Union—Lee Chapman, 1 vote.

Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union—Richard J. Seltzer, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Los Angeles County Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.

Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union—Sidney E. Le Bow, 1 vote.

Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union—Leo F. Barber, 1 vote.

Malden and Vic., Mass., Central Labor Union—Jack Helpert, 1 vote.

Marquette, Mich., Central Labor Union—Dexter D. Clark, 1 vote.

Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Ray F. Brown, 1 vote.

Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union—Henry J. Burke, 1 vote.

Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—Walter Hoyt, 1 vote.

Michigan City, Ind., Central Labor Union—Michael Joseph, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—F. H. Ranney, 1 vote.

Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Chester Maxey, 1 vote.

Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—M. W. Miller, 1 vote.

Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Paul Fournier, 1 vote.

Nampa, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council—F. L. Kirtley, 1 vote.

Nashua, N. H., Central Labor Union—John D. Dugan, 1 vote.

Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—William C. De Koning, 1 vote.

Newark, N. J.—Essex Trades Council—Jacob C. Baer, 1 vote.

New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union—Seraphin P. Jason, 1 vote.

New Haven, Conn., Central Labor Council—Harold V. Feinmark, 1 vote.

New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Steve Quarles, 1 vote.

Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union—Hugh O'Connell, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vic.—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.

Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—Harry S. Jordan, 1 vote.

Norwood, Mass., Central Labor Union—Daniel J. Collins, 1 vote.

Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union—J. J. Guenther, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Pasadena-San Gabriel Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council—Burt B. Currihan, 1 vote.

Pasco-Kennewick, Wash., Central Labor Union—D. M. Hurley, 1 vote.

Pawtucket, R. I., Central Labor Union—Edwin A. Patt, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Frank Burch, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council—Nick Lazzari, 1 vote.

Portland and Vic., Oregon, Central Labor Council—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—Will E. Furber, 1 vote.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—Morton Goodman, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Joseph T. Cahir, 1 vote.

Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union—Joe Powers, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—George M. Rhodes, 1 vote.

Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—W. F. Robinson, 1 vote.

Rome, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Albert R. Tully, 1 vote.

St. Catharines, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Alex Milne, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—Martin A. Dillmon, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Mary Toman, 1 vote.

Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union—John C. Whiting, 1 vote.

Salina, Kans., Central Labor Union—Clem Blangers, 1 vote.

Salinas, Calif., Monterey County Central Labor Union—W. G. Kenyon, 1 vote.

San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—Robt. E. Noonan, 1 vote.

San Fernando Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council—Thomas Pitts, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Daniel P. Haggerty, 1 vote.

Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Council—Al Mason, 1 vote.

Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. L. Ferrell, 1 vote.

Seranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Joseph L. Downes, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—Claude O'Reilly, 1 vote.

Sioux Falls, S. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—Kenneth E. McCreery, 1 vote.

Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union—Robert F. Maguire, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Union—David Stalker, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—Robert E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—George E. Hayes, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union—George F. Ryan, 1 vote.

Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly—George E. McKenna, 1 vote.

Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union—O. B. Soucie, 1 vote.

Vancouver, Wash., Clark County Central Labor Council—W. R. Smith, 1 vote.

Waltham and Newton, Mass., Central Labor Union—Frank C. Burke, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Frank J. Coleman, 1 vote.

Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—Thomas F. Brennan, Sr., 1 vote.

Waterville, Fairfield, Vassalboro and Oakland, Maine, Central Labor Union—Aldrie F. Cormier, 1 vote.

Westerly, R. I., Central Labor Union—Arthur W. Devine, 1 vote.

Whedding, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly—Claude M. Lucas, 1 vote.

Windsor, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—John T. Breeze, 1 vote.

Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union—Wm. Scott, 1 vote.

Woonsocket, R. I., Central Labor Union—John A. McConnell, 1 vote.

Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—Leonard A. Ryan, 1 vote.

Local Unions

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Maury E. Rubin, 1 vote.

Brushmakers' Union No. 16303, New York, N. Y.—Anthony Varrone, 5 votes.

Brush Workers' Union No. 22179, Boston, Mass.—William Flanigan, 2 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20324, Sacramento, Calif.—Mike R. Elorduy, 20 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20676, Stockton, Calif.—Lloyd J. Hill, 14 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20843, Southern Alameda County, Calif.—Hal P. Angus, 13 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20852, (Santa Clara County), Calif.—John A. Dunn, 42 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20905, Northern Alameda County, Calif.—Frank Martin Terra, 20 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 22382, Modesto, Calif.—R. M. Tomson, 15 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 22473, Sunnyvale, Calif.—Fred Less, 9 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 23104, Salem, Oregon—Charles R. Smith, 1 vote.

Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.—Catharine Connelly, 14 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Ernest Treeroci, 20 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18518, Chicopee, Mass.—William F. Malone, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—William Ketner, 44 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19587, Madison, Wis.—Alfred Breitake, 10 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, O.—Walter J. Mason, 33 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20713, Lancaster, Ohio—Russell Hart, 5 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20941, Webster, Mass.—Mederic Morgan, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 21577, Middletown, Conn.—Arthur J. La Barge, 15 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 21754, Knoxville, Tenn.—Manly W. Hood, 15 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 22694, Brockton, Mass.—Joseph A. Picone, 29 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 22824, Manchester, N. H. Frank T. Kelley, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 23252, Birmingham, Ala.—John W. Ellis, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 23259, Providence, R. I.—Raymond J. Jamieson, 1 vote.

Match Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18928, Barberton, O.—F. B. Gerhart, 3 votes.

Newspaper Writers and Reporters, American Federation of Labor No. 21432, Boston, Mass.—Edward F. Sullivan, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—William Robert Probey, 7 votes.

Office Employees' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, Calif.—Mrs. Elma L. Goodwin, 9 votes.

Office Employees' Union No. 21820, San Francisco, Calif.—A. J. Bock, 4 votes.

Paper Box Makers' Union No. 20605, North Bergen and Vicinity, N. J.—Joseph Respoli, 6 votes.

Photographers and Photo Finishers' Union No. 22295, Watertown, Mass.—Guy Nordstrom, 1 vote.

Public Safety Service Employees' Union No. 23152, Douglas Dam, Jefferson City, Tenn.—James Orland Rickman, 1 vote.

Quarry Workers' Union No. 21469, Bloomington, Indiana—Carl Mull, 1 vote.

Rubber Workers' Union No. 21640, Boston, Mass.—Jesse E. Peaslee, 7 votes.

Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 22763, Malden, Mass.—Thomas Daley, 7 votes.

Seltzer Water Workers' Union No. 23181, New York, N. Y.—Meyer G. Wolpert, 1 vote.

Shorthand Reporters' Union, Illinois Federation of, No. 20145, Chicago, Ill.—A. Levin, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 14965, Boston, Mass.—Aaron Velleman, 2 votes.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20485, Providence, R. I.—Arthur P. Patt, 1 vote.

Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 22125, Longmont, Colo.—A. R. Wagner, 1 vote.

Telegraph Employees' Federal Labor Union (Southern Division) No. 22671, Nashville, Tenn.—Don R. Skinner, 23 votes.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union (Greater New York) No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufrano, 3 votes.

Theatrical Agents and Managers, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Milton Weintraub, 4 votes.

Wardrobe Attendants, Theatrical, No. 17329, Boston and Vicinity, Mass.—Edith Howland, 1 vote.

Fraternal Delegates

British Trades Union Congress—H. N. Harrison, W. Bayliss, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Joseph Matte, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Rose Schneiderman.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM MCCARTHY, Chairman.

SELMA M. BORCHARDT,

CARL G. SCHOLTZ, Secretary.

Committee on Credentials.

Committee Secretary Scholtz: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the partial report of the Credentials Committee and I move the adoption of same.

President Green: If there are no objections, the report of the Credentials Committee as read will be adopted and the Credential Committee will be continued for supplemental reports.

The Chair desires to present to you the Chairman of our Program Committee for an announcement.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Chairman Del Monte: I would like to announce to the delegates that this evening, in the Ballroom, we have arranged a concert and vaudeville show. It is going to be quite a lengthy and good one, so we hope that all of you will be here. Incidentally, all of you are invited, delegates, guests and the wives or relatives of delegates. If any of the delegates have relatives residing in or around Boston and would like to see them, and if they will see the committee, we will make arrangements for transportation for them.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT UNDER SECRETARY OF WAR

President Green: The Honorable Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War, will address the convention this afternoon. I can't tell you just the hour when he will

arrive, but it will be shortly after we reconvene for the afternoon session. I hope that all delegates and visitors will be present to hear the address which will be delivered by Under Secretary of War Patterson.

I will appoint on a committee to escort Under Secretary of War Patterson to the hall Brother William L. Hutcheson, President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; Brother Ed J. Brown, President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and Brother James M. Duffy, President, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

Now I wish to appoint our standing Committee on Good Will. That committee will be made up of Brother Albert Adamski and Brother William Howlin, delegates to this convention.

Are there any announcements that anyone wishes to make before we adjourn? If not, the convention will now stand recessed until 2:30 this afternoon.

At 12:30 o'clock, the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

October 4, 1943

The convention was called to order at 2:50 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: The Secretary will please announce the names of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the convention.

Secretary Meany announced the following committee:

RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

H. W. Sullivan, W. R. Brooks, J. A. Evenson, R. G. Powell, John B. Robinson, John C. MacDonald, Max Finger, John Marciano, Charles Aquadro, Charles Hardy, Harry J. Steeper, John Surman, H. E. Greenwald, Joseph Lehan, William L. Robinson, Sadie Reisch, Joseph P. Clark, Pauline Newman, Robert F. Hart, Joseph E. Mayeur, Robert Soule, Thomas Crowe, Al. J. Cleland, William A. Taylor.

COMMUNICATIONS

President Green: The Secretary will read a message to the convention.

Secretary Meany read the following cablegram:

London Polgvt 28th Via Commercial Cables

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Washington, D. C. 1

May I, Mr. President, send you and delegates annual convention and through it to all working men and women United States greetings and pledge of faith and steadfast purpose from martyred but unconquered workers of Poland. Despite terror and atrocities Poland, and particularly Polish workers, faithful to heroic traditions of their struggle for freedom, fight on. People of Poland steadfast in their faith in ultimate victory of freedom over tyranny are intensely interested in your convention because problems you will discuss are not only paramount importance to American workers but must influence destiny workers throughout world. We believe American workers, together with those all United Nations fighting, not only for military defeat of Axis powers but also for better universal order free from fear and want for liberty for nations and individuals for fair dealing and social justice for all for world where all have right to work and enjoy fruit of their labor—for world where availability of labor and raw material is sole restriction on pros-

perity of those who provide them. For such a world struggle and suffering will not have been in vain. Sincere salutations.

JAN STANCZYK, Polish Minister of
Labor and Social Welfare

President Green: The message just read will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT SECRETARY OF LABOR PERKINS

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of a committee to escort the Secretary of Labor, Madam Frances Perkins, to the convention hall tomorrow. Perhaps later on I can announce the exact hour she will address the convention. The committee is composed of Brothers Daniel J. Tobin, James Maloney and John Rooney.

Please arrange to meet the Secretary of Labor and escort her to the hall tomorrow.

Announcement

Chairman Del Monte, Local Arrangements Committee: If the visiting ladies will take notice of our program they will find that on Tuesday, October 5th, at 12:30 p. m., there is to be a luncheon given for them by the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in the Salle Moderne. We would like to have all the ladies who are going to attend see Miss Agnes Kane in the lobby. There will be an automobile tour after the luncheon and they might as well tell us at the same time whether they intend to attend the matinees Wednesday afternoon at the Colonial Theatre.

(At this time the Under Secretary of War, the Honorable Robert P. Patterson, was escorted to the platform by the escort committee.)

President Green: All of you who were in attendance at the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held at Toronto, Canada, last October, will recall that Under Secretary of War Patterson traveled from Washington to Toronto to address the officers and delegates in attendance at that convention. We appreciated more than words can express the message he delivered and his attendance at that convention.

When I invited him to attend this convention this year he responded with alacrity and on a moment's notice. We are happy indeed in that he is here in the city of Boston this afternoon. We are anticipating the pleasure of listening to his address.

Many things have happened since he addressed the convention of the American Federation of Labor last year. I know he will give you some very interesting information and some sound advice. I esteem it an honor, a privilege and a pleasure to present to you the Under Secretary of War, Robert P. Patterson.

THE HONORABLE ROBERT P. PATTERSON (The Under Secretary of War)

I welcome this opportunity to speak before the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. You and I are not strangers. We have seen a good deal of each other ever since the war started, because we have been interested in the same thing—taking our coats off and winning this fight.

Labor has gone all-out for victory. I commend the American Federation of Labor for its anti-strike pledge, and I commend all the patriotic working men everywhere who have worked long hours to provide our troops with the best weapons in the world. I hope they will keep it up.

A week ago in Washington the War Department held a conference to which representatives of labor and industry were invited. Your President, Mr. William Green, was there, and so were a number of other A. F. of L. leaders. I wish all of you could have been present, because General Marshall and General Arnold and other eminent military men analyzed the military situation in the frankest of terms—and told us what, in their opinion, lies ahead for this country.

If any of those who attended the conference came there with ideas that everything was over but the shouting, that an early victory might be expected, I am sure they changed their minds before they went home. General Marshall told us that the enemy is by no means whipped and that the hardest year of all is the one ahead.

I want to talk to you about the year ahead. It will be a fateful year; it will be the year of decision. No thinking man would be foolish enough to predict when the war will end, but we can be sure that the blows struck in 1944 will determine the outcome.

The prospect is a sobering one. The time for getting ready is past. We have made our preparations, we have trained our troops, we have sent two million American soldiers overseas and we are sending more. We have won preliminary victories, but they were only preliminary victories. Now our soldiers are

ready for the hard test of strength and spirit. They intend to deliver massive blows against an enemy who is massive in strength, desperate and determined. Victories in that kind of warfare can only be purchased at a high cost in blood and lives.

Some of you present have heard fence-rail strategists say that Germany will crumble this fall as Germany crumbled in the fall of 1918. Or that our victories in the South Pacific have softened up the Japanese and that we can take them easily when the war in Europe is over. I have heard some talk like that—but not around the War Department.

Let's talk a few cold, hard facts about our enemies. We'll take Germany first. It is true that Germany cracked in the fall of 1918, but it is also true—and I was there at the time—that Germany came closer to winning in the early part of 1918 than she did at any other time in the war.

What about Germany today? Well, Germany right now has three times as many combat divisions in the field as she had when she began the attack on Poland four years ago. You remember, Germany's resounding defeat at the hands of the Russians at Stalingrad last winter. Twenty German divisions were completely wiped out. But since that time the Germans have raised and equipped divisions—armored, motorized, and infantry divisions—to replace the twenty she lost at Stalingrad. She has raised more than that. This year alone Germany has raised or re-equipped more than sixty divisions. That does not sound like an enemy beaten.

It would be very pleasant if we could believe that industrial Germany was no longer capable of turning out the excellent weapons which have been used against us and against our Allies. It is true that our bombings and British bombings have played havoc with the Germans in some sections. The Ruhr has been heavily hit. The great city of Hamburg has almost ceased to exist as a center of industry. That is good and all in our favor. We will bomb them and bomb them again. We will carry fire and death and destruction to every corner of Germany.

But effective as the bombings have been, the industrial strength of Germany is still high. German designers have lost none of their skill. They are constantly at work on new weapons. One new weapon—a rocket gun—weighs less than a ton and has a fire power equal to six field howitzers. Their 60-ton Tiger tanks are appearing on the battlefield in increasing numbers. They are constantly trying out devices with which they hope to stop our bombers.

At the moment, at least, Germany can make ends meet on industrial manpower, in spite of the Army of 300 divisions she maintains in the field. We must not forget that Germany dominates Europe and feeds on Europe's industries and resources. The number of workers employed in war industries in Nazi-dominated lands was 23 million at the start of the war. Now it is 35 million.

And that is not all. Germany is now in the middle of a total mobilization drive. Before the end of 1943—before Christmas time—

this drive is expected to add three million more workers to German war industries. You men here—you men of production who make the weapons for our troops—know exactly what that means in terms of German production.

The German armies are retreating now, but they are retreating in an orderly fashion. Soon there will come a day when the forces of the United Nations will reach the lines where the Germans are determined to stand. That will mean fighting of the hardest kind. We see many officers in Washington who have just returned from the fighting fronts. They tell us that the spirit of German troops is still high, that the veterans whom we engage still have strong faith in their ability to stop any attack.

If I am presenting a grim picture, it does not mean that our military men have anything but complete confidence in final victory. We will defeat Germany. We will defeat Japan. But you know and I know that it is only a dumb fighter who goes into the ring underestimating his opponent. Such a fighter gets careless; he drops his guard; and sooner or later he gets clipped on the jaw and is waked up with the water bucket.

I have recently come back from the Pacific areas. Under that great soldier, General MacArthur, we have been winning victories there. I saw General MacArthur at his headquarters in New Guinea.

His troops, as you know, are Americans and Australians both.

He has no illusions about the job that faces us in beating the Japs. It is going to be a long, hard, drawn-out struggle that will need every ounce of energy we can muster.

To understand the strength of Japan, all you have to do is to look at a map. Geography gives her strength. In those early days after Pearl Harbor when, because of great ocean distances, we could not get help or reinforcements there in time, the Japanese overran the whole lower borders of Asia. Tokyo now sits at the top of a vast and rich empire. Tokyo sits there, safe for the moment, because distance protects her from effective bombing attack.

Let's look at the map again. Our nearest air base to Tokyo is a place in China called Hengyang. How near is this nearest air base? It is 1800 miles from Tokyo. That is three times as far as London is from Berlin—and the distance from London to Berlin is considered fairly long for effective heavy bombing.

We are beating the Japanese back. We have pounded their fleet, we have dealt hard blows to the Japanese air forces. But so far as our battlelines are concerned—and those are tough, bloody battlelines in hot and steaming jungles—we are still only on the outskirts of Japan's empire, hardly beyond the wooden fence in Japan's backyard.

We will get some idea of how tough the fighting is out there when we recall the American campaigns in the Solomon Islands. In fourteen months, American troops there have been able to push just 200 miles to the

north. That is in the Solomons, and the Solomons are 3,000 miles away from Tokyo and the vulnerable heart of Japan.

We Americans have two great advantages in the present struggle: the courage of our troops and the troops of our Allies, and the American ability to produce the weapons of war. We are making guns and ships and planes. We must make them on a greater scale than ever. We have done a good job, but we must do a better job.

It seems to me particularly fitting that this meeting should be held in Boston in this fateful year, for Boston saw the beginnings of America as a nation. It was Boston that cradled the liberties for which we fight. This is the city of the Boston Tea Party, of Bunker Hill, of Samuel Adams and of Paul Revere.

We Americans must prepare ourselves for one of the most critical and difficult years in our history. At whatever cost, the war must be won. It will be won. There is no other way.

President Green: You demonstrated and showed your deep appreciation of the address delivered by the Under Secretary of War. It is a most illuminating and educational address. It will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention, and I know you will read it over and over again, because it contains within it information that will be helpful to us in order to understand our duties and our responsibilities at this time.

In your behalf and in your name I thank Under Secretary of War Patterson for his visit to our convention and for the address which he just now delivered.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Scholtz, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the following credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

George Kane, representing Federal Labor Union No. 19897, 1 vote.

Peter Benard, representing Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union, 1 vote.

Jack Halpern, representing Malden and vicinity, Mass., Central Labor Union, 1 vote.

Richard J. Carmichael, representing Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor, 1 vote.

Gerald J. Crawford, representing Federal Labor Union No. 19508, Waukegan, Ill., 7 votes.

Freeman M. Saltus, representing News Writers' Union No. 22269, Worcester, Mass., 1 vote.

S. A. Persoro, representing Rubber Workers' Union No. 21914, Watertown, Mass., 29 votes.

Jack Cadden, representing Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 21142, Rochester, N. Y., 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

President Green: I now present to you our very dear friend and delegate to this convention, Brother Frank Duffy, Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, for the purpose of submitting to you a condensed report of the Report of the Executive Council. Brother Duffy has faithfully discharged his duty in presenting such a report for many years. We are happy indeed that he is here for the purpose of presenting to you this condensed report.

I now take pleasure in presenting to you Delegate Duffy.

(At this point in the proceedings, the Executive Council report that follows was distributed to the delegates.)

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS,

OCTOBER 4, 1943.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-third Annual
Convention of the American Federation of Labor,*

GREETINGS:

INTRODUCTION

Our convention meets as the second year of our participation in World War II draws to a close, while for Europe the fifth year of war began September 1. While the American countries have thus far been spared that most grilling ordeal of war, bombing of our cities and civilian populations, we have with all other nations experienced the sacrifice of our young men and women as well as the discipline that comes from subordinating personal choice and comfort to common need and danger. Necessities of war already are controlling our habits of life and work and with each continued month of war will assume greater proportions.

We in the labor movement have been so close to the happenings to Labor in countries ruled by dictators that we know the preservation of personal freedom is worth every sacrifice that war demands. The United States has been mobilizing its resources without reservation, and realizing that global war necessitates international cooperation and pooling of resources, we have stood solidly behind the President of the United States and his responsible assistants for

the winning of this war. While we are devoted to trade unionism as our way of life, we owe a prior allegiance to our country which assures us an opportunity for a democratic way of life.

Executive officials of the American Federation of Labor have continued to give major consideration to those problems of war government which vitally concerned Labor and in connection with which we were equipped to make an especial contribution of experience and information. We believe progress has been made in the administration of war production on which we report. As to the War Manpower Administration, the cooperation of Labor has not yet been fully recognized and accepted as essential to the program.

In addition to reports on our relations to war administration we submit a record of efforts to unify the labor movement and to meet internal labor difficulties.

With all the difficulties of a complex situation, however, it is our responsibility to keep the faith and honestly maintain principles of democracy for war in order to have them for peace.

SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1942, and ending August 31, 1943.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$1,680,076.38. Of this total \$1,307,319.03 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$372,757.35, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$2,422,934.35; the total expenses, \$2,010,029.35. Amount of receipts over expenses, \$412,905.00.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1943:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1942.....		\$1,267,171.38
Per capita tax	\$1,360,033.20	
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist	1,543.48	
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist	466,820.97	
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund	264,585.03	
Initiation fees	237,116.32	
Reinstatement fees	7,276.00	
Supplies	20,867.87	
Interest	21,879.85	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	26,287.96	
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	16,523.67	
Total receipts		<u>2,422,934.35</u>
Grand total.....		<u>\$3,690,105.73</u>

EXPENSES

Organizing expenses.....	\$731,756.68	
Organizers' salaries	538,592.20	
Office employees' salaries.....	226,413.07	
Administrative salaries	64,785.00	
Miscellaneous general bills.....	297,789.41	
Printing and publishing American Federationist.....	122,434.49	
Defense Fund	6,625.00	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	21,633.50	
Total expenses		<u>\$2,010,029.35</u>
Balance on hand, August 31, 1943.....		<u>\$1,680,076.38</u>

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund.....	\$372,757.35	
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	1,307,319.03	
Balance on hand, August 31, 1943.....		<u>\$1,680,076.38</u>

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1943:

Rent	\$27,317.76
Refunds, charter and outfit, per capita tax, supplies, etc.....	119.16
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	21,633.50
Secretary-Treasurer's bond	202.50
Insurance, Workmen's Compensation.....	2,296.19
Forgery, robbery	15.00
Fire, on office furniture and fixtures.....	52.62
D. C. personal property tax.....	259.22
Social Security old age benefit tax.....	7,197.04
State and D. C. unemployment tax.....	14,759.39
Federal pay-roll tax.....	6,422.27
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	951.73
Legislative salaries and expenses.....	14,239.15
Newspapers, magazines and books (library).....	2,684.35
Research-Statistical Service (supplies and miscellaneous).....	1,991.06
Postage stamps.....	14,213.94
Supplies for resale.....	7,671.68
Printing:	
General	\$27,136.44
Convention roll call.....	241.00
Convention daily proceedings.....	5,316.22
Convention bound proceedings.....	3,888.90
Convention miscellaneous.....	146.00
A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.....	7,802.70
	<hr/>
	44,531.26
Office equipment and supplies.....	13,203.82
Miscellaneous expenses.....	11,940.67
Paper supply and envelopes (Mailing Dept.).....	1,637.75
Mailing equipment.....	1,551.32
Office furniture and fixtures.....	291.40
Telegrams and telephone.....	20,645.38
Fraternal delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	384.36
Fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress.....	3,200.00
Toronto Convention:	
Entertaining fraternal delegates.....	1,428.44
Messengers, sergeant at arms, assistant secretary, roll-call clerk and proofreader	787.50
Supplies	41.56
Stenographers' expenses.....	5,617.80
Official stenographers	1,707.00
Rental of office furniture.....	212.73
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, handling convention mail, porters, etc.....	652.31
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	912.69
Delegates', guest, committee and officers' badges.....	1,479.11

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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Salaries:

President	\$20,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer	18,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus	6,000.00
Office employees	226,413.07
Executive Council meetings—(Toronto, Miami, Washington, D. C., Chicago)—all expenses	28,128.31
President, traveling	6,901.57
Secretary-Treasurer, traveling	5,186.51
Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus, traveling	297.75
Defense Fund	6,625.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department	774.83
Union Label Trades Department	283.87
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	635.64
* Organizers' salaries and expenses	1,270,348.88
American Federationist:	
Cost of printing	109,523.87
Postage	9,711.34
Story for Junior Federationist	240.00
Photographs	1,005.78
Miscellaneous	1,953.50
Legal services	40,593.10
Publicity salaries and expenses	16,864.62
Special committees and conferences	6,740.05
Contributions to:	
Red Cross War Fund	1,000.00
Infantile Paralysis Fund	500.00
D. of C. Tuberculosis Association	50.00
Total	<u>\$2,010,029.35</u>

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

* During the twelve (12) months ending August 31, 1943, the American Federation of Labor expended in organizing activities \$1,270,348.88. Of this amount, \$664,546.36 was spent in organizing and services for directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions; the balance, \$605,802.52, was incurred in the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of national and international unions and in activities in behalf of state federations of labor and city central bodies.

DEFENSE FUND

FOR

LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions for relief to members of local trade and federal labor unions and related purposes for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1942, and ending August 31, 1943.

RECEIPTS

Receipts from local trade and federal labor unions for the Defense Fund. . \$264,585.03

EXPENSES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Name and Location</i>	
20940	American Federation of Office Employees Union, Greater New York, N. Y.	\$1,000.00
	Workers Education Bureau	5,625.00
	Total expenses	\$6,625.00

RECAPITULATION

Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1942	\$1,049,359.00
Receipts for 12 months ending August 31, 1943	264,585.03
Total	\$1,313,944.03
Assistance to O. E. Union 20940	\$1,000.00
Affiliation fee (Workers Education Bureau)	5,625.00
Total	6,625.00
Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1943	<u>\$1,307,319.03</u>

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STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER; ALSO STATEMENT OF HOW BALANCE ON HAND IS DEPOSITED AND INVESTED

INCOME		EXPENSES	
1942		Warrants paid:	
September 30	\$171,416.34	1942	
October 31	183,643.90	September 30	\$164,780.36
November 30	211,772.47	October 31	173,047.90
December 31	196,248.48	November 30	143,038.38
1943		December 31	161,618.79
January 31	209,371.90	1943	
February 28	173,729.67	January 31	160,299.58
March 31	230,842.60	February 28	147,874.84
April 30	177,456.03	March 31	187,587.53
May 31	204,579.62	April 30	168,616.60
June 30	236,481.20	May 31	159,948.60
July 31	182,790.72	June 30	176,023.21
August 31	244,601.42	July 31	182,054.97
Total income for 12 months	\$2,422,934.35	August 31	185,138.59
Bal. in hands of Secretary-Treasurer Aug. 31, 1942.	1,267,171.38	Total expenses 12 months	\$2,010,029.35
Grand total	\$3,690,105.73		

RECAPITULATION

Total balance and income	\$3,690,105.73
Total expenses	2,010,029.35
Balance on hand, August 31, 1943	\$1,680,076.38

Secretary-Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
* Total investment in bonds	\$937,795.32
Riggs National Bank (subject to check)	694,885.06
City Bank (subject to check)	5,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (subject to check)	2,000.00
300 shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (stock)	15,000.00
396 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (collateral deposit)	25,000.00

Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1943	\$1,680,076.38
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*Listing and description of bonds owned by the American Federation of Labor:

U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity February, 1954, 2½%	\$50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity June, 1953, 2½%	50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity July, 1954, 2½%	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1964-1969, 2½%	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1950-1952, 2%	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1963-1968, 2½%	200,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1945, 3¾%	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1962-1967, 2½%	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1955-1960, 2½%	100,000.00
Premium on 1955-1960 2½% Bonds	1,531.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1946-1949, 3½%	225,000.00
Premium on 1946-1949 3½% Bonds	2,070.32
Dominion of Canada Bonds, 1943-1945, 2½%	9,912.50

Total Investment in Bonds	\$937,795.32
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WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1943.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the 12 months ending August 31, 1943, there have been issued 301 charters to state, central, local trade and federal labor unions.

Central Bodies as follows:

Arkansas	New York
Malvern	Rome
Jonesboro	Kingston
Georgia	Oklahoma
Rome	Ada
Illinois	Ponca City
Anna	Pennsylvania
Dixon	Williamsport
Michigan	Tennessee
Holland	Kingsport, Greenville and Vicinity
Sault Ste. Marie	Johnson City
Mississippi	Texas
Laurel	Lufkin
New Jersey	Virginia
Monmouth and Ocean Counties	Bristol (Virginia-Tennessee)
New Mexico	
McKinley County	

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the 12 months of this fiscal year:

	1942-1943
State Bodies	1
Central Labor Unions	19
Local Trade Unions	166
Federal Labor Unions	115
Total	301

Directly Chartered Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

On August 31, 1943, we had 1,614 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 261,111, and a defense fund of \$1,307,319.03.

The Federation has 1,956 volunteer organizers, as well as 178 paid organizers and the officers of the 758 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from

the local unions during the year of \$264,585.03; initiation fees, \$237,116.32, and reinstatement fees, \$7,276.00.

Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 38; reinstated, 6; suspended, 2.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 36; suspended, 113; joined national and international organizations, 18; revoked, 2; cancelled, 1; reinstated, 25.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 18; suspended, 39; joined national and international organizations, 15; cancelled, 3; reinstated, 20.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS DROPPED: International Wood Carvers Association of N. A.; International Metal Engravers Union; United Powder and High Explosives Workers of A.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP

OF

AFFILIATED UNIONS

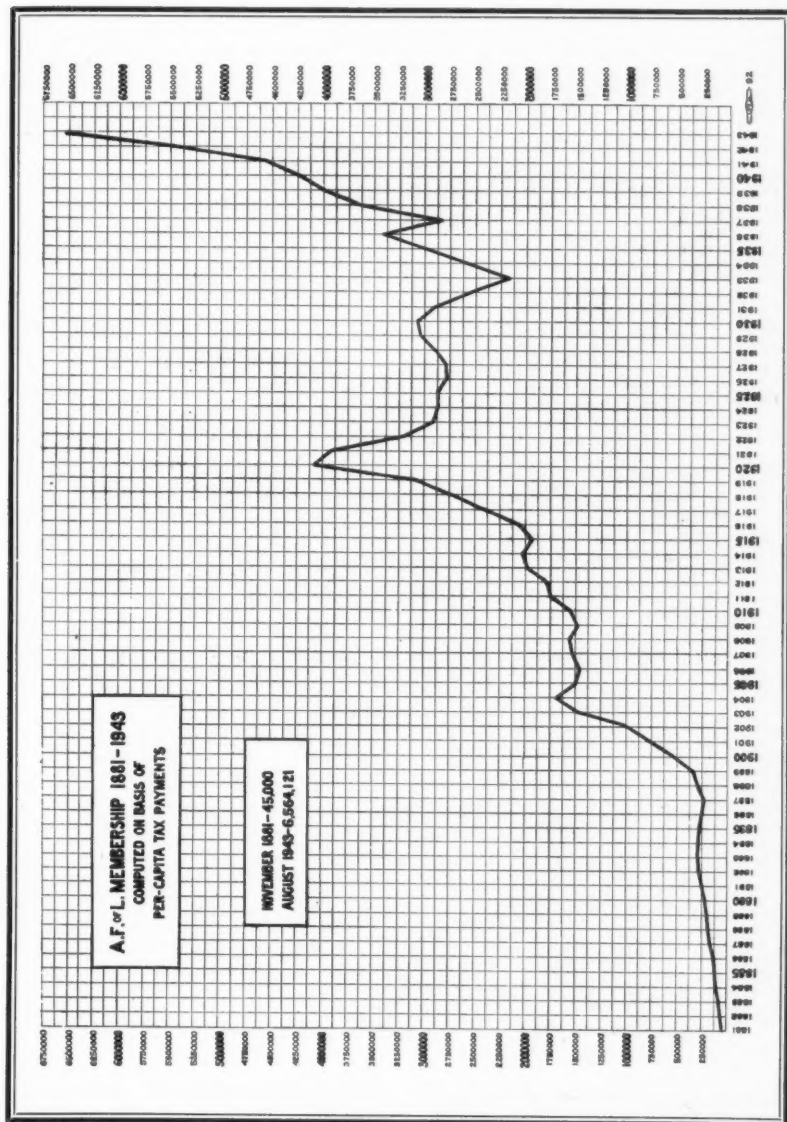
The total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions as of August 31, 1943, is 6,564,141.

This is based on the actual per capita tax received at our office in Washington from our affiliated unions.

The following is the yearly membership in the past 45 years:

Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897.....	264,825	1920.....	4,078,740
1898.....	278,016	1921.....	3,906,528
1899.....	349,422	1922.....	3,195,635
1900.....	548,321	1923.....	2,926,468
1901.....	787,537	1924.....	2,865,799
1902.....	1,024,399	1925.....	2,877,297
1903.....	1,465,800	1926.....	2,803,966
1904.....	1,676,200	1927.....	2,812,526
1905.....	1,494,300	1928.....	2,896,063
1906.....	1,454,200	1929.....	2,933,545
1907.....	1,538,970	1930.....	2,961,096
1908.....	1,586,885	1931.....	2,889,550
1909.....	1,482,872	1932.....	2,532,261
1910.....	1,562,112	1933.....	2,126,796
1911.....	1,761,835	1934.....	2,608,011
1912.....	1,770,145	1935.....	3,045,347
1913.....	1,996,004	1936.....	3,422,398
1914.....	2,020,671	1937.....	2,860,933
1915.....	1,946,347	1938.....	3,623,087
1916.....	2,072,702	1939.....	4,006,354
1917.....	2,371,434	1940.....	4,247,443
1918.....	2,726,478	1941.....	4,569,056
1919.....	3,260,068	1942.....	5,482,581
		1943.....	6,564,141

So that the delegates and membership at large may visualize the membership record at a glance, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership, based on per capita tax payments received, for each year since 1881 up to and including 1943—a total of 63 years.



VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1935 up to and including 1943. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.....	43	44	55	176	201	146	148	190	177
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Asso. of Heat and Frost Insulators.....	25	25	25	35	40	40	40	40	40
*Automobile Workers of A. Intl' Union United Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs., I. U. of A.....	1	190	†	†	42	191	261	368	481
Barbers' International Union, Jour.....	218	261	325	621	730	811	844	919	869
Bill Posters.....	323	323	408	465	475	490	490	490	492
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	14	37	14	16	18	29	30	30	16
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	92	100
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	153	155	180	280	290	332	426	903	2,867
Bookbinders, Intl' Brotherhood of.....	259	270	293	308	308	308	308	390	400
Brewery Workmen, International Union.....	117	161	131	174	177	187	219	271	271
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.....	417	420	420	420	420	420	420	†	†
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.....	16	10	55	50	100	100	115	130	100
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Asso.....	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.....	160	160	227	413	395	413	520	861	1,124
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.....	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.....	275	350	420	658	700	700	700	700	700
Carmen of A. Bro. Railway.....	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,667	6,000
Carvers' Union, International Wood.....	550	583	650	650	650	650	650	700	800
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	6	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	†
Cleaning & Dye House Wkrs.....	70	70	70	70	70	70	87	100	100
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.....	6	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	†
Clerks Post Office, Natl. Federation of.....	72	103	185	467	653	737	854	1,000	1,000
Clerks, Bro. of Rwy.....	320	320	360	380	400	400	400	450	429
Cement, Lime & Gypsum Wkrs.....	725	875	892	910	910	970	1,100	1,558	1,917
Circus, Carnival, Fairs & Rodeo Intl. Union.....	132	168	211	190	190	190	190	190	190
Clothing Workers of A., Amalgamated.....	3	11	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1,000	1,200	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Coopers' International Union.....	20	20	20	19	14	14	14	51	50
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.....	29	25	26	36	41	42	45	6	6
Distillery Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union.....	2	4	3	3	3	3	4	6	6
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.....	12	12	14	18	19	19	22	34	47
Electrical Workers, International Bro.....	1,300	1,700	1,712	1,750	2,003	2,097	2,010	2,079	2,529
Elevator Constructors.....	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.....	350	350	420	420	708	800	800	800	933
Engravers, Intl. Union, Metal.....	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	†
Engravers Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.....	87	88	91	102	104	105	105	108	108
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.....	235	255	291	300	307	389	371	382	360
Firemen and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of.....	149	207	236	254	268	312	343	411	475
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.....	32	37	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.....	30	150	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Garment Workers of America, United.....	371	406	395	400	400	400	400	400	400
Garment Workers, Intl. Ladies.....	1,600	1,967	†	†	†	375	2,250	2,250	2,250
Glass Cutters League of A., Window.....	12	12	13	12	12	8	16	16	16
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.....	60	60	62	108	200	200	200	203	240
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat.....	100	116	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Glass Workers, American Flint.....	61	48	53	179	178	186	203	237	217
Glove Workers.....	35	35	17	7	9	16	19	28	31
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of.....	139	222	214	212	226	223	240	236	242
Granite Cutters' Intl. Asso. of A., The.....	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	43
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Intl. Union, United.....	214	221	239	225	300	320	320	320	320
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.....	523	654	996	1,477	1,544	1,619	1,837	2,837	4,202
Horsehoers of United States and Canada.....	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.....	570	738	1,071	1,759	1,848	2,025	2,141	2,420	2,328
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.....	86	9	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Jewelry Workers' International.....	55	53	60	45	40	45	55	83	81
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal.....	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81
Laundry Workers, International Union.....	60	60	70	194	292	400	404	450	500
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.....	27	25	25	25	25	25	29	33	32
Letter Carriers, National Asso. of.....	500	500	525	600	600	600	600	600	600
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.....	12	6	5	6	6	5	5	4	4
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.....	67	69	72	112	123	124	129	139	136
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.....	400	406	614	624	663	621	615	631	639
Machinists, International Association of.....	925	1,137	1,380	1,901	1,900	1,901	2,218	3,285	4,584
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.....	335	367	418	523	576	633	657	969	1,185

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ORGANIZATIONS	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Marble Polishers, etc., Intl. Asso. of.....	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	48
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	22	25	29	30	30	30	30	30	30
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Nat'l Asso. of.....	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3
Messengers, Special Delivery Nat'l Asso.....				11	9	9	9	9	9
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	198	194	300	521	629	709	849	948	971
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.....	160	160	162	198	200	200	200	204	250
Mine Workers of America, United.....	4,000	4,000	†	†	†	e	e	e	e
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.....	146	159	†	†	†	e	e	e	e
Mine Workers of A. Intl. Progressive.....				350	350	350	350	350	350
Molders Union of North America, Intl.....	118	159	222	277	233	304	421	621	610
Musicians, American Federation of.....	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Newspaper Guild, American.....		5	c	e	c	e	e	e	e
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....	428	405	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	656	665	801	994	1,002	1,002	1,049	1,226	1,328
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	90	66	116	163	206	243	258	271	262
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	25	26	42	69	70	74	80	97	107
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.....	20	31	a	a	a	c	c	a	a
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....	21	20	20	c	c	c	c	c	c
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.....	2	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Pilots Assn., Air Line, Intl.....	7	8	9	10	10	10	11	14	17
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C., Oper.....	180	180	184	191	194	191	212	250	250
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	340	330	330	377	400	400	454	525	650
Polishers, Intl. Union of Metal.....	40	46	56	70	70	70	70	100	100
Porters, Pro. Sleeping Car.....		12	55	60	60	66	72	77	87
Pocketbook & Novelty Wkrs.....			5	100	100	100	100	122	144
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, Nat'l Assn.....				12	15	15	15	15	15
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....	100	104	110	120	130	140	160	178	215
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	d
Printing Pressmen, International.....	320	320	337	372	396	437	457	476	485
Printers', Die Stampers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate.....	14	13	10	9	9	7	10	8	9
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....	85	91	157	300	322	400	442	567	609
Quarry Workers, International.....	20	20	20	c	c	c	c	c	c
Railway Employes, Amal., S. & E.....	734	757	767	790	797	800	807	878	983
Railway Mail Association.....	191	193	210	217	217	221	227	229	218
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.....									
United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	40	40	40	40	40	40	44	57	70
Rubber Workers of Amer., United.....		85	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
B-Seafarers Intl. Union of N. A.....	125	200	142	22	110	187	200	292	300
Sheep Shearers Union of N. A.....	11	9	8	8	7	6	6	†	†
Siderographers, Intl. Assn. of.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
State County & Municipal Emp.....			114	200	257	297	337	356	360
Spinners Union Intl.....				5	5	5	5	5	5
Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.....	240	240	242	278	420	420	420	420	420
Stereotypers & Electrotypers of U. of A.....	79	81	83	87	83	83	86	88	89
Stonecutters Association, Journeymen.....	57	52	50	42	41	41	41	20	19
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	20	23	30	36	42	49	53	80	80
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	80	85	89	83	78	81	80	85	88
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....			†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....	120	127	154	221	256	300	267	229	229
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	1,370	1,610	2,109	3,092	3,500	3,937	4,083	5,056	6,029
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	20	20	20	29	35	35	40	71	107
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	350	350	350	350	350	350	333	300	300
*Textile Workers of America, United.....	791	1,000	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Tobacco Workers Intl. Union of America.....	104	85	110	143	147	180	178	182	210
Typographical Union, International.....	734	733	755	794	792	†	†	†	†
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	65	85	102	110	110	148	160	160	160
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.....	6	5	9	30	31	31	31	31	31
Wire Weavers' Protective, American Centrals.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4
State Branches.....	730	734	735	792	806	816	800	780	758
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor Unions.....	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	50
	1,750	1,246	1,925	2,314	2,465	2,471	2,587	2,939	3,301
Total vote of Unions.....	31,866	35,420	29,943	36,656	39,267	41,146	45,282	53,029	63,350

† Suspended. a Merged with Hod Carriers and Common Laborers. e Withdrew affiliation.
 * Reinstated. B-Title Changed from Int'l Seamen's Union of America.
 c Charter revoked. d Disbanded.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1943.....	\$133,698.06
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1943.....	122,728.87
Balance on hand August 31, 1943.....	<u>\$10,969.19</u>
Funds deposited as follows:	
1,266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock.....	\$1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account.....	2,203.19
United States Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000).....	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1943.....	<u>\$10,969.19</u>

INFANTILE PARALYSIS CAMPAIGN FUND

In January, 1943, an appeal was issued for contributions to the Infantile Paralysis Campaign Fund. The response to this appeal handled by our office in Washington is as follows:

Total receipts from January 14, 1943, to August 31, 1943.....	\$15,924.13
Amount forwarded to National Chairman.....	15,924.13
Account balanced.....	<u>0.00</u>

NOTE: This above represents funds sent to our office only and does not include thousands of dollars additional sent to the national and local Infantile Paralysis Fund offices by our affiliates.

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation for the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the National and International Unions and of all our affiliated bodies, and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

George Meany

Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES

OF

A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1943:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand August 31, 1942.....	\$20,039.86
Rents	\$41,577.15
Dividends	36.54
Fire replacement.....	15.49
Sale of waste paper.....	55.54
Total receipts.....	41,684.72
Receipts and balance.....	\$61,724.58

EXPENSES

Maintenance:

Pay roll (building employees).....	\$22,092.53
Taxes	2,558.44
Electricity	2,036.79
Fuel (coal)	1,186.17
Supplies	803.56
Upkeep and repairs.....	3,958.76
Plastering and painting.....	3,964.37
Cleaning windows	540.00
Insurance (liability)	263.59
Water rent	136.78
Hauling ashes and trash.....	201.00
Safe deposit (rent).....	3.60
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	1,000.72
Fire replacement	15.49
Social Security Tax:	
Unemployment insurance	569.57
Old age benefits.....	210.95
Total expenses	\$39,542.32
Balance on hand August 31, 1943.....	\$22,182.26

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance.....	\$61,724.53
Expenses	39,542.32
	<hr/>
Balance on hand August 31, 1943.....	\$22,182.26
	<hr/>
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1,218 shares).....	\$1,218.00
Riggs National Bank.....	13,464.26
U. S. Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000).....	7,500.00
	<hr/>
Balance on hand August 31, 1943.....	\$22,182.26
	<hr/>

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building, is submitted to you, the Executive Council, and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,

GEORGE MEANY,

JOHN P. FREY,

Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

OFFICIAL CHANGES

Resignation of Vice-President Edward J. Gainor. On January 9, 1943, Brother Edward J. Gainor, who had served for a number of years as Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, tendered his resignation. The Executive Council accepted the resignation of Eighth Vice-President Gainor at a meeting held at Miami, Florida, January 18-27, 1943. The members of the Executive Council expressed their appreciation of the service rendered by Brother Gainor as a member of the Executive Council, and their regret over the submission of his resignation, in appropriate resolutions which were formally adopted and presented to Brother Gainor.

Selection of Vice-President William C. Doherty. In conformity with authority vested in the Executive Council by Section 9 of Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council on January 21, 1943, selected Brother William C. Doherty, President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Brother Gainor.

In accordance with the custom and rules followed by the Executive Council, members of the Council were moved forward in numerical consecutive order to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Vice-President Gainor. This resulted in the appointment of Brother William C. Doherty as Thirteenth Vice-President.

ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

In spite of the fact that our organizers have been limited by the cumbersome barriers of governmental agencies, the Federation has kept up its record by establishing a new record in the field of organization.

Many of our organizers are serving on the War Labor Board, Office of Price Administration, Manpower Boards, and cooperating with the United States Department of Labor in the Bureau of Labor Statistics on cost of living studies. They have also developed management-labor programs to increase production for the war effort. They also have cooperated with Treasury Department bond drives on national, regional and local levels.

The Organizing Department of the Federation has been called upon to cooperate with international unions in their organizing campaigns or where their staffs have been inadequate, or in cases where we happened to have the particular type of men they needed. This is due to the tremendous demand from the various international unions to organize war workers. Many of these organizing campaigns of the international unions were headed by an American Federation of Labor organizer at the request of the international unions.

Our organizers in the field are called upon by international unions to handle questions in the field before the War Labor Board, the War Production Board, National Labor Relations Board, and other agencies of the government to assist them in any problem which they have.

The cooperation and assistance we received from the Building Trades Department and Metal Trades Department was invaluable in our work. Many

times their officers went out personally into the field to conduct organizing campaigns.

We have also transferred to international unions during the past year 32 federal unions. In addition our organizers aided 99 international union elections. Our organizing staff has diligently endeavored to protect the jurisdictional rights of all international unions in their organizing campaigns. The protection of jurisdictional rights can best be brought about by a joint campaign of international representatives and American Federation of Labor organizers.

New Union Report. This part of our report is exclusive of our established federal labor union membership covered under the fiscal report and includes only the last paid membership of new unions within the last year.

From and including July 1, 1942, through and including July 16, 1943, there were 291 charters issued. Their present status is as follows:

Active.....	250
Transferred.....	4
Suspended.....	24
Disbanded.....	9
Never functioned.....	1
Consolidated.....	1
Cancelled.....	2
Total.....	291

Federal Labor Unions. The primary function and responsibility of our Organizing Department is to conduct campaigns to organize the unorganized. We organized 291 federal labor unions in the period between July 1, 1942, and July 16, 1943. Many of these new unions are in new war industries with workers who never had any experience in collective bargaining heretofore. Many of them are working under the supervision of the United States Army, Navy or one of the governmental agencies. This, in many instances, made the job very difficult for the organizers, because the plants are situated fifteen to twenty miles away from the homes of the workers. Both organizing work and efforts to develop contractual relationship require great patience and skill on the part of our organizers, particularly in view of our "no strike" policy. The Little Steel Formula made the organizers' work more difficult. The 291 newly chartered federal unions mentioned above in no way transcend the rights of the established international unions, but were made chiefly in the new fields opened by the war effort. The field for federal labor unions is limited today and most of these unions are in the chemical, agricultural, cannery, aluminum, grain processing, fabricated metals, rubber, beet sugar industries, and among railway patrolmen, office and professional workers, and other miscellaneous fields.

The net membership increase in federal labor unions during the fiscal year 1943 was 19,286. This increase is found after deducting all members in unions transferred or suspended. It includes growth from new unions organized and from new members taken into previously organized unions.

Membership in federal labor unions has increased steadily in the last 7

years. The membership in the fiscal year 1943 was higher by more than 175,000 than in the fiscal year 1936.

AVERAGE YEARLY MEMBERSHIP OF DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS, BEGINNING WITH THE FISCAL YEAR 1935-36 TO AND INCLUDING ELEVEN MONTHS OF THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR.

September, 1935-August, 1936.....	Average	83,153
September, 1936-August, 1937.....	"	114,956
September, 1937-August, 1938.....	"	181,236
September, 1938-August, 1939.....	"	171,207
September, 1939-August, 1940.....	"	185,707
September, 1940-August, 1941.....	"	198,605
September, 1941-August, 1942.....	"	241,677
September, 1942-July, 1943 (11 months).....	"	258,313

We have at the present time 7 national councils composed of federal union members in the same industry or occupational field. These are: Chemical, Aluminum, Fabricated Metals, Grain Processors, Railway Patrolmen, Office Workers and Beet Sugar Workers Councils. These organizations are doing very effective work in their respective fields. In many instances they pay organizing expenses, and employ their own organizers out of their council funds. They have made substantial gains in membership all over the country.

Central Labor Unions. Much of the progress that we have made in all our organizing activities can be attributed to the splendid cooperation that our organizers have received from the central labor unions and volunteer organizers throughout the country. Many of these campaigns were carried on by the matching of equal funds by the American Federation of Labor and the central labor unions. In this way we were able to arouse a community spirit so that the local representatives would do the organizing in their own locality with the assistance of one of our staff members. The record will show that we have made great progress by this method and have developed many splendid organizations. International unions have cooperated with this plan by giving financial assistance so that we were able to get the whole-hearted cooperation of all local unions in the central labor union.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE C.I.O.

Several meetings were held between committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. during the past year, for the purpose of dealing with the question of peace and unity within the ranks of Labor. Vice-Presidents Harry C. Bates, Daniel J. Tobin and William L. Hutcheson represented the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the peace negotiations which have been carried on.

At a meeting held on December 2, 1942, an understanding was reached which provided for the establishment of a joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. committee to hear and decide any disputed jurisdictional differences that might arise between the two organizations. The agreement referred to reads as follows:

The A.F.L. and C.I.O. peace committee, in an effort to make its maximum contribution to our country in the war and for the furtherance and

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

protection of the conditions of the workers, today agreed upon the following:

We are convinced that if peace negotiations are to be successful and unity achieved, cooperation among our respective members and organizations must be encouraged and promoted. It is our belief that it would be extremely difficult to make satisfactory progress toward unity through these negotiations if in the meantime there is an absence of practical cooperation between the two organizations.

We agree to the establishment of a joint A.F.L.-C.I.O. committee to hear and decide any disputed jurisdictional differences that may arise between the two above-named organizations. If the joint committee fails to agree upon a complaint lodged with the committee it shall select a disinterested arbiter to render a decision on the dispute in question. The arbiter's decision shall be final and binding on both parties. In the event an arbiter cannot be agreed upon by the committee within five days, the President of the United States shall be requested to name an arbiter. We recommend that this understanding shall remain in force until labor unity is effected. This agreement is subject to the approval of the Executive Councils of the two organizations.

Dated Dec. 2, 1942.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,

HARRY C. BATES.

DANIEL J. TOBIN.

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON.

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,

PHILIP MURRAY.

R. J. THOMAS.

JULIUS EMSPAK.

The Executive Council at its meeting held in Miami, Florida, January 18-27, 1943, approved the agreement entered into between the two committees. The Executive Council directed that it be the policy of the American Federation of Labor not to undertake to raid C.I.O. unions where they hold collective bargaining rights and that we pursue the same objective through this agreement, trying to prevent the C.I.O. from raiding American Federation of Labor unions where we hold bargaining rights, and that the committee representing the American Federation of Labor pursue that policy in their relations with the committee representing the C.I.O.

At a later meeting held March 31-April 1, 1943, the committee representing the American Federation of Labor proposed that preliminary to a discussion of organic unity, a no-raiding agreement be entered into between the two organizations. The committee emphasized the necessity of cooperation, a respect for established unions, and an immediate termination of raiding tactics which had been resorted to upon bona fide unions in different localities. It seemed impossible to prevail upon the committee representing the C.I.O. to agree upon a simple, easily understood no-raiding plan. This meeting ended in disagreement and adjourned without making provisions for holding any future meetings. No subsequent meeting has been held between the committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O.

UNITED MINE WORKERS APPLICATION FOR RE-AFFILIATION

At the meeting of the Executive Council held in Washington beginning May 17, 1943, a communication was received from President John L. Lewis, of the International Union, United Mine Workers of America, which read as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 17, 1943.

To the Officers and Members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

GENTLEMEN:

The question of greater unification in the ranks of organized labor in our country is one of profound concern to every thoughtful member. The membership of the United Mine Workers of America are conscious of their own obligation to make a contribution towards the attainment of this objective.

The United Mine Workers of America accordingly hereby request re-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor as an international union. Please note attached check, drawn to the order of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, in the amount of sixty thousand dollars (\$60,000.00), to be applied on the tax account of the United Mine Workers of America with the American Federation of Labor for the current fiscal period.

It will be appreciated if the members of the Executive Council can give consideration to this request at the earliest possible moment and advise of their action.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS.

Upon receipt of this communication the Executive Council gave it careful consideration and decided that a committee representing the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to meet with President Lewis and his associates of the United Mine Workers of America for the purpose of arriving at an understanding as to the basis upon which the United Mine Workers of America might return to the American Federation of Labor.

This committee appointed by the Executive Council was composed of Vice-Presidents Daniel J. Tobin, George M. Harrison and Matthew Woll.

The committee representing the Executive Council met with President Lewis and his associates at Washington, D. C., on July 20, 1943, and reported upon the conference held with President Lewis and his associates at a meeting of the Executive Council held in Chicago, Illinois, beginning August 9th. It reported that President Lewis submitted a statement in behalf of the United Mine Workers of America as the basis for the re-affiliation of the United Mine Workers of America with the American Federation of Labor. The statement reads as follows:

From the United Mine Workers of America,
United Mine Workers' Building,
Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 20, 1943.

Statement of U.M.W.A. Conferees to A.F.L. Conferees:

The United Mine Workers of America is a going concern. Its membership and policies are of public knowledge. For forty-six years it was an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor.

In the interest of unifying the policies of organized labor, it has proposed reaffiliation with the A. F. of L. In doing so, it accepts the American Federation of Labor as it now exists, and expects the American Federation of Labor to accept the United Mine Workers of America as it now exists. The United Mine Workers of America under present conditions has no interest in questions of hypothetical jurisdiction. After the fact of reaffiliation, any and all questions of jurisdiction having a factual or realistic premise can be considered procedurally by the American Federation of Labor.

After an extended discussion of the subject matter herein referred to, on the part of all who participated in the conference, the committee representing the Executive Council decided to make a factual report to the Executive Council, without recommendation. This course was followed.

The Executive Council received and considered most carefully and analytically the report which was made, and decided to submit this report and the facts contained therein to the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, without recommendation, for its consideration and action.

PRINTING TRADES—LITHOGRAPHERS

No definite progress has been made in the final adjustment of the controversy which arose between the printing trades organizations and the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association which was reported upon to the Toronto Convention one year ago. Because of the change which has taken place as a result of the war it seemed to be the opinion of the representatives of the printing trades organizations directly interested in the controversy, that the *status quo* be continued and further consideration of the controversy postponed until after the war has been concluded.

This attitude of the printing trades organizations is set forth in a letter which was sent to President Green by President Volz, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, and President Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America. The letter referred to reads as follows:

May 24, 1943.

MR. WM. GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR PRESIDENT GREEN:

While deploring the attitude of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada in not complying with the long standing rulings of the American Federation of Labor relative to jurisdiction over offset plate-making and printing, and likewise its recommendations for the amalgamation of that group with the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, respectively, and in accordance with its jurisdictional award, these two latter organizations in view of present critical war conditions

which warrant cessation of all internal strife in the labor movement, recommend—without in any manner waiving their respective claims and without prejudice to the rulings of the Federation—that the entire question involved be held “status quo” for the duration.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) EDWARD J. VOLZ,
*President, International Photo-Engravers,
Union of North America.*

(Signed) GEORGE L. BERRY,
*President, International Printing Pressmen
and Assistants' Union of North America.*

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the suggestions made in the letter received from President Volz and President Berry be complied with and carried out with the understanding that the respective claims of the several organizations involved and decisions heretofore rendered upon them by the Executive Council and previous conventions shall in no way be modified or be prejudiced.

WITHDRAWAL OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS FROM AFFILIATION WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The following communication was received by the officers of the American Federation of Labor from President Brown and Secretary-Treasurer Davison, of the International Association of Machinists:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 27, 1943.

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.
MR. GEORGE MEANY, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor.

DEAR SIRs AND BROTHERS:

In our communication of May 20, 1943, to the A. F. of L. Executive Council we advised that the general membership of the International Association of Machinists had by referendum vote decided to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor.

In that letter, copy of which is herewith attached, we set forth the causes leading up to our membership's decision and once more made an earnest appeal that the same consideration be granted the Machinists' Union as was given other American Federation of Labor affiliates.

For reasons best known to themselves the A. F. of L. Executive Council chose to deny our request, thereby clearly demonstrating that justice and a fair application of the true principles upon which the American Federation of Labor was founded, no longer enters into their deliberations nor governs their decisions.

On May 22, International President H. W. Brown attending your Council meeting stated that:

“In view of the A. F. of L. Executive Council's refusal to grant the request presented in our communication of May 20, 1943, and in the absence of any offer of protection of our work jurisdiction, the Executive Council of the International Association of Machinists, in session as-

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

sembled, has no alternative other than to determine the effective date on which the mandate of our membership shall be carried out."

That statement was confirmed in a letter addressed May 24 to Secretary-Treasurer George Meany by President Brown.

An impartial analysis of the manner in which the Council has handled our repeated appeals for justice can only lead to one conclusion; namely, that A. F. of L. convention decisions and rulings pertaining to the work jurisdiction of our union were totally disregarded and the merits of our contentions completely ignored when our case was decided. By their refusal to abide by A. F. of L. convention decisions and rulings affecting our jurisdiction and to grant us the relief asked for they have once more placed their stamp of approval on the practice whereby thousands of our members are compelled to pay tribute to other A. F. of L. unions for the right to work at our trade.

After due deliberation we have concluded that not until the International Association of Machinists is assured of the same consideration in the preservation of its rights and work jurisdiction as is accorded other members of the American Federation of Labor family, can there be any justification for a continuation of our forty-eight year affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

You are, therefore, duly notified that our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is withdrawn as of May 31, 1943.

It is with sincere regret that we take this step. However, in leaving the American Federation of Labor, we are firmly resolved to continue one of the traditional policies of the International Association of Machinists—to respect the jurisdiction of and cooperate with the bona fide trade unions who respect our jurisdiction.

Fraternally yours,

BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, per
(Signed) H. W. BROWN,
International President.

(Signed) E. C. DAVISON,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

The Executive Council learned of this action taken by the International Association of Machinists with a feeling of deep regret. The representatives of the American Federation of Labor appealed to the officers of the International Association of Machinists to reconsider their action and to withdraw its notice of withdrawal from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. We urged that through conferences and discussion, efforts be put forth to bring about a settlement of differences which had arisen between the International Association of Machinists and international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Council emphasized the fact that better results could be obtained through the pursuit of such a policy in the settlement of the differences within the family of Labor than by withdrawal from affiliation and an attempt to bring about a settlement through resort to force and forceful methods.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal of the International Association of Machinists from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, we have continued the *status quo* regarding affiliation of local unions of the International

Association of Machinists with city central bodies, state federations of labor and local metal trades councils. Furthermore, we have not thus far enforced the provisions of the Constitution regarding the affiliation of the International Association of Machinists with the Metal Trades Department and the Railway Employees Department, which were chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council has hoped that such action might be avoided through an early return of the International Association of Machinists to membership in the American Federation of Labor. The efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council to bring about a re-affiliation of the International Association of Machinists with the American Federation of Labor still continue.

RETIREMENT PLAN FOR A. F. OF L. EMPLOYEES

Pursuant to the instructions of the 1942 Toronto Convention, as set forth in Resolutions Nos. 23 and 24, a committee was appointed by the Executive Council for the purpose of dealing with the question of retirement compensation for employees of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee has been making an investigation of retirement plans and has given consideration to a practical plan suitable for the American Federation of Labor. The committee reported to the Executive Council that progress was being made but it had not yet concluded its investigation and study of the question. It will go into the matter further, complete its studies at the earliest possible date and report a plan for consideration by the Executive Council. It is the purpose and intention of the Executive Council to handle this question as expeditiously as possible.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1942

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Actors and Artists of America, Associated Air Line Pilots Association	NO	INTER-NATIONAL	INTER-NATIONAL	BENE-FITS	BENE-FITS	PAID		Copulate \$300 per wk. plus \$650 mo.	Not more than 8 hrs. in 24	Not more than 40 hours per wk.		1,800	2 weeks
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Automobile Workers of America, International Union	NO	INTER-NATIONAL	INTER-NATIONAL	BENE-FITS	BENE-FITS	PAID							
Bakery and Confectionery Workers, International Union of America	\$59,725.00	\$275,528.13				\$4,416.00	\$339,669.13	50 to 95c per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days			1 to 2 wks
Barbers, Harddressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen	123,354.23	46,403.00					169,847.23	\$32.50	9 hours	48 hours			
Bull Fighters and Bullers of America, International Association of America	10,175.00						10,175.00	\$1.15 per hr.	8 hours	40 hours			3 days to 2 weeks
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of	913,495.00			* 2,500.00	71,000.00		986,695.00						
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	81,800.00		986.60			313.41	83,100.01	Journeymen, \$43; Journeywomen, \$22.	8 hours	40 hrs. 5 days	27,000	20,000	1 to 2 wks.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	27,937.00						27,937.00		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days			
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, International Union of America	238,732.58			1570,846.75			809,579.33	\$1.69 1/2 per hr.	7 1/2 hours	40 hrs 5 days	65,000		
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	13,600.00						13,600.00	80 cents	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	10,000	7,000	1 to 2 wks.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International	NO	INTER-NATIONAL	INTER-NATIONAL	BENE-FITS	BENE-FITS	PAID		\$36 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs. 5 days	450		

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1942—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Building Service Employees' International Union	198,409.60						198,409.60		8 hours	44 hrs., 6 days	10,000	50,000	2 weeks
Union of America, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood Carpenters, Lumber and Cyprian Workers International Union, United Cigar-makers' International Union of America	242,900.00				4,350.00		247,250.00	97¢ and \$1.04 per hr.	8 hrs.	48 hrs., 6 days; 56 hrs., 7 days		80,000	one week
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of Cleaners and Dyers, International Federation of Post Office Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail Coopers International Union of North America, Protective Union of America, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union	1,800.00						1,800.00	\$1.45 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days			
Draftsmen's Union, International Federation of Technical Draftsmen, Architects and Engineers, Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of Elevator Constructors, International Union of Engineers, Operating	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENEFITS		PAID		\$87½ per hr.	7½ hrs.	39 hrs., 5 days	19,000	18,000	1 to 2 wks.
	64,500.00	19,482.55				258.52	258.52		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days; 44 hrs. 5½ days.	9,480	3,146	1 week
	460,083.84						83,982.55	\$2.100 per yr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	45,000	45,000	15 days
	13,725.00						490,083.84		8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	10,000	200,000	6 to 12 days
	8,750.00						77,380.03	Men \$35; Women \$27.50	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days		90,000	1 to 2 wks.
	2,000.00						8,750.00	\$38 to \$44 per wk.	9 hours	54 hrs., 6 days	5,000	4,000	1 week
	10,000.00	4,500.00	6,506.00				2,000.00	\$160.00	7 hours	35 hrs., 5 days		600	1 week
	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENEFITS	755.00	3,600.00	25,361.00	Women \$27 per wk.; men, \$44 per wk. \$1 to \$1.50	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	25,000	18,000	1 to 2 wks.
	636,870.87			635,736.90		PAID			8 hours	48 hrs., 5 days	5,000	5,000	5 to 26 days
	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENEFITS		PAID	1,322,607.77	\$1.473 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	300,000	125,000	2 weeks
								\$1.78 per hr. mechanics; \$1.25 per hr., \$1.50 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	10,000		
	88,625.00						88,625.00	\$1.50 to \$2 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	80,000		2 weeks

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1942—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Engravers' Union of North America, International	237,982.00	52,932.81	764,822.82			4,245.20	1,059,982.92	\$1.89 per hr.	7½ hours	38¾ hrs., 5 days	2,000	8,000	1 to 2 wks.
Fire Fighters, International Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE	FTTS	PAID		\$2,100 per yr.	10 hours	78 hrs., 6½ days		40,000	14 to 30 days
Fremen and Others, International Brotherhood of	29,400.00						29,400.00	\$1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	25,000	30,000	1 to 2 wks.
Garment Workers of America, United	31,725.00						31,725.00		8 hours	40 hours	40,000		
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies	94,985.00	404,661.74	89,349.84			749,355.03	1,338,351.61	\$60 to \$1.80 per hr.	7 and 8 hrs.	37¾ hrs., 5 days	50,000	150,000	1 week
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	41,750.00						41,750.00	\$30 to \$50 per wk.	6 to 8 hours	36 to 40 hours	25,041	25,041	1 to 2 wks.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	7,500.00						7,500.00	\$10.00	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	1,900		
Glass Workers' Union, American	27,000.00						27,000.00	\$50.79 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	20,000	10,000	1 to 2 wks.
Glass Workers' Union of America, International	900.00						900.00	\$45 per wk.; Women \$30 per wk.	8 hours	44 hours	3,100	1,900	½ to 1 week
Government Employees, American Federation of													
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The	30,050.00					24,276.09	54,326.09	\$10 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	3,000		
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies													
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, United	10,775.00						10,775.00	\$60 to \$2.75 per hr.	7 to 8 hours	35 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days	10,000	2,500	1 week
Hod Carriers' Building and Construction Union of America, International	143,636.50						143,636.50						
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen													
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Barenders' International League of America	180,600.00			BENE	FTTS	PAID		\$10.00	8 hours	40 hours	200		
Jewelry Workers' Union, International		INTER NATIONAL				45,000.00	225,600.00		8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	10,000	200,000	1 to 2 wks.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1942—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour Week	Vacation With Pay	Vacation Period
Leathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Workers, International Union, Leather Workers, International Union, United Leather Carriers, National Association of.....	37,782.90	103,583.34		1,200.00			37,782.90	\$1.56½ per hour	7 hours	38 hrs., 5 days			
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers and Postmen, Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada	170,715.94					400.00	385,409.28	\$34.00		45 hours	3,200	2,800	1 to 2 wks.
Longshoremen's Association, International	73,658.60	21,270.46	21,092.28	6,533.50		7,000.00	129,554.84	\$21.00	8 hours	40 hours	13,931	11,275	1 week
Machineists, International Association of.....	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENEFITS	PAID								
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishes, Brotherhood of	191,067.41			6,293.75	1,000.00		229,686.65		8 hours	40 hours	500,000		1 week to 26 days
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishes, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of.....	296,600.00						296,600.00	46 to \$1.00 per hr.	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days			1 week
Mechanics and Pilots of America, National Organization	3,450.00						3,450.00	\$1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	4,500		
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of.....	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENEFITS	PAID			\$19.60	8 hours	56 hrs., 7 days	252	252	26 days
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers, North America, Amalgamated	83,746.40	127,000.00				57,910.60	288,657.00	Slaughtering, \$32.50; Meat Market, \$46 per week.	8 hours	Processing, 40 hrs.; Meat market, 51 hrs.	60,000	100,000	1 to 3 wks.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet Metal Workers' International Union	50,400.00					7,100.00	57,500.00	\$1.37 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days			
Mine Workers of America, International Union	57,600.00						57,600.00						
Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, International	256,113.00	102,896.75	36,032.85				395,042.60	\$1.20 per hr.	8 hours	40 hours			1 to 2 wks.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1942—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay
Musicians, American Federation of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENEFITS		PAID						
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	327,368.12					31,787.50	359,153.62	\$1.11½ per hour	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	121,719	
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	22,913.55			350.00			24,263.55	\$1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	34,000	1 week
Patrolmen, League of North America	11,050.00	11,887.00	362.00			1,266.20	24,565.20	\$1.70 per hr.	7 and 8 hrs.	35 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days	11,000	9,350 1 to 2 wks.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	74,575.00						74,575.00					
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of	247,700.00	15,595.00					263,295.00	\$12 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	65,000	
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal	14,000.00						14,000.00	\$1.25 per hr. skilled; \$1 per hr. unskilled		50 hrs., 6 days	10,000	7,000 1 to 3 wks
Porters, Brotherhood of Stevedores								\$52 per hr.	240 hrs. per mo.			
Postal Telegraph Railway Mail Laborers' National Association of												
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Hute												
Printing and Bookbinding Union of North America, International	*413,160.83	*51,162.55	*79,155.03	*303,914.13		2,500.00	849,892.54	Commercial, \$41 to \$52.20 per wk.; Newspaper, \$48.63 to \$51.76 p. wk.	Commercial 8 hrs.; Newspaper, 7½ hrs.	Commercial, 40 hrs., 5 days; Newspaper, 37-38 hrs., 5 days.		29,100 1 to 2 wks
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of						9,722.00	9,722.00	\$31.76 p. wk.	8 hours	45 hours	59,000	67,000 1 to 2 wks
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	*991,920.66	*118,956.86		*11,900.00	2,350.00	896.00	1,126,023.51					

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1942—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-hour Week	Vacations with Pay	Vacation Period
Railway Mail Association, Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association, Bricklayers, Painters, Glaziers, Tile and Concessionaries	31,300.00 20,175.00				133,493.50		164,793.50 20,175.00	\$2450.00 \$1.55 per hr.	8 hours 8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days 40 hrs., 5 days	7,000	20,640	15 days
Seafarers International Union of North America	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	PAID								
Siderographers, International Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	PAID			\$150 month	10 hours	70 hrs., 7 days			
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association													
Spinnners Union, International													
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, American Federation of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	PAID		36,500.00	\$119 per mo. \$50.00	8 hours 8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days 40 hours	7,200 4,000	36,900 3,000	2 weeks 1 to 2 wks.
Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	36,500.00						14,350.00	\$1.12%	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	4,000		
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	14,350.00						9,475.00	Common labor \$.66 per hr.; mounters \$.88½ per hour; piece work \$1.11 per hour	8 hours	40 hours	10,000	6,500	1 week
Stone Mounters' International Union	9,475.00												
Switchmen's Union of North America	160,225.00				7,650.00	10,400.00	178,275.00	\$30 to \$40 per wk. on 52 wk. basis	8 hours 8 to 9 hrs.	48 hours 40 to 45 hrs., 5 days			
Teachers, American Federation of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	PAID								
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of													

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1942—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	Basic 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Telegraphers, The Order of	183,974.08	2,085.00					186,059.08	\$8.51 per hr.	8 hours	53.5 hrs. 6 days		44,716	6 days to 9 weeks
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial	3,294.68						3,294.68				30,000	20,000	2 to 3 wks.
Textile Workers of America, United	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		\$25.30	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	40,000	36,000	1 to 2 wks.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	2,600.00	52,500.00		2,020.00			57,120.00	\$6.91 per hr.	8 hours	40 hours	23,000	22,000	2 weeks
Upjohns' International Union of North America								\$1 per hr.	8 hours	40 hours	16,000	9,000	Depends on length of service
Wall Paper Craftmen and Workers of North America, United	700.00	850.00					1,550.00						
Weavers Protective Association, American Wire	1,519,531.71	42,077.96			74,304.55		1,635,914.22	\$50 per wk.	8 hours	40 hours, 5 days	386	123	1 week
Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers and Enginemen	1,204,784.76			8,407.92	72,024.50	1,016,924.38	2,302,141.56						
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	2,499,616.47	1,135,904.89	50,969.35	51,340.36	467,975.66	638,694.42	4,874,521.15	\$8.50 per day	8 hours	48 hours		500	2 weeks
Order of Railway Conductors of America	660,331.98	109,950.10			4,040.00	39,448.17	813,770.25						
Total	13,800,965.80	2,780,318.13	1,049,276.77	1,706,523.31	868,943.21	2,750,584.43	22,965,611.65				1,841,059.2	2,245,745	

1 Includes disability benefits
 2 Includes old age benefits
 3 Includes local union benefits
 4 Paid by local unions
 5 Includes sick benefits
 6 Includes unemployment benefits

Reapportionment:
 Sick Benefits..... \$13,800,965.80
 Unemployment Benefits..... 2,780,318.13
 Old Age Benefits..... 1,049,276.77
 Disability Benefits..... 1,706,523.31
 Miscellaneous Benefits..... 868,943.21
 Total..... \$22,965,611.65

SOCIAL SECURITY

In accord with the instructions of the Toronto Convention, the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor arranged for the preparation of a bill to put into effect the various principles which the Federation had approved to assure a more adequate social insurance system. Such a bill was introduced in the House by Representative Dingell and in the Senate by Senators Wagner and Murray. In the House the bill was referred to the Ways and Means Committee which must initiate action on measures requiring appropriations. Representative Dingell is a member of this committee, but it has so far refused to recognize the connection between payment for social insurance and the general tax program of the government, or the fact that increased contributions to a broader insurance program is in accord with the fiscal needs of the government as well as a basic contribution to inflation control.

In order to secure hearings by the Ways and Means Committee on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill and action for the necessary expansion of social security, President Green directed all central labor unions and state federations of labor, to wait upon their representatives in Congress while these representatives were home during the summer recess, and present Labor's need for adequate social insurance for the emergencies of post-war conversion and of subsequent possible depressions.

Under the stress of war needs, for the first time in our history there are jobs for all able to work, and our national income has reached a new high of \$140,000,000,000. The citizens of this democracy will not be patient with less after the war. We shall insist upon jobs for all. We know also that no human institution is perfect, so there will be emergencies resulting in loss of jobs and interference with individual workers' income earnings, temporarily or permanently. While we have jobs we want to be able to invest in insurance to provide against the emergencies. Under the present Social Security Act all workers cannot carry insurance for income after retirement at 65 or for dependents at the time of their death, and for income during limited unemployment. It is the right of all citizens to have opportunity to invest in retirement insurance or to provide for their dependents in case of their death. This opportunity is just as much needed by agricultural and domestic workers and by small business operators as by the workers who now enjoy this protection. It is essential to that dignity of living which accompanies self-dependence. The insurance benefits paid should be adequate to maintain the self-dependence which the person earned during the years when he was able to work.

Sickness may temporarily or permanently cause workers to be unable to earn a living. If the disability is temporary, the worker should have unemployment compensation; if the disability is permanent it means premature physical incapacity and should be compensated as retirement.

Sickness has long been a major cause of dependency among small income families. No savings plan would take care of the costs of a major illness or operation even if illness were predictable for individuals. Illnesses for groups

can be predicted and budgeted by insurance. It is difficult to conceive of a greater boon to the masses than insurance providing adequate medical care as needed.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill has provisions for insurance expanded to cover these emergencies.

When the Selective Service Law was enacted it contained no provision to maintain the social insurance rights of drafted men. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill provides that the federal government, the new employer of the draftees, should keep current the insurance rights of persons previously employed in industry and should guarantee the same rights to those who have not yet entered gainful employment.

New provisions of the bill are the proposals to pool the social insurance funds, and the workers match the contributions of employers so as to provide in all 12 per cent of payrolls for social security. The insurance bought by this investment would exceed the returns on any other investment of similar amounts and would guarantee a new security and dignity for all. Income which this insurance should provide in emergencies would not equal incomes earned but should tide the wage earner and family over until income earning is again possible, or provide for comfortable retirement.

The American Federation of Labor continues to make action on social security its first preparation for post-war change.

Strengthened by the knowledge that social insurance will protect us from being forced on relief or dependency, we shall be prepared to insist upon jobs in industries that serve social needs.

By nationalizing the insurance system we can assure equal benefits for all, and the pooling of all social insurance can provide adequate benefits to the greatest number of citizens and workers. While we need nationalization to assure uniformity of standards and equality of rights, we equally need decentralization for administrative equity and efficiency. We urge administrative decentralization for social security offices both in the United States Employment Service and in dealing with insurance rights. The local employment office, however, must be part of a national system in order to have information of a national scope as well as national reach in placement. A national employment service with power to function is an essential agency for post-war conversion.

The provision in the pending bill providing a national advisory committee that would have access to the information, records and researches of the Social Security Board, responsibility for evaluating its work and preparing amendments, is essential to keep the system continuously effective and performing the maximum service. It is important that the thinking and judgment of persons outside the Social Security Board have a part in the development of the system.

Old Age and Survivors Insurance

During this war-time emergency which is making unprecedented demands on our national labor force, more people have been brought into active services

to society. These additions to the labor force, if employed in covered industries, register with social security offices. During one-week periods between January 7th and February 5th, a simple survey was made which showed the following: out of 3,212 new applicants, 41 per cent were housewives, 29 per cent were from uncovered industries (agriculture, domestic service, urban, self-employed, non-profit organizations and government), retired workers 1 per cent and school children 29 per cent.

The re-entrance of retired workers into the labor market is also confirmed by the record showing that at the end of April 1943, 11.5 per cent of old age insurance benefits were in suspension. The return of retired workers to the labor market is probably due to two causes: a desire to help in the national emergency and a desire for more income. A recent study estimated the loss to family income from \$20 to \$80 monthly, dropped in income from retirement of members over 65 years. In families with moderate incomes, this loss is serious. If the person lives alone, the shift in living standards necessitated by retirement is uncomfortable, to say the least. There is obviously need for substantially increasing the primary retirement insurance benefit. Basic justice comes from raising the primary benefit as high as resources warrant. This must be done in addition to the increase in dependents allowances. Workers who have returned to employment after retirement should be able to have their benefit rights recalculated and benefit by their additional contributions.

We cannot look forward to a post-war world under democratic institutions in which we either share poverty during our working years or share the poverty of inadequate retirement benefits after work is no longer possible.

Unemployment Compensation

The failure of the Social Security Law to set up a national system or at least to provide minimum federal standards has resulted in 51 different laws without the promised benefit of experimentation to develop improvements. The Social Security Act also provides the opportunity which theorists and propagandists have used to promote what is known as experience or merit rating.

Reasoning from a seeming analogy to workmen's compensation, the idea gained favor that employers could be induced to correct causes of unemployment by giving them a bonus in the form of rate reduction as compensation paid their workers declined. Unfortunately the remedy costs more than the reduction in taxes, and the result is not a cure of unemployment but subsidies given companies with greater uniformity of employment inherent in their production and penalties upon such industries as construction where efficiency requires turnover.

The roots of unemployment are in national and international causes quite outside the control of individual managements. Within these controlling forces individual companies may stabilize only over periods, but the rates necessary to protect workers and society from the consequences of dependency due to unemployment must be determined to cover national totals and in accord

with national forces creating unemployment. So long as unemployment compensation is on a local or state basis, advocates of the fallacy of experience rating may be able to conceal the real problem, but when unemployment compensation is nationalized and funds pooled in a national social insurance fund providing for an inclusive system with workers sharing the costs, merit rating has no justification and the rate problem becomes strictly an actuarial one.

Even in wartime employment there is still unemployment and the unemployed persons still use up their rights before they get jobs. We are fearful of a terrific upheaval in employment as the war ends. More than half of our industrial manpower is on war production to which will be added men from the armed forces as demobilization proceeds. In spite of the huge problem ahead, it is estimated that merit rating has reduced collections for the unemployment compensation fund by 37 per cent, which represented a cash loss of \$58,000,000 in 1941; \$293,236,000 in 1942, and is estimated to reach \$600,000,000 this year. These huge bonuses to employers will make the fund inadequate for mass unemployment after the war. More adequate benefits payable at least for 26 weeks will be needed.

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

The Fair Labor Standards Act, which became law in 1938, contemplated automatic establishment of a universal minimum wage of 40 cents an hour by October, 1945. It also provided machinery for determination of minimum wages up to 40 cents per hour on the recommendation of industry committees appointed to deal with specific industries or groups of industries. The Wage and Hour Administrator made such effective use of this democratic machinery that the universal minimum wage of 40 cents was on the way to realization by October, 1943, two years ahead of the date automatically set in the law.

Between July 1, 1942, and July 1, 1943, 16 industry committees met and recommended a minimum of 40 cents an hour. The action of these committees directly affected wages of 400,000 workers in industries employing more than 10,000,000 employees. During this period, the Administrator issued 14 final wage orders, all providing for a minimum of 40 cents an hour. These wage orders directly affected 275,000 employees in industries covering 2,500,000 workers. By July 1, 1943, a total of 62 industry committees had met since the beginning of the operation of the Wage and Hour Division. They recommended to the Administrator minimum wage orders directly raising the wages of 1,600,000 of the lowest paid workers of the nation covered by the Act. The industries covered by these recommendations employ more than 16,000,000 workers.

Considerable progress was also made during the past year in effecting compliance with the labor standards required by the Act. Of the 57,000 cases covered by the provisions of the law in which compliance inspection was made, 41,000 violations were found. Of this number, 26,000 establishments were found in violation of minimum wage and overtime provisions. A total of 756

cases were brought to court for enforcement. In 525 cases restitutions were ordered paid to 61,531 employees to whom back wages were due. These back-pay restitutions totaled \$2,565,104. While no separate figures are available on the amount of restitutions voluntarily agreed to by employers under the Wage and Hour Law, it is reported that back pay for the violation of the minimum wage and overtime provisions of this law together with those of the Public Contracts Act, totaled \$16,798,000. This amount was paid back to 389,526 employees who had been underpaid by employers in violation of the two laws.

LABOR STANDARDS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

While the enforcement of the prevailing minimum wage, overtime, and other provisions of the Public Contracts Act continued to gain in importance during the past year, labor standards on government contracts were given but secondary attention by the combined Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division. With the efforts of the Division concentrated on the operations of the Wage and Hour Law, no attempt was made to keep current the application of the labor standards on government contracts required by the statute. Compliance with the standards previously established, however, was continued, although on a diminished scale, through the combined staff of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division. Of the 7,900 cases inspected, 2,600 establishments were found in violation. Enforcement of the standards was based both on complaints received by the Division and on-spot checks conducted by the inspection staff. By July 1, 1943, the Division still had a backlog of 12,283 unadjusted complaints.

In the course of the year, a number of complaints of violation have been received by the American Federation of Labor from unions whose membership was employed on government contracts. In many instances employees had difficulty in ascertaining whether or not they were covered by the Act where the employer refused to divulge this information on the ground that it was secret. Inasmuch as the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division has discontinued publication of government contracts subject to the Act, it often proved difficult to determine whether a violation did in fact exist. Since a large majority of war contractors, through newspaper and magazine advertising, outdoor advertising, and signs displayed on the plants, publicize the fact that they are engaged in war work, it is felt that the refusal of employers to inform employees of their status under the Act is without justification. The Administrator has been urged to provide a requirement in the regulations that notices be posted in all plants covered by the Public Contracts Act specifically stating the applicable labor provisions. We concur in this recommendation, and urge that steps be taken to make sure of its early adoption. We also recommend that the Administrator of the Public Contracts Act be strongly urged to revive and fully extend the operation of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act to the end that minimum labor standards required by the statute be given full application on all government contracts.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

In previous reports of the Executive Council the policy and activities of the National Labor Relations Board have been discussed in great detail. It has been pointed out that the Board early commenced to show extreme bias against the American Federation of Labor. The situation became so aggravated that the American Federation of Labor was compelled to protest vigorously against the conduct of the Board and of its field personnel. The protests went unheeded. No alternative was left the American Federation of Labor but to seek a change in Board membership and a revision of the National Labor Relations Act.

The Executive Council accordingly submitted to Congress amendments to the Act seeking to restrict the unlimited discretion vested in the Board and to liberalize the procedure under the Act so as to assure fairness in its administration.

Regrettably, these amendments were not adopted. However, the submission of amendments afforded opportunity for extensive hearings before committees of the Senate and the House, and considerable information was elicited through testimony at these hearings which established beyond doubt the charges against the Board made by the American Federation of Labor. It was apparent that the administration of the Act could not continue in the hands of the Board as then constituted. As a result of the disclosures of the congressional hearings none of the members of the Board were reappointed when their terms of office expired.

The new members of the Board at first took cognizance of the necessity for change in procedure and adopted rules assuring a more just administration, thus the efforts of the American Federation of Labor with respect to amending the Act accomplished a great deal of good, and for about two years a decided improvement in the administration of the Act was apparent.

In recent months, however, some members of the Board reverted to the indefensible tactics of the former members of the Board. Prejudice and bias against the American Federation of Labor affiliates in the administration of the Act became apparent, and unsupportable decisions were rendered. The Board furthermore has subscribed to the policy of "membership raiding" vigorously condemned by the President of the United States as being inimical to the war effort.

The most outstanding proceeding of the year wherein the Board was given all-out support to the policy of raiding is the "complaint case" brought by the Board attacking the contract entered into between the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company and the Metal Trades Department and its affiliates, governing labor relations in the Kaiser shipbuilding yards. For no reason at all except the desire on the part of another union to raid the American Federation of Labor unions the National Labor Relations Board proceeded to assist in the accomplishment of this attempted raid in this most vital war industry. It is unnecessary to repeat the details of the history of this case because they have been

adequately reported by the Metal Trades Department, and the facts are well known to our affiliates and members.

The Metal Trades Department and its affiliates have been put to great expense to resist the attempt of the Board to outlaw the existing agreement. However, it was apparent to the officers of the Metal Trades Department having this matter in charge that the Board intended to disregard the true merits of the controversy and to invalidate the existing agreement. Although high officials of the government intervened in an endeavor to have the Board withdraw its proceedings, and although a congressional sub-committee, after an investigation reported to Congress that the contracts between the Metal Trades Department and the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company resulted in stable labor relations and accelerated war production, and recommended their continuance, the Board refused to withdraw the case. Thereupon the officers of the Metal Trades Department appealed to Congress to prevent the Board from proceeding to destroy a relationship which resulted in the greatest production achievement in any industry during this war.

On the 2nd day of July, 1943, an amendment to the appropriations bill was passed, the purpose of which is to prohibit the National Labor Relations Board from carrying out its raiding policies and from invalidating existing contracts between the American Federation of Labor unions and the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company, and between unions and other companies, where the contracts have been in existence for three months or longer. The amendment reads as follows:

No part of the funds appropriated in this title shall be used in any way in connection with a complaint case arising over an agreement between management and labor which has been in existence 3 months or longer without complaint being filed. Provided, that, hereafter, notice of such agreement shall have been posted in the plant affected for said period of 3 months, said notice containing information as to the location at an accessible place of such agreement where said agreement shall be open for inspection by any interested person.

As has been pointed out by the Metal Trades Department, the amendment was necessary to preserve the integrity of the American Federation of Labor contracts. The Metal Trades Department sought an amendment in a somewhat different form in order to obviate some possible detrimental effects, but the foregoing amendment was written to conform with the suggestions of the congressional committees of the House and Senate which had the bill in charge. While it is possible that in some instances the amendment may work a hardship on an American Federation of Labor affiliate, the overwhelming good that it will produce offsets any possible detriment. As a result of this amendment numerous American Federation of Labor contracts which the Board was resolved to destroy will now be preserved.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the National Labor Relations Board has not been realistic, judicious or fair.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The 77th Congress began on January 3, 1941, and ended December 16, 1942. It remained in continuous session except for short recesses.

This Congress set records by remaining in session the longest, by appropriating more money (\$204,863,924,329.15) and by introducing 12,636 bills and resolutions.

Our work was greatly handicapped the last few months of the 77th Congress for the following reasons:

1. In order to permit members to absent themselves, agreements were made that legislation of a controversial nature would not be considered.
2. In the final weeks of the last session three separate and distinct filibusters in the Senate on the poll tax, the Mexican claims and silver purchase bills held up all action.
3. Lack of a quorum in the House the last few weeks of the Congress prevented transaction of business.

The 78th Congress convened January 6, 1943, and both Houses of Congress after having been in almost continuous session for three and one-half years began a recess which lasted from July 8 to September 14, 1943.

The recessing resolution was most peculiar in that for the first time in history it provided for the reconvening of Congress upon the call of either minority or majority leaders.

Although Administration leaders in the Congress issued statements denying that the resolution indicated mistrust of the President, it is significant that the 78th Congress had been most critical of the President and many of the administrative agencies.

In the November, 1942 by-elections the Republicans gained nine seats in the Senate and forty-four in the House and this was regarded by members of both political parties as a mandate to Congress against its abdication and surrender of constitutional rights and prerogatives to the Executive which had resulted in government by Executive Orders and laws created by regulations or directives issued by chiefs of departments, agencies and bureaus.

A coalition of Republicans and Democrats were successful in defeating administration proposals on numerous occasions and also abolished some New Deal agencies as will be shown in detail later in this report.

The coalition also combined to enact anti-Labor legislation.

Everyone concerned with administrative and legislative acts were so weary after years of continual congressional sessions that tempers were frayed and judgments affected so it is believed that the recess will have a highly beneficial effect upon all concerned. Approximately 6,000 resolutions and bills had been introduced in the first six months of the 78th Congress.

Some of the more important legislative measures in which Labor interested itself follow.

TAXATION

The Ruml plan, which was presented as a substitute for a committee bill, H. R. 2218, on March 30, 1943, was defeated by a vote of 198 to 215 and the

committee bill was then recommitted by a vote of 248 to 168. Temporarily it seemed possible that any effort to pass tax legislation would be deferred but a new bill, H. R. 2570, was finally drafted, much more liberal than the committee bill which had been recommitted. It provided, in brief, for a 75 per cent remission of 1942 taxes in the lower income brackets and carried the plan advocated by the American Federation of Labor in its publicity release dated March 10, 1943.

The Ruml plan was again offered as a substitute for the new committee bill, H. R. 2570, and was defeated by only 4 votes, 202 to 206. The committee bill was then passed by a vote of 230 to 180.

In the Senate, the Senate Finance Committee drafted a bill much more liberal than the House bill, but the Ruml plan was adopted by a vote of 49 to 30.

It was thought possible when the Senate action was messaged to the House that the latter would vote approval of the Senate action, but a motion by Mr. Knutson, made on May 18, to instruct the House conferees to agree to the Senate action, was defeated by a roll call vote of 202 to 194 and the bill was sent to conference where it was considerably modified and the conferees so reported on May 28, 1943. The House approved this conference report on June 1 and the Senate approved it on June 2. The President signed the bill on June 9, 1943 (Public No. 68 of the 78th Congress).

The law as enacted contains the provisions contended for by the American Federation of Labor as it carries a cancellation of taxes in the lower brackets, places individual income taxes on a current payment basis by requiring the employer to withhold from wages and salaries, commencing July 1, 1943, 20 per cent of wages and salaries in excess of exemptions, which are \$624 annually for single persons, \$1,248 for heads of families, and \$312 for dependents, this 20 per cent deduction to include victory tax liability.

An excellent analysis of this Act has been published by the United States House of Representatives in the form of "Questions and Answers" (House Document No. 237, 78th Congress, 1st session), and may be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The Administration has stated that heavy taxes are "vital" and that it is "urgently necessary for individuals to pay high taxes."

We may expect higher taxes to be levied in the near future as at present the United States is paying but 36 per cent of the war costs by taxes while Canada pays 47 per cent, and the United Kingdom 52 per cent.

Our federal expenditures for this year will be \$105,869,000,000 of which but \$38,000,000,000 will be raised by taxation under present law. The Administration, therefore, is now proposing a greater amount of taxes and leaders of Congress are considering the most feasible and least painful method of extracting an additional sum of \$12,000,000,000.

Suggestions have been made to raise this additional amount, in part, by forced loans to the government, by a general sales tax, or by increased pay roll deductions up to 41 per cent.

ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

A very large number of anti-Labor bills were introduced in the present Congress, most of which are still in committee. A list of these bills, and their status as of September 15, follows:

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
S. J. Res. 4	O'Daniel	Constitutional amendment relative to freedom to work.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
S. J. Res. 9	Reynolds	Registration of labor organizations.	In Labor and Education Committee. No action as yet.
S. 10	O'Mahoney	Issuance of certificates of statutory compliance	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
S. 41	Hill	To provide for universal service and total mobilization during any war of United States.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
S. 189	O'Daniel	Unlawful use of force or violence where labor disputes exist.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
S. 190	O'Daniel	Amending certain overtime provisions.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
S. 191	O'Daniel	Relating to hours of employment, and conditions of employment in interstate commerce, etc.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
S. 666	Austin	Labor conscription bill; War Service Act.	In Military Affairs Committee. Hearings held. No report as yet.
S. 712	Holman	To protect trade against interference by violence, threats, etc.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
S. 713	Ball	Restricting certain increases in wage rates, etc.	In Banking and Currency Committee. No action as yet.
S. 726	O'Daniel	To amend National Labor Relations Act relative to employer-employee relations.	In Education and Labor Committee. No action as yet.
S. 727	O'Daniel	To amend N.L.R.A. relative to unfair labor practices.	In Education and Labor Committee. No action as yet.
S. 728	O'Daniel	To amend N.L.R.A.—Board has no power to order reinstatement of employee or payment of back wages as result of participation in labor disputes.	In Education and Labor Committee. No action as yet.
S. 796	Connally	Relating to use and operation of plants by government in case of labor trouble.	Passed Senate 5/5/43. Approved 6/25/43. Public No. 89.
S. 802	Byrd	Relating to strikes in war industries.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
S. 1068	Eastland	Prohibiting strikes among employees engaged in war work.	In Education and Labor Committee. No action as yet.
S. 1069	Eastland	Discharge of strikers permitted.	In Education and Labor Committee. No action as yet.
S. 1070	Eastland	Induction of strikers into army.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
S. 1272	Hatch	Prohibiting political contributions from labor and management organizations.	Reported in Judiciary Committee 7/5/43. On calendar.
S. 1307	Brewster	To provide for a National Labor Code governing operations and procedure for labor unions.	In Committee on Education and Labor. No action as yet.
H. Res. 78	Hoffman	Interference with production due to strikes.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 653	Hobbs	Racketeering—To protect trade against interference by threats, violence, etc.	Passed House 4/9/43. In Senate Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
H. R. 696	Kefauver	Amending U. S. Arbitration Act.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 804	Woodruff	Prohibiting aliens from voting in labor organizations.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 992	Colmer	Providing for reclassification under Selective Tr. and Serv. Act of employes engaged in war production.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1031	Smith (Va.)	To amend N.L.R.A. (affecting workers in labor disputes).	In Committee on Labor. No action as yet.
H. R. 1173	Hoffman	To aid in preservation of constitutional government in U. S. (forcing workers to join union).	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1214	Smith (Va.)	Unlawful political contributions by labor organizations.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1472	Hoffman	Not necessary for expelled or suspended union members to pay new initiation or back dues to be reinstated to secure employment.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1473	Hoffman	Preserving union membership and seniority rights of union members inducted into armed forces.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1474	Hoffman	Amendment to anti-racketeering Act.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1483	Landis	Requiring information on labor organizations and prohibiting political contributions by.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1486	Hoffman	Inducting into service of U. S. anyone participating in strike, slow-down, etc.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1487	Hoffman	To lessen number of strikes and to prevent violence in connection therewith. Defining term "labor dispute."	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1694	Monroney	Jurisdiction of U. S. courts in work stoppage for non-labor or illegitimate purposes.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1742	Wadsworth	Labor conscription bill; War Service Act, 1943.	Hearings held in Military Affairs Committee. No report as yet.
H. R. 1781	Andrews	Requiring labor organizations to incorporate and file annual reports.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1782	Gibson	To protect employes under N.L.R.A. through denying labor organizations their status and benefits as such under N.L.R.A.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1804	Smith (Va.)	Authorizing voluntary agreements with employes for overtime work without overtime payments.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1866	Walter	Conferring jurisdiction of U. S. Courts in cases involving work stoppages.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 1876	Lyndon Johnson	Requiring employers to file information with respect to absenteeism.	Hearings held. Reported by Naval Affairs Committee. Now on Union Calendar.
H. R. 1996	Smith (Va.)	Amending N.L.R.A. to define term "employee."	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2022	Luther Johnson	Relating to use and operation of certain plants by U. S. in interests of national defense.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2026	Whelchel	Strikes proclaimed as treason.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2027	Worley	Relating to use and operation of plants by U. S. in case of strike, slow-down, etc.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2032	Hoffman	Preventing coercion, etc., of workers to join labor unions to secure or maintain positions.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2033	Hoffman	To prevent political contributions by labor organizations.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2036	Walter	Jurisdiction conferred on U. S. courts in cases involving work stoppages.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
H. R. 2082	Bryson	To reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower and speed production.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2103	Hobbs	To punish willful injury, defective manufacture, etc., of property used in war effort.	Hearings started but still in sub-committee of Judiciary Committee. No action.
H. R. 2107	Curtis	Prohibit occupational deferment in cases where overtime is violated, strikes or absenteeism occur.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2124	Smith (Va.)	To provide for investigation and mediation of labor disputes.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2220	Hoffman	To conscript those interfering with war effort by strikes, slow-downs, etc.	In Military Affairs Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2239	Smith (Va.)	Prohibiting acts interfering with war effort.	Hearings held in Military Affairs Committee. No report as yet.
H. R. 2463	Hoffman	To prevent pernicious political activities.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2488	Hoffman	To repeal N.L.R.A. and create N.L.R. Board.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2594	Luther Johnson	Use and operation by U.S. in work stoppages, lockouts, strikes, etc.	In Labor Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2595	Luther Johnson	Prohibiting acts interfering with war effort or with normal government activity.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2642	Gathings	Certain strikes and other concerted refusals to work shall constitute insurrection against U.S.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2681	Hoffman	To protect employees engaged in war production. Union membership not essential to employment.	In Committee on Labor. No action as yet.
H. R. 3056	Poulson	To amend Sec. 313, Federal Corrupt Practices Act 1925 . . . for purpose of making provisions of such section prohibiting political contributions apply equally to labor organizations and management organizations.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.

The Hobbs anti-racketeering bill, which was reported by the House Judiciary Committee without hearings and which passed the House of Representatives on April 9, 1943, by a roll call vote of 270 to 107, was referred to a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee of which Senator O'Mahoney is chairman. No action has been taken in this sub-committee on the bill and notice has been filed by the American Federation of Labor to be heard in opposition to the bill.

After the Connally bill passed the Senate, the House Military Affairs Committee struck out practically all of the Senate verbiage, retaining only the penalty clause and the method by which employees of government-owned plants might proceed in order to secure wage increases. They inserted practically the entire Smith-Vinson bill as passed on December 3, 1941.

A rule for this bill was granted by the House Rules Committee on May 12, providing for three hours general debate with any germane amendment in order. The House of Representatives passed the bill on June 4, 1943, by a roll call vote of 231 to 141 during one of the United Mine Workers' strikes.

For several years past we have had great difficulty in preventing passage of the flood of anti-Labor bills with which we have been confronted.

The President vetoed the Connally-Smith bill in an able message, but the Senate passed it over his veto 56 to 25, and the House by a vote of 244 to 108. In the House we had sufficient votes to uphold the veto, had it come to a vote with all members present. Some members of the House have claimed that they had been promised the veto message would not come up before Monday, June 28, 1943, but that it was brought up Friday, June 25, 1943, during their absence.

Congressman Lesinski of Michigan, who spoke and voted against the enactment of this law on June 7, introduced H. R. 3055, repealing the law. Later Congressman Magnuson of Washington, introduced H. R. 3083 which repeals a portion of it.

Circular letters have been sent by President Green to all our affiliates requesting them to interview their representatives in Congress and request them to work and vote for the repeal of the Smith-Connally-May law. (An analysis of this law and the Hobbs Act will be found under Legal Activities.)

As of July 25, 1943, thirty miners had been indicted under the Connally-Smith-May law, accused of "indorsing work stoppages and picketing by arranging to place picket lines for the purpose of dissuading miners from entering the pits."

These defendants were also charged with "urging and counseling" miners and union officials to remain away from work, "well knowing such mines were in possession of the United States and that their continuous operation was necessary for the successful prosecution of the war."

The law prohibits work stoppages in federally operated industries and upon conviction, defendants are subject to a maximum penalty of one year in jail and \$5,000 in fines, or both. Twenty-seven of those indicted withdrew their "not guilty" pleas, plead guilty and asked for leniency from the court. Three were ill from injuries and unable to appear. Suspended sentences of six months and a period of three-years probation were given to each of those who appeared before Judge F. P. Schoonmaker in the Pittsburgh court. The three injured defendants will appear in court on October 11, 1943.

Absenteeism. Representative Lyndon B. Johnson, on February 17, 1943, introduced H. R. 1876 requiring that all contractors holding contracts with the Navy Department be required to file with selective service boards full information regarding unauthorized absences of employees.

This bill was referred to the Naval Affairs Committee of the House, of which Mr. Vinson, of Georgia, is chairman, and the latter in cooperation with Mr. Smith of Virginia began immediately submitting every restrictive anti-Labor proposal covering all phases of the war effort which they had previously been unable to prevail upon Congress to adopt.

New confidential committee prints were brought in by Mr. Vinson and his supporters over night but to no avail and after many hearings and much consideration the committee reported out a bill which, while it was objectionable, was not vicious.

In the meanwhile, with our support, the House Committee on Labor began an investigation of absenteeism and as this committee was really the one

having jurisdiction, its activity offset those of the Naval Affairs Committee.

A bill, H. R. 2553, was finally reported by the Labor Committee instructing the Secretary of Labor to make an investigation. No House action resulted on this bill or the Naval Affairs Committee bill.

All government departments and agencies affected testified against the Johnson, Vinson, Smith proposals.

FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS

As usual, particular care was taken in an endeavor to make certain that ample funds were appropriated for all bureaus, agencies and departments of the government handling matters of interest to Labor.

While Congress was as a rule extremely liberal insofar as funds for the war efforts were concerned, it was most critical and inclined to be parsimonious when normal activities of government were under consideration.

During the six months that the 78th Congress was in session it made the following appropriations:

Treasury and Post Office, 1944.....	\$ 1,100,691,275
Independent offices, 1944.....	2,621,366,879
First deficiency, 1943.....	4,106,261,194
Navy, additional, 1943.....	3,836,176,119
War, civil functions, 1944.....	63,657,098
State, Justice and Commerce, 1944.....	221,405,400
Legislative, 1944.....	40,894,478
Agriculture, 1944.....	848,298,090
First urgent deficiency, 1943.....	7,246,700
District of Columbia, 1944.....	55,460,000
Navy, 1944.....	27,637,226,198
Second urgent deficiency, 1943.....	142,430,000
Interior, 1944.....	104,600,000
Lend-lease.....	6,273,620,000
Labor, 1944.....	1,137,167,000
War agencies, 1944.....	2,911,697,000
Military establishment, 1944.....	59,034,839,673
Second deficiency, 1943.....	253,256,000
Total.....	\$110,396,299,014

The foregoing is only the new direct appropriations and in addition approximately \$12,000,000,000 was reappropriated for military purposes, and approximately \$4,000,000,000 for other agencies. This makes a total of \$126,000,000,000 appropriated or reappropriated all but approximately \$7,000,000,000 of which was for war purposes.

Some of the more important matters handled on appropriation bills follow:

National Youth Administration. When the Labor Department-Federal Security Bill (Public 135—78th Congress) was under consideration, the Subcommittee on Appropriations of the House voted 5 to 2 to continue to carry funds for the operation of the National Youth Administration. The full committee voted 17 to 16 to discontinue it and recommended an appropriation of \$3,000,000 to wind up its affairs by January 1, 1944. After a bitter fight the House concurred.

The Senate Sub-committee on Appropriations, by a very close vote, struck out the House action and inserted \$47,500,000, which was approximately \$10,-890,000 less than the amount requested by the N.Y.A.

The full committee concurred by a vote of 8 to 9 and the Senate accepted the committee action.

The House and Senate conferees could not agree upon the matter and the House by a 176 to 197 vote sustained its original position. The Senate then voted 39 to 33 to agree with the House.

Those favoring the continuance of the N.Y.A. contended it had done excellent work in training persons for service in war industries and the American Federation of Labor agreed with this position and made intensive efforts for continuance of the agency, but its opponents contended its work duplicated that of other agencies; that it was extravagant and useless and that it was largely officered and manned by those with subversive ideas insofar as our form of government was concerned.

Office of Civilian Defense. This is one of the few appropriations for war activities which was cut by the Congress. Despite our best efforts the appropriation was cut from the \$5,700,000 requested to \$4,000,000.

This appropriation was carried in the War Agencies Act (Public No. 139—78th Congress). The amount requested for civilian defense appeared to be very modest especially as the government is spending \$3,500,000 to provide meat for the dogs it is mobilizing for defense, and we sincerely regret the attitude of Congress on this question.

Farm Security Administration. This agency has helped hundreds of thousands of low-income farmers to independence and most gratifying progress was made through its plans to increase food production. Senator LaFollette said, "no other agency in our government has a more impressive record of helpful service to the people of this nation than the Farm Security Administration. This agency has tackled the problems of rural poverty at the roots, where the strength of democracy lies." The Byrd "Economy Committee," however, worked incessantly for the complete elimination of the Farm Security Administration.

When the Agriculture appropriation was up for consideration in the House, the Appropriation Committee allowed but \$500,000 for necessary expenses in connection with the making of loans and the collection of moneys due the United States on account of loans heretofore made. In the Senate, however, a more liberal attitude was adopted as it struck out the House figures and inserted an appropriation of \$1,326,070 with authorization of \$30,000,000 for loans out of Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds. The conferees, however, placed the Farm Security Administration activities under the Secretary to be administered through the War Food Administration and provided \$20,000,000 for farm and adjustment service, the making and servicing of loans and grants for loans to needy individual farmers, and liquidation of the Federal Rural Rehabilitation Projects. An additional \$60,000,000 for rehabili-

tation loans to needy individual farmers through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was authorized upon request of the Secretary of Agriculture.

The American Federation of Labor put forth its best efforts in an endeavor to provide for rural rehabilitation and loans to needy farmers.

Inflation and Subsidies. If inflation is to be avoided, prices must be controlled by the government and rolled back to the levels of September 15, 1942, as promised when the Stabilization Act was passed in 1942. The President and the Price Administrator have stated repeatedly that prices can only be rolled back by the use of subsidies, which have proved their effectiveness in Great Britain. Wages and salaries have been frozen but prices are outrageously high. The effect of this situation on the workers is most adverse. When wages are frozen and prices rise it, of course, has the same effect as cutting their pay. Rising prices, a 10 per cent payroll deduction for the purchase of war bonds, the 5 per cent payroll deduction for victory tax prior to July 1, 1943, and the 20 per cent payroll tax deduction since July 1, 1943, have played havoc with the pay envelopes.

For this reason the American Federation of Labor strongly insisted that Congress provide funds for subsidies in order that prices might be rolled back to the September 15, 1942, level. Members of Congress just as strenuously opposed the subsidies. On July 6 the Senate voted 36 to 28 against the payment of such price-reducing subsidies and only receded the following Friday by one vote, 34 to 33, in order that the Agricultural Appropriation Act (Public No. 129--78th Congress), might become law. On that day the Senate yielded to the demand of the House that the Commodity Credit Corporation, whose appropriations are carried in the Agriculture Department Appropriation Act, be continued until December 31 with \$350,000,000 more borrowing authority and without any specific prohibition against subsidies being written into the law.

President Green has personally advised President Roosevelt that prices must be rolled back or the little steel formula thrown into the discard.

International Labor Office. Care was given to make certain the full amount, carried in the State Department Appropriation for this office be secured, as it is realized that great benefits will accrue and be received from its activities, especially during the post-war period.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

From the date of its establishment the National Labor Relations Board was strongly biased in favor of the C.I.O. and against the American Federation of Labor. For this reason the American Federation of Labor endeavored over a period of years to secure amendments to the National Labor Relations Act curbing the discretionary powers of the Board. Some of the American Federation of Labor amendments were incorporated in a bill which passed the House of Representatives in 1940 but no action could be secured in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

In the meanwhile, failing to secure legislation, the officers of the American

Federation of Labor secured the appointment of new members to the Board when the terms of office of Messrs. Edwin S. Smith, Donald W. Smith, and Chairman Madden expired. However, the new members of the Board, Messrs. Millis, Houston and Reilly, remained biased in favor of the C.I.O. and aided and abetted the latter in their raids on the Kaiser and other shipyards, on Basic Magnesium, etc., where the American Federation of Labor had agreements and where production for war use was most satisfactory.

Recalling previous experiences with legislative committees of Congress when attempts were made to amend the National Labor Relations Act, President Green decided to make a different approach to this matter and, on January 25, 1943, instructed the chairman of the Legislative Committee to endeavor to secure the adoption of an amendment to the Labor Department Appropriation bill, which carries the National Labor Relations Board appropriation, providing that no part of the funds appropriated could be used in connection with any case where a contract existed and further instructed that since the work of the Board would be lessened if the amendment was adopted, a cut in the appropriation should be secured if possible.

After many meetings and conferences on the part of the representatives of organized labor, particularly the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, Building Trades and Metal Trades Departments, and after appearances before congressional committees, the American Federation of Labor secured the adoption of the following amendment:

No part of the funds appropriated in this title shall be used in any way in connection with a complaint case arising over an agreement between management and Labor which has been in existence for three months or longer without complaint being filed: Provided, That, hereafter, notice of such agreement shall have been posted in the plant affected for said period of three months, said notice containing information as to the location at an accessible place of such agreement where said agreement shall be open for inspection by any interested person. (H. R. 2935—Public No. 135.)

The House adopted this amendment by a vote of 169 to 11 after it had been made clear that it was a matter of issue between the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. The Senate likewise adopted the amendment by a vote of 40 to 25. A reduction of \$500,000 was also secured in the appropriation for the National Labor Relations Board. This should stop raiding by the C.I.O. with the aid of the National Labor Relations Board, in plants where American Federation of Labor unions have contracts. It should also stabilize employment and prevent demoralization of workers in war plants.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

Numerous proposals modifying immigration and naturalization laws are pending in the 78th Congress, as those who favor opening the immigration doors are fully alive to the situation and realize that circumstances have now created ideal conditions for the accomplishment of their purposes.

Generally speaking, the pending measures excuse those who entered the

country illegally, remove existing immigration bars even against Chinese, and make naturalization a farce in many instances.

Many of these proposals emanate from those in high places and toward the end of the 77th Congress three bills (S. 2883 by Senator George, and H. R. 7762 and 7832, by Representative Doughton), granting the President the power to vitiate all immigration and tariff laws were introduced at his request. These proposals were defeated in committee after many modifying amendments were considered in executive session.

Anti-restrictionists of immigration are proceeding very boldly by advocating repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, realizing that if this portion of the immigration laws is repealed they will encounter little difficulty in securing entry for those in whom they are really interested. They rely on the popularity of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and the gallant fight of the Chinese against the Japanese for this purpose.

As there are no quotas in the Western Hemisphere, West Indians, Mexicans, and others are being brought into this country by the tens of thousands.

When this war ends the return of the millions in the armed forces and the adjustment of industry from a war to a consumer basis will create an unemployment problem never previously known. It will be absolutely impossible for this country to absorb the millions now desirous of immigrating to the United States.

The principal pending bills follow:

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
H. R. 55	Hartley	Permitting naturalization of certain persons not citizens whose children served in armed forces of U. S.	No action. Superseded by H. R. 1941. See H. R. 1941 for status.
H. R. 367	Magnuson	Amending Nationality Act to permit aliens whose childhood was spent in U. S. to citizenship without filing declaration of intention.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 712	Pace	To deny admittance into U. S. of immigrants while number of unemployed within U. S. is one million or more.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 825	Cellar	To record lawful admission to U. S. for permanent residence of lawfully admitted refugees.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 921	VanZandt	Conferring citizenship upon alien veterans of World War II.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action.
H. R. 996	D'Alesandro	Admission to citizenship of aliens who came into this country prior to 7/1/24.	Similar provisions in H. R. 1291. See H. R. 1291 for status.
H. R. 998	D'Alesandro	Permitting naturalization of non-citizens whose children have served with armed forces.	Similar provisions in H. R. 1941. See H. R. 1941 for status.
H. R. 1037	Pagan	To preserve nationality of a person born in Puerto Rico who resides for 5 years or more in foreign country.	Passed House 4/5/43. Now in Senate Committee on Immigration. No Senate report as yet.

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
H. R. 1284	Dickstein	Naturalization of aliens who serve honorably in armed forces and who cannot prove legal entry into U. S.	Passed House 4/5/43. Now in Senate Committee on Immigration. No Senate report as yet.
H. R. 1289	D'Alesandro	To repatriate native-born women residents of U. S. who have lost their citizenship by marriage.	Passed House 6/8/43. Now in Senate Committee on Immigration.
H. R. 1291	Dickstein	To amend Nationality Act <i>re</i> cancellation of citizenship; waiving of educational requirements in certain cases; extension of misinformation clause, etc.	Reported from Committee on Immigration and Naturalization 2/24/43. Now on Union Calendar.
H. R. 1295	Mason	To preserve residence for naturalization purposes of certain aliens who serve in armed forces of an allied country during World War II.	Reported from Committee on Immigration and Naturalization 2/25/43. Now on Union Calendar.
H. R. 1296	Mason	To extend periods within which petitions for naturalization filed prior to effective date of Nationality Act may be heard.	Reported from Committee on Immigration and Naturalization 2/24/43. Now on House Calendar.
H. R. 1395	Pagan	Authorizing naturalization, without filing of declaration of intention, of persons who have resided in U. S. for 15 years or more.	In Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. No action as yet.
H. R. 1607	Lesinski	To provide for admission to U. S. of alien Chinese wives of American citizens.	Hearings held March 3, 1943, in Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. No report as yet.
H. R. 1882	Kennedy	To grant Chinese rights of entry into U. S. and rights to citizenship.	Hearings held 5/19/43 in Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.
H. R. 1941	Hartley	Permitting naturalization of certain aliens whose children have served in armed forces of U. S.	Reported from Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Now on Union Calendar.
H. R. 1977	Sadowski	Admission to citizenship of aliens who came into U. S. prior to July 1, 1924.	In Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. No action.
H. R. 2011	Marcantonio	To amend Nationality Act <i>re</i> right of citizenship shall not be denied or abridged because of race, color, creed, or national origin.	In Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. No action as yet.
H. R. 2012	Marcantonio	To provide for naturalization of Filipinos who are permanent citizens of the United States.	In Committee on Naturalization and Immigration. No action as yet.
H. R. 2207	Dickstein	To amend Nationality Act <i>re</i> loss of nationality and citizenship because of conviction of desertion.	Passed House 3/10/43. Now in Senate Committee on Immigration. No Senate report as yet.
H. R. 2309	Magnuson	To amend Immigration Act of 1924 to admit Chinese into the United States.	Hearings held 5/19/43 in Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.
H. R. 2351	Fish	To amend the Alien Registration Act, Title I, Sec. 1, <i>re</i> interference with morale of discipline of armed forces.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2352	Fish	To amend the Alien Registration Act, Title I, Secs. 1, 3, 5, <i>re</i> interference with morale or discipline of armed forces.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.

Bill Number	Introduced by	Subject	Status
H. R. 2428	Dickstein	To repeal Chinese exclusion laws to permit entry of Chinese into U. S.	Hearings held 5/19/43 in Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.
H. R. 2429	Dickstein	To repeal Chinese exclusion laws relating to exclusion or deportation of Chinese.	Hearings held 5/19/43 in Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.
H. R. 2446	Dies	To provide for forfeiture or cancellation of citizenship of any person who knowingly affiliates with organization under foreign control or political activities.	In Judiciary Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2522	Baldwin	To provide for expeditious naturalization of former citizens of U. S. who lost U. S. citizenship through employment with allied countries in World War II.	In Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. No action as yet.
H. R. 2549	Dickstein	To reduce time to plead and regulate service of process in proceedings to cancel naturalization.	In Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. No action as yet.
H. R. 2786	Farrington	To extend further time for naturalization of alien veterans of ineligible race who served in the armed forces of the U. S. during World War No. I.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2867	Scanlon	To grant naturalization to all foreign seamen who can show employment on American-owned vessels and who continue such employment as long as U. S. is at war.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2893	Gossett	To repeal Chinese exclusion laws, to place them on a quota basis and to repeal laws denying Chinese rights to become citizens of U. S.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2942	Gossett	To reduce immigration and repeal Chinese exclusion laws, to place Chinese on quota basis and repeal laws denying Chinese right to become citizens of U. S.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 2967	Scanlon	To grant naturalization to all foreign seamen who can show employment on American-owned vessels and who continue such employment as long as U. S. is at war.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
H. R. 3070	Magnuson	To repeal Chinese Exclusion Acts and to establish quotas.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.
S. 691	Downey	To provide admission to U. S. of Chinese wives of American citizens who are admissible under immigration laws.	In Immigration and Naturalization Committee. No action as yet.

The representatives of the American Federation of Labor have followed the immigration restriction policies as laid down by American Federation of Labor conventions and in regard to the pending bills these policies should be adhered to as it will be impossible for the workers in this country to compete with a flood of European and Asiatic immigrants.

The following bills repealing those portions of the immigration and natural-

ization laws excluding the entry of Chinese into this country and prohibiting their naturalization are pending in the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization:

- H. R. 1882, introduced by Mr. Kennedy of New York.
- H. R. 2309, introduced by Mr. Magnuson of Washington.
- H. R. 2428, introduced by Mr. Dickstein of New York.
- H. R. 2429, introduced by Mr. Dickstein of New York.
- H. R. 2893, introduced by Mr. Gossett of Texas.
- H. R. 2942, introduced by Mr. Gossett of Texas.
- H. R. 3070, introduced by Mr. Magnuson of Washington.

Hearings were held on these bills beginning May 19. One of the first acts of the first convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1881 (page 4) was to declare:

Thirty years experience of the Pacific Coast with Chinese had proved their competition with white labor was the greatest evil with which a country could be afflicted; that publicity as to its true character be disseminated throughout the country and Congress urged to enact an exclusion act.

In 1882 great demonstrations against Chinese immigration were made throughout the country, all participated in by representatives of the American Federation of Labor, and a law was enacted which was made ineffective by administrative and court actions.

The question of Chinese exclusion was one of the most important questions pending before American Federation of Labor conventions, beginning with its first one, and including the present law enacted in 1924, which prohibits the entry into this country of persons ineligible to citizenship.

As Chinese, Japanese and others of Oriental blood are, under law, ineligible to citizenship, such persons cannot immigrate to this country.

From its inception the American Federation of Labor has vigorously maintained that Orientals should be barred from entering this country and that they should not be permitted to become citizens.

The advocates of repeal of Chinese exclusion muster many specious arguments in favor of the proposal and minimize its importance, contending that but 107 will enter the United States annually. However, repeal means the doors are open to Chinese and in order to be consistent the next step will be to permit all Orientals to immigrate to the United States and become citizens.

Once the bar is raised agitation will begin to permit the entry of such races in ever-increasing numbers.

The fact that China is our ally in the present world war should not influence us to permit repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Law any more than the fact that Russia is an ally should influence us to embrace Communism.

The Executive Council directs that the officers of the American Federation of Labor carry out the decisions of conventions regarding immigration exclusion laws.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

For a period of time prior to our entry into the present war and since that time, living costs have continually increased. This situation was recognized by all and Administration representatives began to devise methods for meeting this situation, particularly insofar as government employees were concerned. Spokesmen for the Administration gave considerable publicity to plans designed to take care of the situation on an equal basis for all, but no concrete action was taken.

Realizing the necessity for action, a meeting of the National Joint Legislative Conference of the American Federation of Labor and Railroad Brotherhoods, composed of officers and representatives of all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor and railroad brotherhoods, was called.

In order to conform to what was evidently in the minds of administrative officers, and recalling the procedure adopted in World War No. I, it was agreed by all concerned that a flat bonus of \$300 for all employees of the United States Government, the District of Columbia, and all corporations owned wholly or in part by the government would be requested. Legislation was drafted and introduced, and the very same day the Administration came forward with a bill which was discriminatory, unfair, and unacceptable.

Hearings were held on both the Administration and American Federation of Labor bills by the Senate and House Committees on Civil Service. Despite the many hearings and conferences held with government officials as well as members of Congress, no agreement could be reached and it became quite evident that action was being delayed deliberately in order to force upon the employees an objectionable plan. This is exactly what happened when S. J. Res. 170 was finally enacted into law as a temporary measure to expire on April 30, 1943. It was felt that this expiration date would give the new Congress ample time to draft and approve legislation designed to last for the duration.

On January 5, 1943, just prior to convening of the 78th Congress on January 6, 1943, another meeting of the National Joint Legislative Conference of the American Federation of Labor and Railroad Brotherhoods was called and it was agreed by all concerned that due to the fact that it seemed impossible to draft legislation to cover all branches of service with the United States and the District of Columbia, that each group should draft and submit to the conference their proposals for their particular groups. This was done and one proposal (H. R. 1860 and S. 635) was drafted and introduced to cover federal employees generally. Separate legislation was introduced and passed for the police, firemen and school teachers of the District of Columbia, and for employees of the Post Office Department.

The details of the three proposals are covered elsewhere under their proper headings.

Increased Pay for Federal Employees. It will be recalled that during the closing days of the 77th Congress a temporary measure, S. J. Res. 170 (Public No. 821) was rushed through Congress. Its terms were to expire April 30,

1943, as it was felt this would give ample time for the Congress to consider legislation to remain in effect for the duration of the war.

S. 635 and H. R. 1860 were introduced February 4 and 16, respectively, and after many hearings and conferences, H. R. 1860 (Public No. 49) passed both Houses. It provided for time and one-half for all time worked in excess of 40 hours per week and working hours were increased to 48, the hourly rate to be arrived at by dividing the annual salary by 2,448 hours with overtime to be paid only on \$2,900 of salary received. The American Federation of Labor advocated an hourly rate derived on a 5-day, 8-hour basis of 2,080 hours annually. The law also provided a bonus not to exceed \$300 for all those whose duties or hours were such that they could not be worked overtime.

The conference report as finally adopted passed the Senate but was rejected in the House on April 21 by a vote of 163 to 155. A motion to reconsider at our suggestion was made on May 5. This was agreed to and the conference report was then adopted by a vote of 273 to 119 due to the intensive work which had been done by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

While this measure is not satisfactory or fair to government employees, it does help in meeting increased living costs. (See increases for postal employees immediately following.)

Increased Pay for Postal Employees. While hearings were being held by the House Civil Service Committee on H. R. 1860 which increased pay for federal employees generally on an overtime basis, the House Post Office and Post Roads Committee held hearings on H. R. 1366, which increased pay for postal employees by granting them a flat increase of \$300 per annum.

Administrative underlings were opposed to the flat increase plan and while testifying before the Civil Service Committee on H. R. 1860 a White House secretary volunteered a statement that he would be delighted to recommend a veto of H. R. 1366 if it was passed by Congress. This attempt to coerce Congress by an administrative underling was promptly commented on before the House Post Office and Post Roads Committee by a representative of the American Federation of Labor while he was testifying in favor of H. R. 1366. As a result, the House under suspension of the rules, on a roll call vote passed the bill by 384 to 4. The bill then passed the Senate and was signed by the President on April 9, 1943 (Public No. 25 of the 78th Congress).

Substitutes' Pay Increase. We supported H. R. 2836 which passed the House of Representatives on June 24, 1943, too late for Senate action prior to the recess.

This bill is designed to improve the morale and conditions of substitutes in the postal service and provides that after a full year's service, substitutes shall receive the pay of regular employees and upon the completion of each additional full year of service, receive the rate for the next grade until they shall have attained the rate for the highest grade.

Retirement. S. 878, introduced by Senator Langer, provides for an in-

crease of 15 per cent in the annuities of retired federal employees and the retired police and firemen of the District of Columbia.

The Act is to be effective upon the date of its approval and to expire June 30, 1945 or earlier if Congress so prescribes. We supported this proposal and the bill has been favorably reported to the Senate.

Senate Confirmation of Certain Employees. S. 575, introduced by Senator McKellar, required confirmation by the Senate for all federal employees appointed to positions carrying salaries above \$4,500.

The bill was favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee and passed by the Senate on June 14, 1943, but it was pigeon-holed in the House Committee.

Several amendments similar to this bill which were offered to appropriation bills were also defeated.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Unemployment Compensation. For several years a proposal was pending in the Congress to amend the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act but agreement between those advocating the amendments and Labor could not be reached due to the fact that Labor opposed the "merit rating system" and advocated an increase in benefits instead of lower contributions.

H. R. 2115 (Public No. 65—1st session, 78th Congress) was passed, however, and approved June 4, 1943, providing for the "merit rating system" which we opposed but without avail as more than two-thirds of the states had adopted it.

A huge fund had been built up under the flat rate of 2.7 per cent amounting to \$36,605,256 on May 20, 1943, and by the end of the present year the amount will, no doubt, be \$40,000,000 since the largest amount paid out in any year (1941) was \$2,128,329.10.

The law, as amended, increased payments from \$18 weekly to \$20 weekly and increased the benefit period from 19 to 20 weeks. It also contained other minor benefits.

Regulation of Hours of Employment of Women. A bill (H. R. 777—Public 63—1st Session, 78th Congress) was introduced and became law June 1, 1943, which will, up to the period ending June 30, 1945, permit employers to work women more than 8 hours per day or 48 hours per week in the District of Columbia.

We proposed amendments to the original bill providing that employers, before lengthening hours, be obliged to show to the District of Columbia Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board, upon which we have representation, necessity for such increase in hours.

Another amendment, suggested by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America and insisted upon by the American Federation of Labor, provided that under no circumstances could women be worked more than 54 hours per week.

A similar proposal in the 77th Congress, which had passed the House of Representatives, was not passed in the Senate due to Labor's objections.

Salary Increases for District of Columbia Firemen, Policemen and Teachers. Following the veto of the Police and Firemen's bill by President Roosevelt, during the 77th Congress (because the bill was retroactive for 11 months; because it was a permanent increase; and because it discriminated against a large group of District of Columbia employees—the school teachers), a new bill was drafted by the American Federation of Labor and its interested affiliates eliminating the three objections raised by the President. The new bill was S. 17 (Public No. 22). This proposal carried a flat increase of \$300 for these three groups of District of Columbia employees, including United States park police, White House police and the employees of the District of Columbia, except employees whose wages are fixed on a daily or hourly basis and adjusted from time to time. It was passed, signed by the President on April 1, 1943, and became effective retroactive to December 1, 1942.

Suffrage for the District of Columbia. The American Federation of Labor, by convention action, has been on record for many years in favor of suffrage for the citizens of the District of Columbia.

Shortly after the beginning of the 78th Congress, a bill was drafted by the American Federation of Labor (H. R. 1831) and introduced at our request by Congressman Lesinski.

Several other bills and joint resolutions were also introduced and hearings were held on our bill and on H. R. 2620, which was introduced by Congressman Walter of Pennsylvania. No action resulted, however, but the matter is still alive and it is our intent to vigorously press it with the aid of the Central Labor Union of Washington and such other bodies as are willing to cooperate.

Barbers' Bill

The Executive Council reported to the 1942 convention that the Barbers' Bill (H. R. 5444) had passed the House of Representatives and that it was still in the District of Columbia Committee of the Senate.

The Senate committee reported and the Senate passed the bill with an amendment, striking out the word "proper" on page 4, line 10. This action necessitated the return of the bill to the House in order that action might be had on the amendment.

During the last few weeks of the 77th Congress a quorum of the House was *not* in Washington and business could not be transacted on the floor except by unanimous consent.

This created an ideal condition for members opposed to a bill as they could and did make the point of "no quorum" and the House would necessarily adjourn without further action.

Congressman Smith, of Ohio, fought this bill all the way and availed himself of every opportunity to block approval of the Senate amendment by the House.

Being advised of the opposition, Senator McCarran agreed to move for its

reconsideration and delete the Senate amendment if we could have the bill returned to the Senate.

Unanimous consent was secured in the House and the bill returned to the Senate, but when Senator McCarran attempted to have it reconsidered he met with much opposition which had been instigated by its opponents when they learned of the Senator's plan.

The opposition to this bill is great and comes principally from Seventh Day Adventists as a matter of principle as there are no barbers of this faith employed in the District of Columbia.

A new bill was immediately prepared, but before it was agreed to by the District of Columbia barbers' local union, the local representative died and the matter has since lain dormant awaiting action by the barbers' local union.

CANAL ZONE

Canal Zone Teachers, Policemen and Firemen employed by the government on the Canal Zone benefited by the passage of S. 17 (Public No. 22) as their compensation is predicated upon rates paid District of Columbia teachers, policemen and firemen.

Clerical Workers. Those employees of the government, the Panama Railroad and Panama Railroad Steamship Line on the Canal Zone also received the benefits carried by the passage of H. R. 1860 (Public No. 49).

McCarran Amendment. This amendment, with American Federation of Labor support, despite administrative objections, was again inserted in the War and Navy Department appropriation bills for 1944 identically as set forth on page 157 of the 1942 proceedings.

Canal Builders. S. 683 provides for special recognition for those who built the Panama Canal. It grants to those who worked for three years or more during those days the same recognition as was given officers of the army, navy and Public Health Service in 1914 at the end of construction days. The bill carries a modest annuity for those who built the canal and who served on the Canal Zone during the pioneer days there under unhealthful and dangerous conditions and the bill has been consistently supported by the American Federation of Labor. In the 77th Congress the bill passed the Senate, was favorably reported by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and a rule granted by the House Rules Committee. Congressman Eugene Cox on several occasions promised to aid in passing this bill and secure a rule for its consideration, but when he brought the rule up for consideration in the House he made the following most amazing statement:

It is hardly fair to those sponsoring this legislation for me to present this rule. However, I have found it impossible to locate anyone else on the Rules Committee who is favorable to the adoption of the bill.

Apparently the fact that this bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Pepper, who had also sponsored the proposal for the abolishment of the poll tax, had something to do with Mr. Cox's changed attitude in regard to the canal builders' bill.

The new bill is sponsored by Senators Clark, Pepper, Hill and Davis and we hope that it will become law during the present session.

HOUSING

On May 13, 1943, the President sent a message to Congress requesting that authorization of funds for war housing be increased by \$400,000,000. The House Public Buildings and Grounds Committee held prolonged hearings on the President's message and after their conclusion, Chairman Lanham introduced H. R. 2975, providing for an increase of \$300,000,000.

In the meanwhile Senator Thomas, of Utah, had introduced S. 1109, which was passed by Congress and approved by the President on July 7, 1943. This made action on Chairman Lanham's bill unnecessary. The law as passed (Public No. 119 of the 78th Congress, 1st session) carries an increase in the Lanham Act funds of \$300,000,000. The appropriation carrying out the increase, however, was limited to \$100,000,000, which became available shortly before the recess on July 8. It, however, made possible construction of war housing during the summer and it is expected that the remaining \$200,000,000 will be appropriated when Congress resumes its session.

The President's message to Congress on May 13 also recommended amendments to the Lanham Act which would make the income from war housing projects available for the liquidation of war structures after the war. It was proposed that the income from projects would be made available to defray the expenses of disposition of war housing projects, of the removal of temporary projects, and of the setting up of reserves for such disposition after the war. As finally approved, the amendments require that temporary housing be removed within two years after the end of the national emergency, except in cases where the National Housing Agency finds, after consultation with the local communities, that the housing is still needed in the interests of orderly demobilization of the war effort. Such exceptions must be reexamined annually and reported to Congress. The National Housing Agency was authorized to set aside reserves from revenues of war housing projects to finance this operation.

To continue privately financed war housing, Congress increased by \$400,000,000 the funds under Title VI of the National Housing Act for mortgage insurance. This brings the total authorization for privately financed war housing up to \$1,200,000,000.

During the current session, the Congress for the first time concerned itself with the problem of post-war housing. On June 4, 1943, Senator Wagner, of New York, introduced S. 1163. This bill, introduced by request of the Urban Land Institute, is supported by the National Real Estate Boards. The bill would authorize \$1,000,000,000 for federal loans to assist local communities in post-war housing redevelopment. The funds so loaned would be available for acquisition of land for redevelopment by private as well as public agencies. S. 953, introduced by Senator Thomas, would authorize \$150,000,000 for federal aid to local communities for land acquisition and redevelopment and

\$25,000,000 to aid in local community planning. The Thomas bill would also establish an Urban Redevelopment Agency in the federal government.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Identical bills were introduced, at the request of the American Federation of Labor, in the House (H. R. 2851, by Mr. Dingell) and Senate (S. 1161, by Messrs. Wagner and Murray) providing for increased benefits.

Briefly, the proposal provides for a unified national social insurance system which is to consist of a national system of public employment offices; old age, survivors, permanent disability, and lump-sum death insurance; protection of the social security rights to individuals engaged in the military service; unemployment; temporary disability; and maternity insurance; unemployment allowances upon termination of military service; and medical and hospitalization insurance.

Section 2 provides for the establishment and development of a comprehensive national system of employment offices to assist employers in finding workers for jobs and to assist workers in finding jobs. It also outlines the function of the proposed U. S. Employment Service.

Section 3 extends federal old-age and survivors insurance to include permanent disability protection for the insured person, his wife, dependent children and dependent parents; reduces women's age of eligibility for all insurance benefits to 60; and provides insurance benefits for wives under 60 who have eligible children in their care. It also defines benefits for each type of recipient.

Section 4 increases the maximum old-age, survivors and permanent disability benefits from \$85 to \$120 a month.

Section 5 extends federal old-age, survivors and disability insurance coverage to agricultural and domestic workers; employees of non-profit institutions, and hourly employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and permits coverage of state and local government employees under voluntary compacts.

Section 6 increases old-age, survivors and permanent disability benefits to 20 per cent (instead of 10 per cent) of the average monthly wage between \$50 and \$250; and also increases benefits by changing the formula for calculating the average wage.

Section 7 provides for determination of the status of any individual under the federal old-age, survivors and disability insurance program according to a uniform pattern under the District of Columbia law instead of state by state as under existing law.

Section 8 covers self-employed persons and small businessmen and professional persons under old-age, survivors and permanent disability insurance; and defines permanent and total disability.

Section 9 provides for crediting an individual's military service toward all social insurance benefits so that the individual in the armed service and his family will be insured for all social insurance benefits provided in the bill.

The cost of this protection is to be borne by the federal government out of general revenue.

Section 10 establishes a federal system of unemployment and temporary disability insurance with dependents allowances; and also maternity insurance benefits. It further provides unemployment benefits for 26 weeks, and, if funds are adequate, the duration may be extended up to 52 weeks. It also provides for 26 weeks benefits for disability, and 12 weeks for maternity. The proposed bill sets benefits at 50 per cent of the first \$12 of average weekly wage plus 25 per cent of the amount by which the wage exceeds \$12, with a minimum of \$5 and a maximum of \$30 a week, and extends coverage to agricultural workers, domestic servants and non-profit institutions.

Section 11 provides unemployment compensation allowances to persons released from military service. The benefits vary from \$12 to \$30 per week of unemployment, depending upon the number of dependents. Benefits are provided for 26 weeks and may be extended to 52 weeks. The cost of these allowances is to be borne by the federal government out of general revenue.

Section 12 sets up a federal system of medical and hospital insurance for all persons covered under old-age and survivors insurance and for their dependents. The benefits include necessary general and special medical services, hospitalization, nursing and related medical services, supplies or commodities. Technical and professional administration is assigned to the U. S. Public Health Service; financial matters and social insurance relationships to the Social Security Board, with joint action on matters of joint concern. The bill further provides free choice of any regularly licensed general practitioner, arrangements for use of specialists services, and various methods of paying practitioners with emphasis upon prevention and maintenance of the quality of medical care, and provision for grants to aid professional education and research. A National Advisory Medical and Hospital Council is established to advise the Surgeon General.

Section 13 provides a contribution of 6 per cent from employers and 6 per cent from employees on all wages and salaries of \$3,000 a year or less, for all social insurance benefits; a 7 per cent contribution by self-employed persons to cover old age and survivors, permanent disability, and medical and hospital insurance; also a 3½ per cent contribution by the employer and 3½ per cent contribution by the employee to cover old-age and survivors, permanent disability, and medical and hospital benefits under voluntary compacts. The bill provides that all funds are to be deposited in a Federal Social Insurance Trust Fund managed by a Board of Trustees.

Section 14 provides for representative advisory councils of employees, employers and the public, and authorizes the Federal Social Security Advisory Council to make recommendations on the administration of social security, including the adequacy of social insurance benefits in the post-war period.

Section 15 liberalizes and extends federal grants to states for assistance to needy individuals under a unified public assistance program; provides federal matching for money payments to any needy individual (without any

maxima), medical services, and where so provided in the state plan, goods, services or facilities to aid individuals in becoming self-supporting. It further provides that grants-in-aid to the states may vary from 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the total expenditure for aid to needy individuals, depending upon the state's per capita income.

Section 16 repeals parts of the present system of taxes replaced by other provisions in the amendments.

Section 17 provides for the effective date for the unemployment insurance, unemployment compensation allowance, temporary disability insurance, and medical and hospital insurance provisions.

The bills have been given publicity through such agencies as are available and in addition letters have been sent to our affiliates requesting their aid by personally interviewing or writing their congressional representatives to pledge their support for the bill. A nation-wide fight has already begun in opposition to this bill as prepared editorials are being published.

Spokesmen for the federal government have estimated that there is an annual surplus in purchasing power of approximately \$17,000,000,000 above available consumer goods which must be syphoned off in one way or another in order to avoid inflation. It has been suggested that this amount be taken from the workers by an increased tax to be used to pay for the cost of the war or by forced loans to the government.

We propose that a portion of it go for more liberalized social security of direct benefit to workers.

MISCELLANEOUS

Interned Employees of Contractors. We reported at the last convention that S. 2412, introduced by Senator Pepper, had passed the Senate and was pending in the House Judiciary Committee, and that the schedule of payments for the employees of contractors with the United States was entirely unsatisfactory as passed by the Senate.

We advised that we were supporting S. 2329, which was to amend Public Law 490 of the 77th Congress, which continues full pay and allowances for interned members of our armed forces as well as civilian employees of the United States, but which did not cover employees of contractors on public works outside the United States or in Alaska.

S. 2329 provided that employees of contractors should be included in the coverage provided by Public Law 490.

Due to the opposition of the Navy Department, no action was taken in the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs on this bill and it died with the final adjournment of the 77th Congress.

When S. 2412 was before the House Judiciary Committee, a representative of the American Federation of Labor appeared before that committee and insisted that the provisions of S. 2329 should be included in the bill. However, the House passed the bill carrying the provisions of the Longshoremen and

Harbor Workers Act, as amended, and it was approved and became law December 2, 1942 (Public 784).

In the 78th Congress, Senators Downey, Walsh, Thomas of Idaho, Clark of Idaho, LaFollette, Pepper, and Thomas of Utah, on June 28, introduced a bill (S. 1284) providing for an increase of \$50 per month to certain persons entitled to benefits under Public Laws 490 and 784 of the 77th Congress. These persons were the beneficiaries of employees of contractors with the United States who were killed or captured.

No hearings could be held prior to the recess of Congress, but we will present our views to the congressional committees when hearings are held on S. 1284 and insist that instead of increasing their benefits \$50 per month, that the full pay of these employees be paid since any other course would not be consistent with the action taken by our last convention.

Home Owners' Loan Corporation. An attempt was made to liquidate the Home Owners' Loan Corporation through the introduction of H. R. 1283, by Representative Dirksen under date of January 19, 1943.

This bill provided that the Home Owners' Loan Corporation be directed as rapidly as is practicable to sell and transfer to private parties, mortgage institutions, or others, its mortgages, home-purchase contracts and other assets. This bill was never reported out of committee.

Congressman Dirksen then introduced an amendment to H. R. 1762 which was the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1944, providing for the immediate liquidation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

The appropriation, as amended, passed the House but the Dirksen amendment was stricken out by the Senate, remained out after conference by the House and Senate, and was not carried in the final passage of the appropriation.

Bankhead and Pace Farm Bills, S. 660 and H. R. 1408. The Bankhead bill, S. 660, passed the Congress and was vetoed by the President. The Pace bill, H. R. 1408, passed the House of Representatives and still reposes in the Senate Agricultural Committee.

Because of the inflationary nature of these bills a joint statement was issued by Presidents Green, of the American Federation of Labor, and Murray, of the C.I.O., expressing their complete support of the President's veto of the Bankhead bill. A letter was also sent to every member of the House and Senate in opposition to these bills, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 3, 1943.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN:

I appeal to you in the name and in behalf of the membership of the American Federation of Labor to sustain the President's veto of S. 660, generally known as the Bankhead bill. This appeal is based upon the urgent need of the nation's strained economic situation. I shrink from the thought of what may happen to our nation's price structure if the Members of Congress fail to do their duty now by sustaining the President's veto of the Bankhead bill.

All who are familiar with price trends and the threatened danger of inflation can well understand the disastrous effect which the enactment of the Bankhead bill into law will have upon our economic and social

life. We will have lost very heavily in our fight for stabilization in opposition to inflation if Congress fails the country now by passing the Bankhead bill over the veto of the President.

Labor responded to the appeal made by representatives of our government to support a stabilization policy. We know that such a policy cannot succeed unless the cost of living and prices can be controlled and a real stabilization of all the items which enter into the cost of living is established and maintained.

Our sympathies are with the farmer. We have steadfastly supported practically all legislation designed to protect and promote the economic and social welfare of the farmers of the country. This action is based upon our understanding of the close economic relationship which exists between the farmers and industrial workers. Neither can promote their economic welfare at the expense of the other. Our interest in the economic welfare of farmers is one outstanding reason why I am making this appeal to the Members of Congress to sustain the President's veto of the Bankhead bill. If the vicious spiral of inflation gains new impetus through the enactment of legislation such as the Bankhead bill, the farmer will suffer equally with labor. The farmer, as well as labor, suffers first and worst of all from the effects of uncontrolled and unbridled inflation. It seems inconceivable that Congress would enact legislation which would threaten both the farmer and Labor with economic injury and inflationary disaster.

The reasons given by the President for his veto of the Bankhead bill as set forth in his veto message to Congress are convincing and unanswerable. I hope and trust all Members of Congress will stand by the President and the country at this critical period in our national life by voting to sustain the President's veto of the Bankhead bill.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

When the message of the President was up for consideration in the Senate, the proponents of the bill discovered that they could not muster a sufficient number of votes to pass the bill over the veto, therefore they had the bill recommitted to the Senate Committee on Agriculture in the belief that by so doing they would be in a better parliamentary position.

Due to the action taken on the Bankhead bill, the Senate failed to act on the Pace bill.

Vocational Rehabilitation—Industrial. H. R. 2536, amending the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, passed through its various legislative stages and was approved by the President on July 6, 1943. (Public No. 113, 78th Congress.)

The law made no fundamental changes in existing principles or objectives of the vocational rehabilitation program but did liberalize, strengthen and improve it. The amendments permit federal-state cooperative programs for the blind, necessary physical restoration, strikes out any maximum amounts to be allowed by Congress, and the maximum amounts to be allotted to states.

Temporary provision for necessary funds to carry out the purpose of the amendments pending the meetings of state legislatures are also included.

Vocational Rehabilitation—Veterans. H. R. 801-S. 786, provide for administration of all veterans vocational rehabilitation by the Veterans Adminis-

tration and for the use of its facilities and those of any other governmental agency with or without payments being made as may be arranged.

It also provides for contract with public or private institutions for such additional training facilities as may be found suitable or necessary. The Act limits training courses to four years and no training may be afforded beyond six years after the termination of the present war.

Trainees under the Act and for two months thereafter may be paid at the following rates:

If without wife or child.....	\$80.00
With wife, no child.....	90.00
With wife, one child.....	95.00
With \$5 monthly for each additional child.	
With father or mother either or both dependent, \$10 monthly for each so dependent.	

S. 786 was passed by the Congress and approved March 24, 1943. Public No. 16, 78th Congress.)

This legislation will be most helpful to disabled veterans.

Care of Children and Mothers. S. 1130, by Senator Thomas, of Utah, provides for the allotment of \$20,000,000 annually to the states for the care of children of mothers employed in war areas in the United States. The appropriations were to continue for the duration and six months thereafter.

The bill passed the Senate just prior to the recess and was referred to the House Committee on Education.

Continuation of Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities. Despite much opposition of a vociferous character, the Dies committee was continued by the United States House of Representatives. The vote on the continuing resolution (H. Res. 65), was 302 to 94. The American Federation of Labor continued its support of this committee which has rendered valuable service in the face of much influential opposition.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements. As the reciprocal trade agreement laws permitting the President to reach trade agreements by negotiations with other nations were due to expire on June 12, 1943, H. J. Res. 111 (Public No. 66) was introduced on April 2, 1943. A statement was made by the American Federation of Labor supporting the renewal of the trade agreements and the resolution passed the House on May 13, extending the President's authority to two years instead of three years as requested. The Senate finally agreed to the House Act on June 2 and the President approved it on June 7, 1943.

George Washington Carver Memorial. We actively supported H. R. 647 and S. 37, providing for a memorial to this distinguished negro scientist.

H. R. 647 was enacted and approved July 14, 1943 (Public No. 148—1st Session, 78th Congress). The law stipulates that the Secretary of the Interior acquire by gift or purchase the site of the birthplace of George Washington Carver, located near Diamond, Missouri, and such additional land as is deemed necessary. The Secretary to make any desirable improvements thereon.

Pharmacy Corps, U. S. A. As requested by some of our affiliates we sup-

ported an amendment to the National Defense Act establishing a Pharmacy Corps in the United States Army.

H. R. 997, carrying such a provision, was approved July 12, 1943—(Public No. 130, 78th Congress).

Poll Tax. The following bills providing for the abolition of the poll tax were introduced: H. R. 7; H. R. 52; H. R. 642; H. R. 651; H. R. 987; H. R. 1017; H. J. Res. 126.

It will be recalled that this proposal was passed by the House of Representatives in the 77th Congress by an overwhelming vote, but that it was killed by filibuster in the Senate.

A petition signed by a majority of the members of the House of Representatives has been completed and this matter came to a vote in the House of Representatives on May 25 where it passed, upon roll call, 265 to 110. It appears quite possible that the same tactics which have invariably defeated the measure will again be resorted to in the Senate.

We are continuing our support of the proposal by circular letters to our affiliates and appeals to members of the Senate.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

Emergency Legislation on Hours of Work. The reactionary trend in state legislatures was not confined to industrial relations legislation alone. Under cover of the war emergency, some state legislatures seized the opportunity to impair and permanently weaken protective labor standards. In several states occupations previously covered were excluded from the hours laws. For example, in New Hampshire, there is now no limit to the hours women and minors engaged in canning of perishable fruits and vegetables may work. A new amendment to the Vermont 9-hour day, 54-hour week law allows women to work a 10-hour day and 60-hour week for a period of 10 consecutive weeks. The meal-period requirements in Arkansas were lowered.

On the other hand, the majority of enactments relating to hours of work are limited to the period of the war. They fall into two types: (1) laws which grant authority to the labor commissioner or the governor to vary laws during the war period, and (2) laws which suspend statutes outright for the duration of the war, or substitute lower wartime standards. The first type which was adopted this year by several states including Arkansas, California, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania recognized that labor shortages and emergency wartime situations may make necessary temporary relaxations in accepted standards of employment. At the same time, basic standards in the laws are preserved. Under this type of law most of the state labor commissioners have adopted the following procedure recommended by the Eighth National Conference on Labor Legislation: no blanket exceptions are granted; formal applications are required, with a showing of need; investigation is made by the state labor department as a basis for action; exceptions are treated on an individual plant basis and are granted for limited periods of time; efforts of the

plant are directed toward shortening the period during which such relaxations are effective.

The second type of wartime changes, those suspending or lowering standards, were enacted by a few states. A Nevada law excludes from the 48-hour law during the war female workers employed on common carriers for hire and in communications industries. Ohio, a state which heretofore has been known for high labor standards, increased substantially the number of hours women may work, reduced the length and frequency of meal periods, and lowered weight-lifting requirements. The new law also sets aside the provision of the laws requiring seats to be furnished for women. This type of law, although it terminates with the war, does not take into account the fact that high labor standards are essential for efficient production and should be maintained, except in temporary situations, especially during the war.

Two states succeeded in passing laws permanently raising standards. Nevada now requires women workers to be given one day of rest in seven. Rhode Island, which has previously had no required lunch period, enacted a law providing for a period of at least 20 minutes.

Child Labor. The impact of the war on the nation's existing labor reserves resulted in widespread efforts to lower legal child labor standards. Pressures were exerted to weaken maximum hours and night work standards, to set aside prohibitions against employment of minors in hazardous occupations, and to eliminate the minimum age standards.

For children under 16, the actual lowering of standards has for the most part related to work in agriculture and in bowling alleys. Six states—Indiana, North Carolina, Utah, West Virginia, Connecticut and Pennsylvania—passed laws authorizing the release of children from school for work on farms. In addition, Kansas for the war period, specifically exempted agricultural and related occupations from the provision prohibiting children under 16 from being employed in dangerous places or occupations. A Florida law sets aside the 12-year minimum age for farm work outside of school hours. Despite the trend toward extensive use of children in farm work, the legislation contains no safeguards for the health and welfare of these workers. No workmen's compensation benefits are offered them nor any protection as to hours and wages.

Efforts to lower standards for work in bowling alleys were successful in 6 states—Delaware, Indiana, New Mexico, Utah, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. Under most of these laws boys as young as 14 can be pin boys and work during night hours. The Delaware law permits 12-year olds to work as pin boys; or to work up to midnight and as early as 5 o'clock in the morning, delivering milk from vehicles, an occupation known to have definite traffic hazards.

Longer work days and work weeks for young people will result both from actual changes in laws and from power given to various authorities to grant exemptions from existing regulations. For example, a 10-hour day may be permitted for minors 16 and 17 in New Jersey. Extension of the maximum

hours was authorized also for girls 16 and 17 years of age in Maine and Tennessee, and maximum hours in canneries were eliminated for minors in New Hampshire. Much of the action taken did not consider either the real needs or the cost to the children. In some cases, the relaxation of regulations has not been limited to the war period, nor have proper safeguards been included. It is now too late to prevent such breakdown in laws as has already taken place, but administration of laws granting power of relaxation should be carefully watched.

Safety and Health. The legislatures completely ignored the need for adequate industrial safety measures and inspection staffs. About half the states have no authority to make safety codes for industry. Not one state was given such authority this year. The only legislation enacted was in the form of minor changes in safety standards for special groups of workers, such as employees of projection rooms in motion picture theaters.

The need for passage of the Norton bill for federal aid to state labor departments to protect the health and safety of workers is amply demonstrated by the lack of interest shown by the states in this subject. This bill, H. R. 2800, was introduced in Congress at the request of the American Federation of Labor.

Wages. The volume of legislation relating to wages was also meagre. Many state federations, realizing that a floor under wages and a ceiling on hours may be needed when the war ends, had pressed for state wage and hour laws. Not a single law of this type was enacted, however. Neither were any new minimum wage or wage payment and wage collection laws adopted.

A new type of legislation which clearly discriminates against Labor emerged this year. The legislatures of four states (Alabama, Georgia, Ohio, and Oregon), passed laws limiting the time during which workers may institute suits to collect wage claims. Such legislation affects wage claims under the Fair Labor Standards Act and state wage and overtime laws. Under both state and federal laws, workers are entitled to collect rates due to them through civil suit.

The period which the statutes of limitations imposed varies under the new Acts. Oregon and Alabama are the most drastic with the periods limited to 6 months and 1 year, respectively. As finally enacted the law of Georgia provides a 2-year limitation and that of Ohio, 3 years. This legislation is far out of line with state statutes of limitations for other types of claims. In contract claims, for instance, action in most states may be instituted any time within 6 or 7 years.

There is no sound basis for prescribing a shorter statute of limitations for suits for statutory wages than for any other type of contract claim. In fact, there are many reasons why in wage cases there should be an extension of the period of time instead of a contraction. If an employer violates legal wage standards, the individual worker, fearful of losing his job, is not likely to demand the rates due him, until he can secure other employment. A great

many workers have never learned their rights and remedies under labor laws. Because of fear for their jobs and incomplete information they may allow months or years to go by before they take steps to enforce their wage claims. Under this new type of legislation, such a time lapse would wipe out their chance of ever collecting wages that should have been paid them.

The influx of women into war industries stimulated interest in legislation requiring equal pay for equal work. Although numerous state legislatures introduced such measures, they were passed in only two—Washington and Illinois. In previous years Michigan and Montana placed them on the statute books. The Washington law forbids any employer in the state to discriminate between men and women in the payment of wages and in case of violation allows women to recover in court the full amount of compensation due them. In Illinois, an effective type of equal pay bill was proposed by the state federation of labor but it was considerably weakened before passage. It does not go into effect until July, 1944. Only manufacturers employing six or more persons are bound by its provisions. It carries a low criminal penalty and makes no provision for the employee to recover back wages.

Organized labor was responsible for the passage of laws in several states requiring employers to furnish employees with statements each pay day showing the amount of deductions made from wages. The states in which such legislation was enacted include California, Delaware, Michigan, Oregon and Utah.

Workmen's Compensation. This was the field of labor law in which greatest advances were made by the 1943 legislatures. The states moved quickly and effectively to remedy deficiencies in workmen's compensation systems emphasized by the war program. Every state except 5 out of the 44 which met in regular session enacted amendments materially strengthening their laws. Little restrictive legislation was even introduced on this subject and virtually none enacted.

Occupational disease legislation was approved in Arizona, Oregon, Nebraska, Minnesota and Michigan. In the first two of these states coverage of industrial diseases was secured for the first time. The other 3 states changed from the type of law which covers only a limited list of diseases to one which covers all diseases.

A few states strengthened specific provisions of their occupational disease laws. For example, Ohio, as a protective measure for workers entering the state to take war jobs, eliminated the 90-day residence requirement. Indiana and Illinois increased the amount of compensation payable to occupational disease victims.

Extraordinary progress was made in liberalizing the level of benefit payments. No less than 19 states raised benefit scales, and about half of these made important increases in the maximum weekly benefits allowed under their laws. In a period of rising wages, a low fixed maximum operates to keep the injured worker from being paid a fair percentage of his wages as compensation.

Connecticut established a new high level of benefit payments by increasing

the weekly maximum from \$25 to \$30. In Wisconsin the maximum was raised from \$21 to \$24.50, while in Maryland it was increased from \$20 to \$23.

Florida, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, North Dakota, Ohio and South Dakota upwardly revised the minimum weekly benefits.

The total amounts which may be paid for compensation for injuries were raised in a few states, the action of North Dakota being outstanding. In that state the \$15,000 limitation on benefits for death and the disability cases was removed, and payments will now be made for the whole period of disability or, in case of death, during the lifetime of dependents.

Significant increases in schedule injuries—*i. e.*, the amounts payable for specific losses such as loss of an arm or hand—were adopted by a large number of states. Numerous other amendments pertaining to benefits increase the allowances for medical and hospital care, require employers to pay for artificial appliances and raise amounts allotted for burial expenses.

As the result of recent legislative action, many more workers will receive the protection of workmen's compensation laws. Compulsory instead of elective coverage was secured by Massachusetts and Michigan. Vermont broadened the coverage of its law to include employers of 8 or more instead of 11 or more, as formerly. Specific groups of workers such as state employees were brought within the jurisdiction of workmen's compensation laws by legislation in about a dozen states. Oregon took a step toward encouraging insurance for farm labor by reducing the minimum fee for insurance in the state fund.

Six state legislatures—Maine, Rhode Island, Oklahoma, Washington, Michigan and Missouri—created second-injury funds. Previously only 14 states had such funds. These funds should encourage fuller utilization of the services of handicapped workers in war production. No longer will employers in these states be able to claim that high compensation costs keep them from employing the handicapped. Under the second-injury Acts, if a once-injured person is injured a second time the employer is only liable for compensation for the subsequent injury. The employee, however, is deprived of none of the benefits to which he is entitled because the funds assume the excess compensation cost for the combined injuries.

Organized labor successively defeated bills in several states which would have required handicapped workers to sign statements at the time of employment, waiving their rights to benefits for any subsequent injury which was due in any degree to their initial disability. Only one state (New Hampshire) approved legislation establishing such a waiver system.

Rhode Island this year became the first state to set up a comprehensive plan for a rehabilitation clinic under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor. The plan is comparable in scope to the rehabilitation program now operating in Ontario, Canada. A curative center with extensive equipment and a trained medical staff will be established to make available to workers injured in industry "all possible modern curative treatment and methods." Funds for the program will be derived from three sources: an excise tax of 1 per cent on gross premiums of insurance carriers; payments of \$750 in all death cases where there are no dependents entitled to benefits; and penalties

collected for violations of the workmen's compensation Act. This step taken by Rhode Island, while notable at any time, is especially important in wartime. Rehabilitation of injured workers will help in promoting maximum use of manpower.

Other improvements in workmen's compensation laws too numerous to mention include provisions insuring more prompt payment of compensation and improving the procedure of administrative agencies.

Despite the outstanding improvements achieved this year in workmen's compensation laws, only a beginning has been made. Organized labor cannot relax its efforts in this field until the following goals have been reached by every state: (1) compulsory coverage for all industrial accidents and diseases; (2) commission or board administration; (3) insurance by exclusive state funds; (4) unlimited hospital and medical care; (5) benefits of not less than two-thirds of wages payable during entire period of disability; and (6) establishment of second-injury and rehabilitation funds.

ANALYSES OF FEDERAL AND STATE ANTI-LABOR LAWS PENDING AND ENACTED IN 1943

The Hobbs Bill. The Hobbs bill (H. R. 653) passed the House of Representatives April 9, 1943, but is pending in the Senate. It repeals the present so-called "anti-racketeering Act" of 1934 and enacts a new law dealing with interferences with interstate commerce by "robbery" and "extortion." The Hobbs bill makes it a felony, punishable by 20 years imprisonment, or \$10,000 fine, or both, for any person in any way or degree to obstruct, delay, or affect commerce by robbery or extortion, or to conspire or attempt to conspire, or to participate in any attempt to do so. The American Federation of Labor offered an amendment to this bill so as to preserve the exemptions accorded Labor in the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Railway Labor Act. Although the amendment proposed was not adopted in the form submitted, as a result of the efforts of the American Federation of Labor a proviso was inserted in the bill to the effect that it shall not be construed so as to modify or effect the labor provisions in the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Railway Labor Act, or the National Labor Relations Act.

The Hobbs bill also contains a specific provision making it a crime for any person knowingly and willfully to interfere with, obstruct, or retard the orderly transportation of persons or property in interstate or foreign commerce. Here again the penalties are \$10,000 fine or imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both.

The bill is avowedly anti-Labor. The American Federation of Labor will continue its efforts to defeat its passage in the Senate.

War Labor Disputes Act—(Smith-Connally Bill). The chief purpose of the Act is to impose restrictions and limitations upon strikes and stoppages of production in war plants. It applies to plants, mines, or other facilities (1) which have been taken over and operated by the government, and (2) plants engaged in war work but not taken over, or operated by the government. If

there is an interference with production in a plant not possessed by the government the President is empowered to take over the plant, mine or facility. The plant must be returned to the owners within 60 days after the restoration of the productive efficiency. When a plant is taken over by the government, wages, hours and working conditions are frozen. Opportunity is offered the workers, through their representatives, to make application to the War Labor Board for changes in working conditions.

As to plants taken over by the government, it is unlawful for any person to "coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with, or encourage any person to interfere by lockout, strike, slowdown, or other interruption with the operation of such plant," etc., or to aid in such lockout, strike, etc., by giving direction or guidance in the conduct of the same, or by providing funds for the conduct or direction thereof, or for the payment of strike, unemployment, or other benefits to those parties participating therein.

The law specifically provides that workers may quit or refuse to continue in work as *individuals*. The law, however, makes it illegal for unions to vote strikes, or for officers of unions to call strikes, or to pay or cause to be paid, unemployment or other strike benefits. Criminal penalties are provided, consisting of fines up to \$5,000 and imprisonment up to one year, or both.

With respect to those war plants not taken over by the government, but in which an interruption in production is likely to occur, the representatives of unions are required to notify the National War Labor Board, the National Labor Relations Board and the Secretary of Labor of the dispute if the workers contemplate a strike. Work must continue uninterrupted for 30 days, after which the National Labor Relations Board is required to take a vote as to whether the employees desire to strike. Whether the vote is in favor or against the strike, after it has been taken a strike may be called, even by a minority group. If a strike is called without giving the foregoing notice and without waiting for the ballot to be taken, any person injured thereby, or the United States if it is injured thereby, may commence a suit to recover damages. The law provides, "The Board shall not have any powers under this section with respect to any matter within the purview of the Railway Labor Act, as amended." The law ceases to be effective six months after the termination of hostilities.

There are many objections to this law, but fundamental is the fact that it imposes "involuntary servitude" upon American workers. At the outset of the war the American Federation of Labor gave its no-strike pledge, and, as has been acknowledged by the President, it has kept that pledge 99-95/100 per cent—a better record than that of any other country in the world.

Prompted by reactionary forces, many members of Congress disregarded the true facts, and with malicious revengeful purpose, overrode the President's courageous and well justified veto of this bill. Congress substituted for the voluntary, no-strike pledge, a procedure which encourages stoppages of work and specifically authorizes strikes. Thus, instead of contributing to peace in industry during wartime the law fosters disruption. Regardless of

the blind and malicious action of Congress, the American Federation of Labor in a release to its affiliates stated the following:

The American Federation of Labor urges the officers and members of its affiliates to observe and comply with this law. If unwarranted prosecutions are brought thereunder against officers and members, the American Federation of Labor should be informed thereof so that unwarranted prosecutions may be properly defended.

Regardless of the malice behind this law, and regardless of the denial of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, the American Federation of Labor has given its no-strike pledge for the duration of the war, which is binding upon every officer and member of an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor.

By voluntarily adhering to our no-strike pledge this "fascist" law will have no effect. Production will continue uninterrupted, whereas under this law strikes and stoppages could legally take place and production could be disastrously curtailed.

State Anti-Labor Laws

Alabama. Alabama adopted a vicious anti-Labor bill. Certain provisions of the bill establishing a department of labor to mediate labor disputes are not detrimental to Labor. However, the other provisions of the bill are. It requires registration of labor unions and a yearly accounting of all receipts, expenses and assets. It outlaws the closed shop, providing that every person is free to join or refrain from joining a labor organization. The law furthermore limits picketing activities and also prohibits workmen from refusing to handle materials made or transported by non-union labor unless by agreement with their employer. Strikes are prohibited by the bill in the absence of a majority vote of the employees. The measure outlaws "work permit systems" and provides that fees, dues, etc., may be charged by labor unions only to members. No supervisory employee may be a member of a labor union in which non-supervisory workmen are eligible for membership. The law also prohibits unions from expending funds for any candidate for political office. A labor union violating the law is subject to a \$1,000 fine, a person a \$500 fine or imprisonment at hard labor up to a year, or both.

Arkansas. Arkansas enacted a law making it unlawful to use force or violence, or threats thereof, to prevent or attempt to prevent any person from engaging in any lawful vocation. The law also provides that it shall be unlawful for any person acting in concert with other persons to assemble and prevent, or attempt to prevent, by force or violence, any person from engaging in a lawful vocation. It is made unlawful for any person to encourage and aid in such unlawful assemblage. No alternative fine is permitted. Violation of the law is a felony, and the punishment upon conviction is imprisonment in the state penitentiary from one to two years.

The law is so broadly written that almost any assemblage of union members or workers may be held to be unlawful and thereby to promote, aid, or encourage interference with lawful vocation or employment. A labor dispute is so defined as to permit broad jurisdiction on the part of the courts. The

purpose of the law is to discourage or prohibit trade union organization through peaceful activities of workers. This law violates the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and peaceable assembly, and takes property away from workers and their unions without due process of law.

Colorado. The Colorado law is the worst of the state anti-Labor laws passed in 1943. It is suggested that delegates, officers and members of our affiliates obtain copies of this law from the Colorado State Federation of Labor and study it. It is a composite of all the vicious and restrictive provisions contained in other state anti-Labor laws, and in addition prescribes a code of state supervision and control over the internal affairs of labor organizations never before attempted or suggested in this country.

The law provides that there must be no discrimination in admission to union membership on account of race, color, religion or sex. Arbitrary or excessive dues, initiation fees and fines are prohibited; full and detailed financial reports must be furnished members, and strikes can be called only after a majority vote by secret ballot.

Jurisdictional disputes do not constitute a lawful labor dispute; employers are given the right to hire and fire as they wish, even disregarding seniority rights agreed upon.

Refusal by an employer to grant a closed shop agreement cannot be made the subject of a lawful labor dispute.

As to jurisdictional disputes, and strikes called without majority vote, or a denial of a closed shop demand, the workers are prohibited from picketing or boycotting.

The law makes it an illegal secondary boycott to refuse "to handle, install, use or work on particular materials, equipment or supplies," thus in effect adopting a so-called "hot cargo" law.

Company unions are so defined as to make them legal. No dispute can be had with a single employer, such as the lone self-employed barber, plumber, etc.

Collective bargaining agents can be elected only by a majority of all employees whether they vote or not, and any group of workers may demand that a particular name go on the ballot, thus employer stooges can select a variety of names for the ballot, making certain that no one will get a majority and thus prevent a bargaining agent being selected. Deductions for "check off" are greatly restricted by requiring individual written authorizations, and they can be terminated on 30 days notice.

A comprehensive code of unfair labor practices by employees is provided, violation of which renders the union ineffective in that it cannot act as bargaining agent, and picketing and boycotting is thereafter denied.

There are numerous other provisions which clearly establish the Colorado law as the most vicious anti-Labor law in the country.

Most important of all, however, is the provision requiring compulsory incorporation. This is the first time in the history of the American labor movement that any state has provided for compulsory incorporation of labor unions. The provisions for compulsory incorporation are made to synchronize with the many sections which exercise a complete control by the state over the internal

affairs of the unions. Thus, if a violation of any of these provisions occurs, the charter of the corporation can be revoked and the functions of the union voided. That is the purpose behind the compulsory incorporation provision.

The attorneys for the state federation of labor, in association with our general counsel, have already instituted suit attacking the provisions of this law. Argument has already been had before the court. Comprehensive briefs are being prepared to be filed with the court. At the time this report is written no decision had been handed down.

Florida. To understand the situation in Florida it is necessary to point out that State Attorney General Watson has led a one-man crusade against the fundamental rights of organized labor. He centered his chief attack upon the closed shop, and has sought to outlaw it by commencing two suits, one against the Moore Pipe Company, and another against the Tampa Shipbuilding Company, to revoke the corporate charters of these companies for having entered into closed shop union contracts. Both cases were tried and defended by our general counsel. Both trial judges denied the attorney general's plea and held closed shop contracts in peacetime, and those not having to do with war production, to be valid. The judges held, however, that in wartime and in war plants closed shop contracts are invalid. The cases are on appeal to the Supreme Court of Florida, and in July our general counsel argued the case before the Florida Supreme Court. At the time of the writing of this report a decision had not been handed down.

In spite of the holding of two Florida judges that closed shop contracts are lawful in peacetime, the attorney general induced the legislature to adopt a resolution submitting to a vote of the people a constitutional amendment seeking, what he believes to be, the outlawing of the closed shop in Florida. We do not believe the proposed amendment as drafted even if passed would outlaw the closed shop. Its main provision recites—

The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union or labor organization.

The vote on this amendment will not be held until next spring. The Florida State Federation of Labor advises that a vigorous campaign is being planned in an effort to defeat its passage.

The Florida legislature also passed a so-called "licensing bill" which among other things provides as follows: prohibits jurisdictional strikes; requires majority vote of workers before strike can be called; unions may sue or be sued in their own names; initiation fees are limited to \$15, unless a higher fee now prevails; all unions must register with the secretary of state and business agents must be licensed; picketing is greatly restricted; criminal penalties consisting of fines up to \$500 or imprisonment up to six months are provided in case of violation.

A case is being planned by the Florida State Federation of Labor to test the validity of this law. The American Federation of Labor has extended legal aid in combating this law.

Idaho and South Dakota. During the last session of the legislatures of the States of Idaho and South Dakota identical bills were passed. These measures require the president or other executive officer of every labor union to file annually with the secretary of state a verified statement of income and expenditures. They prohibit any officer or employee of any union from entering upon any ranch, farm, feed yard, shearing plant, processing plant, or other agricultural premises for the purpose of collecting dues, fines or assessments, or for the purpose of soliciting membership in a union, or for the purpose of ordering a strike, or to engage in any other activities which will interfere with the duties of any person employed on such premises. The laws prohibit picketing any of the foregoing industries or premises. They further prohibit any boycott which interferes with the movement to market or the sale of any agricultural commodity or farm produce because such commodity or produce may have been produced by non-union labor. Penalties consisting of a fine of not more than \$300, or imprisonment for a period not to exceed 90 days, or both, are provided.

These laws come within the classification of so-called "licensing and registration" bills, including prohibitions and restrictions upon the right to picket, boycott, etc., thus depriving workers of their constitutional rights to freedom of speech and peaceable assembly.

A suit has been instituted in the courts of Idaho, and one is about to be instituted in the courts of South Dakota, attacking the constitutionality of these Acts. The American Federation of Labor has directed its general counsel to cooperate in the handling of these suits, and the same is being done.

Kansas. The legislature of Kansas passed a so-called "licensing or registration" law, making it necessary, as a condition precedent to operating as a labor union in Kansas, to first obtain a license from the secretary of state. If he refuses to grant such license the union cannot function in Kansas. The law requires that every union having 25 or more members furnish in writing to the secretary of state a financial statement. "The records provided for shall be made available by the secretary of state to all persons for the examination and taking of copies." It is unlawful to strike unless the same is authorized by a majority vote of the employees. A so-called "hot cargo" provision is included, that is, it is illegal to refuse to handle, install, use or work on, non-union material. Jurisdictional disputes are illegal. The secretary of state is empowered to revoke licenses. Penalties are provided of \$500 and imprisonment up to six months for violation.

Suits have been instituted in the federal court attacking the constitutionality of this Act by the Kansas State Federation of Labor and other affiliates. The several suits commenced by different organizations were recently consolidated by this court and a hearing has already been had before a federal court consisting of three judges. Briefs have been prepared and filed. At the time this report is written no decision had been handed down by the court on the issues raised.

Massachusetts. Massachusetts undertook to legislate respecting "permit" fees and charges. The law is short and we therefore set it forth in full:

No labor union, or person acting in its behalf, shall require any person, as a condition of securing or continuing employment, to pay any fees or assessment other than such initiation fees, dues and assessments as are, by the constitution and by-laws of such union, chargeable upon members thereof. Any union or person violating any provision of this section shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$100.

It is apparent that the law is aimed at the practice of charging a fee for the issuance of so-called "permit cards." The law does not prohibit the issuance of such card or the charging of a fee, but it limits the charges to the sum fixed for regular members as provided in the local's by-laws or constitution. Where a union's constitution fails to specifically prescribe initiation fees, dues and assessments it may well be that courts will hold that no sum may be charged. However, this may be overcome by the locals in amending their by-laws or constitutions to provide for these items.

Michigan. Michigan added to its criminal code another crime—interference with transportation. The law consists of one paragraph:

Any person who shall, without lawful authority, by force, stop or hinder the operation of any vehicle transporting farm or commercial products within this state, or the loading or unloading of such vehicle, with the intent to prevent, hinder or delay transportation, loading or unloading of such products, upon conviction thereof, shall be guilty of an offense punishable by imprisonment in the county or municipal jail for not more than 90 days or by a fine of not more than \$100, or by both such fine and imprisonment, and upon a second or subsequent offense shall be punished by imprisonment in the state prison for not more than two years or by a fine of not more than \$1,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment. This section shall not apply to railroads.

This is a bad law because of the broad language used, and the opportunity it affords anti-Labor judges to so construe it as to hold that peaceful picketing or striking constitute a crime. Although the word "force" is used as a basis of the crime, "force" may be held to occur by means other than physical, as for instance a threat of strike or an actual strike. Some courts hold any form of coercion to constitute force, thus many normal activities which may hinder the operation of a vehicle, or the loading or unloading of one, may be held to violate this law. An appropriate case may result in a narrowed interpretation which may render the law less harmful than it appears to be on its face.

Minnesota. The Executive Council expresses keen disappointment over the laws passed by the Minnesota legislature. It seems that five vicious bills sponsored by several reactionary farm organizations, stooging for manufacturers' associations, were defeated through the excellent efforts of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor. After this splendid work on the part of the officers of the Minnesota State Federation, we expected that further anti-Labor bills would not be sponsored, and, least of all, aided or approved by the governor. We regret to report, however, that several bad bills were introduced after the state federation of labor succeeded in killing five vicious bills, and these latter bills were signed by the governor.

The Minnesota Labor Relations Act was amended so as to include broad

definitions of agricultural products, processor, and marketing organizations and to prohibit ordinary, usual and lawful labor activities if it adversely affects such products or persons. The law was further amended to include the hackneyed, employer-sponsored, reprehensible provision requiring a majority vote before a strike can be called. Following this is a broad so-called "interference" clause making it unlawful to hinder or prevent production, manufacture, transportation or *processing* of agricultural products. Although the right to strike is preserved it is so interwoven with other inhibitions in the law that only a decision of a court of last resort will determine the extent of Labor's right to strike.

Another bill was passed dealing with the subject of "jurisdictional controversies." This law requires such controversies to be certified to the governor by a labor conciliator; the governor may then appoint a labor referee to hear the controversy. The labor referee shall decide the controversy in accordance with the charter grants of the parent organization of the unions if such unions are affiliates of the same parent organization. In other cases the referee shall decide the case so as will "best promote industrial peace." The law permits the unions in controversy on their own volition to submit their dispute to their own parent tribunals for decision. But whether a labor referee takes jurisdiction or a parent tribunal obtains jurisdiction, it becomes unlawful to call a strike, or boycott the employer, or engage in picketing.

This law is an unwarranted interference with the internal affairs of voluntary associations so frequently condemned by the courts; it denies to workers and their unions constitutional guarantees such as freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage.

Another law passed by the Minnesota legislature bears the fantastic title "Minnesota Labor Union Democracy Act." It limits the election of union officers to terms not exceeding four years, and election must be by secret ballot. Notice of elections must be given every member. Officers must furnish all members with a statement of receipts and disbursements, and assets and liabilities each year. The governor is empowered to appoint labor referees to decide disputes, and they are to be paid \$15 per day, but the nature of the disputes to be decided is not clearly set forth. However, some information as to jurisdiction of the referee is disclosed in Section 4, which permits the labor referee to conduct a hearing and send notice to the "labor organization and to the officers thereof who are charged in the complaint with dereliction of duties."

If the labor referee sustains the charges "such labor organization is thereby disqualified from acting as the representative of employees until such disqualification has been removed."

In the foregoing law we have totalitarianism at its worst. Nothing can be less democratic than to vest in a politically appointed referee the right to control the internal affairs of free democratic trade unions and to exercise the right to decree their life and death. It is a wicked bill, and one we believe the courts will not sustain.

Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania amended its election laws so as to prohibit

political contributions by "unincorporated associations," which includes trade unions. The Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor takes the position that the law as framed is discriminatory and therefore invalid. The state federation advises that when an appropriate case arises it will contest the validity of this law.

Texas. Texas passed a law containing 16 sections crammed with numerous inhibitions, most of which render unlawful the right to organize workers into trade unions, interferes with the internal affairs of labor organizations along lines heretofore recognized as lawful, prohibits peaceful picketing, peaceable assemblage, and the right peacefully to boycott, etc. The method of holding elections of officers and the charging of initiation fees are put under state control. The law prohibits labor unions from collecting "initiation fees, dues, fines, assessments, or other pecuniary exactions which will create a fund in excess of the reasonable requirements of such unions." It prohibits the charging of permit fees. Penalties for violation are provided in sums up to \$1,000 for each violation by a labor union, and \$500 with imprisonment not to exceed 60 days for violations by union officers.

A suit has been commenced attacking the constitutionality of this enactment, and the general counsel of the American Federation of Labor is associated with local counsel in the prosecution of this suit.

Summary. It is apparent that the foregoing legislation passed by the 12 states designated has one fundamental objective, that is, the complete destruction of labor unions, or the rendering of them so weak and ineffective as to amount to virtual destruction. By these enactments there has been launched in this country the philosophy of the totalitarian states—Fascism—which includes the destruction of free trade unionism. The American Federation of Labor has advised its state affiliates not to comply with these state laws until final adjudication as to their validity is had in the courts of last resort, for compliance with these state laws at this time would revolutionize the trade union movement, and destroy in a great measure the normal, usual, and lawful functioning of our trade unions.

The state federations of labor have been advised to retain legal counsel and institute suits testing the validity of these laws. Several states, among them Colorado, Texas, Kansas and Idaho, have already instituted such suits. Other states are about to do the same. The American Federation of Labor has offered the cooperation, aid and assistance of its general counsel in the prosecution of these suits and our counsel and his staff are associated in the bringing and trial of these cases. It is yet too early to report on the outcome of any of the cases. From time to time the American Federation of Labor will report on the decisions rendered by any of the courts passing upon these matters, so that our affiliates and members may have future guidance.

LABOR AND THE ANTI-TRUST SUITS AND PROSECUTIONS

The Executive Council is of the opinion that the time is fast approaching when the final chapter in the dramatic legal attack upon Labor's funda-

mental rights, through civil and criminal prosecutions instituted by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, will be written. From 1938 to the early part of 1943, the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice persisted in bringing numerous civil and criminal prosecutions against American Federation of Labor affiliates, alleging violations of the anti-trust laws. The chief victims of these prosecutions were affiliates of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, both of which organizations vigorously defended the prosecutions.

As a result of Labor's efforts the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice was defeated in its attempt to destroy Labor's right to exercise normal, lawful and usual activities of trade unions.

Because of the number of court defeats suffered by the Anti-Trust Division it shifted its position from prosecuting trade unions alone to prosecuting trade unions in conjunction with employers and their associations. By this method the Department of Justice believed it would circumvent the decisions of the United States Supreme Court upholding Labor's rights. In most of these attempts the Department of Justice again met with decisive defeats in the courts. One or two trial judges yielded to the arguments of the Anti-Trust Division and found American Federation of Labor affiliates guilty of violating the anti-trust laws when prosecuted jointly with employers. However, these cases are on appeal and have not yet been decided.

Since our last report the Anti-Trust Division instituted two civil suits against the American Federation of Musicians, and one criminal prosecution against the Brotherhood of Painters and many of its affiliates jointly with employers' associations in the San Francisco Bay area. These suits were of extreme importance to Labor because the Anti-Trust Division, in bringing them had sought to avoid previous decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and launched its attack upon what it claimed to be new principles of law.

In the suit against the American Federation of Musicians the Anti-Trust Division took the position that this international union was guilty of violating the anti-trust laws in refusing to make records or machines, which records and machines destroyed the employment opportunities of the members of the American Federation of Musicians and threw thousands of musicians out of work. The Anti-Trust Division also took the position that the American Federation of Musicians could not refuse to play for employers who hire amateurs to render music in competition with regular union musicians. The American Federation of Musicians resisted this attack. For many years it had been engaged in a life and death struggle with "canned" music, that is, music furnished through the means of mechanical devices. Its employment opportunities were being lessened both by these means and by amateur performances. The Department of Justice sought a permanent injunction restraining the American Federation of Musicians from enforcing an order requiring musicians to cease making records and transcriptions, and from refusing to play with amateurs. The Anti-Trust Division presented the issues to the court in a manner which clearly indicated that the musicians were engaged in a labor dispute.

In defending the case before the federal district judge at Chicago the musicians moved for dismissal of the suit on the basis that the government had pleaded a labor dispute, therefore under the Norris-LaGuardia Act the court did not have jurisdiction to issue an injunction in the case. It defended on the further ground that there was no violation of the anti-trust laws because to compel musicians to work against their will imposed upon them involuntary servitude.

The judge, in a comprehensive opinion, upheld all the contentions of the American Federation of Musicians. Thereafter the Anti-Trust Division brought a second suit, practically upon the same grounds as the first. While this suit was pending the Anti-Trust Division appealed the first case to the Supreme Court of the United States. That court affirmed the decision of the federal district judge. The Anti-Trust Division thereupon dismissed its second suit. Thus the Anti-Trust Division was again defeated in its attempt to deny to organized labor its constitutional rights and to impose upon it involuntary servitude.

The criminal prosecution against the Brotherhood of Painters and its affiliates was instituted in February of 1943 and is the only criminal prosecution of its kind this year. Here again the Department of Justice contended that the Brotherhood of Painters and its affiliates were guilty of criminal conspiracy to violate the anti-trust laws by agreeing with employers and their associations to abstain from using the paint spraying machine. For years the Brotherhood of Painters had spent many thousands of dollars in waging a forceful war against the paint spraying machine which was responsible for the lead poisoning of many of its members, the use of which decreased employment opportunities. Counsel for the painters' union moved to dismiss the suit on the ground that the government pleaded a labor dispute, therefore the court had no jurisdiction under the Norris-LaGuardia Act to issue an injunction; also on the ground that it would impose upon organized labor the duty to work on machines and devices which were destructive of their health and physical well being; and further, that it destroyed their employment opportunities. The United States district judge at San Francisco, after hearing extensive legal argument, sustained all the contentions of the Brotherhood of Painters and dismissed the suit, thus making another substantial victory for organized labor.

In the month of March, 1943, Mr. Thurman Arnold, then head of the Anti-Trust Division, resigned from the Department of Justice to assume his duties as a judge of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. No further suits or prosecutions, civil or criminal, have been instituted.

Labor hopes that the campaign of prosecution, civil and criminal, launched by the Anti-Trust Division against it in 1938, is at an end. The successful resistance and defense against the attack upon the fundamental rights of organized labor by the Anti-Trust Division during the past five years marks one of the most brilliant pages in the history of the American Federation of Labor.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES

Legal problems confronting the American Federation of Labor are mounting from year to year, but in no previous year have the problems been so numerous or so important as the period between the last convention and the present. Many reactionary agencies have undertaken actively to destroy Labor's rights through processes of legal prosecutions and adverse legislation, both federal and state.

The work in charge of our general counsel has consisted of diversified legal work such as defending injunction suits, rendering numerous legal opinions to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates, presenting and arguing cases before the National Labor Relations Board, the War Labor Board, the Wage and Hour Division, and other boards and commissions; also appearing before congressional committees and state legislatures. A number of briefs were filed in important court cases in state and federal courts, and these cases were argued in the various courts.

The most important legal work, however, handled by the legal department has been in connection with federal and state legislation. Early in this year's congressional session a number of anti-Labor bills were introduced, among which was the notorious Hobbs bill which passed the House of Representatives. There was also revived in the Senate the old Connally bill, which, after amendment, was passed in the Senate and sent to the House, where it was further amended by annexing the old Smith bill. It was finally passed under the title "War Labor Disputes Act" (Smith-Connally bill). Although the President vetoed this bill, it was passed over his veto.

The following states passed anti-Labor legislation: South Dakota, Idaho, Kansas, Colorado, Arkansas, Texas, Minnesota, Alabama, Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

These bills are the result of a campaign launched by reactionary employer organizations, manufacturers' associations, and farm organizations fronting for employer organizations working in unison and with the ultimate objective of destroying or rendering ineffective the trade unions of the country. An effort was made to camouflage the fact that these bills emanated from a central source by submitting different bills in different states, but it is apparent from a study of them that they stem from one source.

The general counsel of the Federation was directed to and did prepare analyses of these bills for the various state federations of labor and other affiliates affected by them. Briefs and arguments were also prepared to be used by labor representatives who appeared in opposition to these proposals, and in several instances our counsel appeared before the committees of the state legislatures and presented arguments in opposition.

These enactments, which will be discussed and analyzed in another section of the Executive Council's report, have created a tremendous burden for the American Federation of Labor. It is important that each law be challenged in the courts as to constitutionality. These cases must be carefully selected and prepared. The petitions and complaints must raise all appropriate con-

stitutional issues involved in each law, and comprehensive briefs are required to be filed. Trials, arguments and appeals will follow in each case.

The American Federation of Labor has directed its general counsel to participate in these cases from their commencement in association with local counsel selected by the state affiliates.

Suits have already been instituted in Kansas, Colorado, Texas and Idaho. Complaints have been filed and preliminary briefs prepared. Arguments before the courts in Kansas and Colorado have already been presented. Decisions have not yet been rendered.

PUBLICITY AND THE LABOR PRESS

The wave of anti-Labor propaganda in the daily press assumed dangerous proportions in the past year. Departures from the no-strike policy by individual unions not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were seized upon as a pretext to defame and smear the entire trade union movement. Perhaps the most vicious aspect of this campaign was the attempt to inflame the minds of the men in the armed forces of the nation against organized labor.

Nevertheless, the magnificent record of war production which the workers of the nation achieved day after day and month after month during the year punctured the unfounded charges of the hostile press and served to counteract most of the misleading propaganda.

The Publicity and Information Service of the American Federation of Labor has constantly emphasized the tangible proofs of constructive service and unswerving loyalty shown by our soldiers of production. Their achievements, which made possible the new offensives against the enemy during the year, were brought before public attention at every opportunity and through every possible medium. The patriotic policies adopted by the American Federation of Labor and the strict adherence to the no-strike pledge observed by all affiliated unions gained widespread public commendation.

The best example of how anti-Labor propaganda can be thwarted by the truth was afforded by the collapse of the campaign to place the major portion of the blame for absenteeism in war industries upon Labor. Such attacks swept the nation like wildfire at the outset, but constant and forceful presentation of the facts by the Publicity and Information Service of the American Federation of Labor, with the cooperation of government agencies and the aid of some enlightened employers, finally extinguished the baseless charges and forced even the reactionary press to admit that other factors than irresponsibility of workers were the chief causes of absenteeism.

In this and other informational activities, the American Federation of Labor counted heavily on its "Labor For Victory" radio program to bring the truth home to the American people. This radio program celebrated its first birthday on the air during the year and received congratulatory messages from the heads of the armed services, high-ranking government officials and leaders in all walks of life, for its contributions to public understanding of Labor's splendid record in the war effort.

The Executive Council again wishes to express its sincere appreciation to the National Broadcasting Company for making these broadcasts possible by providing time over its nation-wide network to the American Federation of Labor without charge as a public service.

Another important and perennial medium for the expression of Labor's news and views is the Labor Press, which during the past year served the cause of the nation's workers even more effectively than ever before. By increasing its circulation among war workers and by stressing the patriotic appeals sent out by the American Federation of Labor and the government's informational services, the Labor Press made a major contribution to the up-lifting of morale of the millions working for victory on the home front.

For these reasons, the Executive Council once more feels called upon to express its deep gratitude to the bona fide Labor Press, which upholds the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, for its loyal support and constructive accomplishments.

We are pleased to report that, in accordance with the instructions of the 1942 Convention at Toronto, President Green appointed a special committee to investigate ways and means whereby the American Federation of Labor may render more effective and substantial assistance to the bona fide Labor Press. This committee is composed of American Federation of Labor Vice President Matthew Woll, President E. E. Milliman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, and R. E. Woodmansee, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Labor Press.

This committee, we are informed, will be ready shortly to report its findings to the Executive Council which pledges its full cooperation in putting into effect every practical step to provide new opportunities for the growth and development of the bona fide Labor Press.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The *American Federationist*, which is the official monthly publication of the American Federation of Labor, has served during the past year as an effective instrumentality to inform trade unionists as well as a fairly substantial part of the general public of the manifold patriotic contributions of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions in connection with the prosecution of the war.

Throughout the year the magazine has concentrated chiefly upon the task of telling the various aspects of one of the most important stories of the whole war—the tremendous role which the millions who make up American Labor are playing on both the home front and the battlefronts. It is a story which for the most part has been either ignored or grossly misrepresented in the general press.

In recognition of the need to acquaint the public with the patriotic policies and constructive accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor, the *American Federationist* has been placed on sale at selected news stands in some two-score major cities—the only labor magazine which can be purchased at news stands. Although the Federation's motive in taking this action is not

pecuniary but rather to give the people an opportunity to learn the truth about Labor, it is noteworthy that sales reports to date have been most encouraging.

By word-of-mouth advertising, trade unionists in the cities where the *American Federationist* appears on the stands can help make these reports even better in the year which lies ahead.

During the year the circulation of the magazine increased. This, coupled with the War Production Board order curtailing the consumption of paper, created something of a problem. Our solution, like that of many publishers, was to lower the weight of the paper stock used. The results have been satisfactory.

As in past years, commendation of the contents and appearance of the *American Federationist* has been expressed by many union officials and members. These unsolicited expressions are deeply appreciated. Nevertheless, while gratified that the publication is meeting with approval, there has been no disposition to rest on our laurels. Efforts to improve the magazine have been continued, with the aim of making it a model among modern labor periodicals.

The Executive Council believes that the alert and progressive policy which is being pursued in the preparation and publication of our official monthly journal merits endorsement.

LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY

Following the instructions of the 1942 convention, Labor's Monthly Survey has been made available during the year to officers of all local and central labor unions free of charge, and to members at 50 cents per year. Notice informing unions that this service is available brought an increase in our mailing list of 2,485 from this source alone. Of these, 468 represent paid subscriptions of union members at 50 cents per year and 2,017 represent free copies being sent to union officers. The Survey is furnished to persons not members of unions at \$1.00 per year.

In addition to this special notification, we have found much interest in the Survey from members and officers who have discovered it through friends and fellow union members.

In addition to interpreting events important to Labor, the Survey has filled a particularly useful function this year by publishing results of union cost of living studies; by advising local unions and central bodies of special points for successful functioning on Manpower Committees, Ration Boards and other war agencies; by giving food budgets; savings plans; and other helpful wartime data. We are including also sections on post-war planning, facts about living standards in different countries of the world, and other information our members need for intelligent action.

EDUCATION

The intelligence with which rank and file citizens have gone about their responsibilities in this war emergency is testimony of the value which we as a nation have placed on education and our struggle to make our minimum

standard education at the high school level. Education in our public schools seeks to give basic training that will help individuals meet the common problems of life. In the labor movement as well as in other organizations, we are finding the advantages from having a membership with high school education and we deeply regret the reactionary trend that will follow lowering of high school attendance and requirements for teacher qualifications.

Since 1940 there began a decline in public school enrollment. The loss in the present year reaches 1,493,542 or a decline of 6 per cent. Enrollment for 1940 was 25,433,542, and for 1942, 23,940,000—the loss occurring mainly in pupils of high school ages.

As to the teaching force, the Office of Education reports a high turnover and estimates 140,236 new teachers were found but 7,529 positions were unfilled. Of approximately 798,400 teachers, 1 out of every 6 was new. The rate for the rural districts was higher than the urban.

The controlling motive resulting in voluntary changes was a desire to have an income permitting decent standards of living. Last year, the American Federation of Labor declared that the minimum salary paid a trained teacher should not be less than \$1,500 a year.

School Finance. The American Federation of Labor has urged the enactment of substantive legislation authorizing the federal government to grant financial aid to the states to enable them to maintain their school system adequately. The need for federal aid continues and grows more urgent as the potential tax resources are reduced within the state by increased demands for federal taxes.

Obviously an equitable program of federal aid must be based upon a critical evaluation of federal-state-local fiscal relations. The problems involved in a program for permanent federal aid are not inherent in an emergency program. The emergency needs of the schools are great and must be met with an emergency program.

It was for this reason that the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education decided on the preparation of two bills for federal aid: one, providing for a permanent program which would take into consideration the fiscal and other administrative problems referred to above, and the other providing immediate emergency aid. Hence, at the request of the Committee on Education there was prepared and introduced into the House, by Representative Jerry Voorhis, the bill, H. R. 2160, embodying our principles in regard to an emergency aid program. The bill provides aid only for the emergency and sets up certain safeguards for the administration of the funds within as well as among the states. One of these safeguards is a provision requiring public announcement of the plan of distribution of funds within the state before the distribution is made. Experience has taught what may result from programs of relief administration if the plans for the programs are not widely publicized in advance.

The situation in regard to this legislation has not changed since last year; while the urgent need for aid continues, Congress did not seem disposed to

enact legislation for educational relief at this time, but was willing to grant emergency relief. Accordingly we sought to have funds made immediately available through the Lanham Act. This Congress extended the Act and has made a further \$200,000,000 available. The officials administering the Lanham Act have established the machinery through which there is made readily available to state and local school authorities, funds to enable them to conduct their schools during this emergency in the proper way and to render much care and aid for all children in every state as sound social policy and humanitarian interests may demand.

In the meantime the preparation of a program for permanent aid must continue, such program to take into consideration inter-related federal-state-local fiscal policy as well as the distinct fiscal policy of each of these branches of government, and the methods by which the program is to be administered to assure equitable participation in its benefits by all citizens in every state. It is further to be observed that while the administration of education is and should remain a function of the state, if federal funds are given to any state for education the federal government has the right and indeed, the duty to allocate those funds in a manner to assure their proper and equitable use within a state.

The long range problem of raising adequate funds for the maintenance of our schools by the several states, is a problem of the integration and coordination of federal-state-local financing.

We urge a study of taxable source and tax plans in relation to a consideration of state and local support in whole or in part of education. Local programs of revenue, heretofore largely predicated on the general property tax, and of late supplemented by the socially and economically unsound sales tax, must be drastically revised. New sources for local taxes must be found. Similarly the states revenue sources have been limited by custom, tradition and unsound statutes. Tax limitation laws are an example.

War is not a time in which to evolve and develop a well balanced program of taxes, grants, services to or from the federal government, yet, the question of the relation of aids and grants in lieu of taxes and in relation to taxes should have serious consideration for any well planned long term program of public financing.

A well planned program of federal aid should consider the statutory relation of such aid to the establishment and maintenance of national minima; the type, degree and manner of control. Federal aid for education involves not only the essential principle of maintaining state administrative control of education but also the question inherent in state administration: the degree and type of state aid, the equity of the equalization principle within the state, the state administrative organization of the schools, the size and type of control of the several units and the equity of the citizens in relation thereto.

These questions are important and essential to a consideration of a permanent program. Emergency aid does not require these considerations, in order that our schools may function next year.

Training and Rehabilitation. Training and rehabilitation of workers and soldiers for the post-war period is one of our most important problems. It involves a critical evaluation of existing training programs, of proposed programs, and a knowledge of the general economic and social structure of the community in which and through which the training program must operate.

Existing training programs include the long established federal vocational program (Smith-Hughes-George-Dean), the additional defense training programs (including training within industry, and up-grading), the federal apprenticeship training program, state supported vocational programs, continuation schools at all levels, both publicly and privately supported. In addition, there are the various programs of the armed forces, some academic, some military, some vocational. We realize that the job of the armed forces must be the training of men for war, hence the type of mechanical and other vocational training given in the armed forces is to supply or train a soldier for war. That is not the civilian's job, but the form of training given to fit the soldier for return to civilian life is definitely the concern of the civilian agencies. This is not a responsibility which military authorities are competent to perform.

When the Congress of the United States enacted legislation which put youths from 18 years on into the Army, the President of the United States by Executive Order created a commission to plan the training and rehabilitation of these young men to return them to civilian life. That commission, of which General Osborne is chairman, has developed a program. We do not know, however, what the training program has planned for readjustment of young workers to civilian life. The American Federation of Labor was not one of the agencies at any time consulted by the President's commission and was denied advance information of the commission's findings. Labor must, therefore, proceed to develop its own program for retraining and rehabilitation and present it to the Congress and to our fellow citizens.

The retraining program must be considered as an integral part of the military demobilization plans and of industrial demobilization and remobilization plans. The type of training must be determined by a consideration of: which industries will continue in the peace economy; which wartime industries can readily and speedily be converted in peacetime industries (new and old), and which will require a long time for conversion; how many workers will be needed for each kind of industry; what kind and amount of training will be needed to qualify workers for their old or new jobs; what peace industries will expand; what new industries will get into production.

Guiding the use of such industrial engineering must be the knowledge of the rate and form of military demobilization. A definite plan for training and rehabilitation should embody the following principles:

1. Every possible aid must be given to the returned soldier (of whom over a million include our own members), to rehabilitate him physically and economically to assure his development and personal adjustment.
2. A national employment service should be provided to assist the war

workers in finding employment with the necessary occupational training and unemployment compensation when needed.

3. Curricula should supplement training. There must be cooperation between publicly supported training programs, the training programs of organized labor and industrial organizations and establishments, the U. S. Employment Service and federal and state public works programs. The rate and method of military demobilization should be considered in relation to the inter-related programs of these agencies, and their programs in turn must be conditioned by military demobilization. Education must be recognized as experience far beyond formal class work for "credit."

4. All plans for rehabilitation, retraining and reemployment for civilian life should be predicated on specific legislative authority and not be simply "allowed" or authorized by informal agreements or administrative directives. These plans are too important to the very life of our nation to be left to the whim or caprice of administrators. They must have their foundation in law.

The only bases at law at present for a program of rehabilitation and retraining is to be found in the Selective Service Act in which: "The Director of Selective Service herein provided for shall establish a personnel division with adequate facilities to render aid in the replacement in their former positions of, or in securing positions for, members of the reserve components of the land and naval forces of the United States who have satisfactorily completed any period of active duty, and persons who have satisfactorily completed any period of their training and service under this Act."

The functions of employment placement and training for placement are distinctly a civilian and not a military function and should be placed by law under civilian administration. We repeat, proper legislative authority for the entire program of retraining and placement should be provided through law, at the earliest possible time.

Industrial Rehabilitation. The enactment of the LaFollette Vocational Rehabilitation Act renews and extends the provisions of the original Industrial Rehabilitation Act. State and local labor bodies should look into the administrative features of this law.

Apprenticeship. When the War Manpower Commission was established by Executive Order to handle all public questions relating to the procurement, training and utilization of manpower, the Apprentice Training Service was transferred from the United States Department of Labor to the Commission in order to give centralized attention to the various aspects of training. Labor was consulted regarding this transfer as it has a special interest in the establishment of programs for the employment and training of apprentices. Labor was fearful lest the policies, practices and standards established under the guidance of the Labor Department would be upset by new administrators having less experience with the problems of Labor.

The Labor Department wisely recognized that the promotion and development of a nation-wide apprenticeship program should have specialized attention and that policies and standards should be set up under the guidance of prac-

tical men from the field of Labor and management. In conformity with that policy, it appointed the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, on which the American Federation of Labor is represented to develop over-all policies and to provide a general program guidance. Special industry joint labor-management committees were established to work out policies particularly applicable to those industries.

The same procedure was followed in the states. Under the guidance of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, the apprenticeship program was carried out in the states by state apprenticeship councils which were made up of equal numbers of labor and management representatives. Again at the actual operating level—the local community—the development of apprenticeship programs was done by local joint management-labor apprenticeship committees.

Labor was equally interested in the problem of staffing the apprenticeship agency. Long before the establishment of this agency, it had objected to some of the rigid requirements of the Civil Service Commission. It felt that for many jobs too great weight was placed on college degrees and that capable people from the ranks of the workers were automatically barred from entering government service regardless of their capabilities because they had been compelled through sheer necessity to earn a living. The Federal Committee on Apprenticeship was able to secure the cooperation of the Civil Service Commission in establishing standards for the employment of an apprenticeship field staff which enabled competent men from the ranks of labor to enter the federal service. At the same time the agency was spared the evils of personnel appointments for the sake of political expediency.

The President, knowing the fears of Labor with regard to the transfer of the Apprentice-Training Service from the Labor Department to the War Manpower Commission, inserted a clause in the Executive Order effecting the transfer which provided that the organizational entity of the service was to be preserved. This means that the Division will maintain its established practices and standards.

With the growing appreciation on the part of the War Manpower Commission of the significance of gaining and maintaining the confidence and support of Labor in the handling of the great and complicated manpower problem, we are confident that Chairman Paul V. McNutt and his principal executives will act to strengthen rather than weaken this agency which has so successfully earned the support and respect of all branches of organized labor.

Turning now to the field of operations it is worthy of note that the Apprentice-Training Service did not give up its efforts to assure the nation an adequate supply of all-round skilled workers in spite of what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles. This is true despite the fact that the activities of the service necessarily were broadened to provide assistance in the over-all industrial training problem. The growing demands of the armed forces for young physically fit men made it apparent that practically all of the group from whom apprentices are normally drawn as well as apprentices in training

would be required for military service. The problem was presented to the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship for consideration. After weighing all of the aspects of the problem the committee concluded: (1) The nation could no better afford to take a chance on a short war by failing to train all-round skilled workers than it could neglect to train doctors, dentists, nurses and chemists. (2) That the apprenticeship question should be considered as two parts; one where all-round skilled workers are imperatively needed for war production or maintenance and repair work; and the other, where the nature of the work is such that other forms of training would prepare workers for the kind of work to be performed.

Summarized the recommendations agreed upon and which are proving sound in practice follow:

1. Establish apprenticeship programs on the basis of regular peacetime standards, but including such wartime standards as necessary to develop the trained workers essential to the conduct of the war.

2. Amend existing apprenticeship programs to provide for the training of apprentices as rapidly as they can acquire reasonable proficiency in each trade process.

3. Improve job supervision and job and related classroom instruction so that the period of learning time may be shortened. Advancements should be measured by objective tests established or given by joint apprenticeship committees.

4. Where it is imperative in the interests of war production to secure all-round skilled workers in the minimum of time, apprentices should be selected from groups least vulnerable to military service. Preferred groups in this category include married men from 20 to 30 years of age with one or more children; men classified as ineligible for military service for physical reasons; military personnel released from active service; and, for some trades, women.

Full details regarding the application of these recommendations cannot be given because of shortage of space, but it is especially worthy of note that both Labor and management are showing great interest in providing apprenticeship opportunities for men released from the military forces. Within the federal committee's report there were special recommendations regarding the employment and training of 16-year old apprentices. While this program is taking hold in some areas it is recommended that all agencies concerned with youth get solidly behind this program and make it work. It is essential that in a global war of such tremendous proportions that we be realistic. If management and Labor can provide systematic on-the-job training through apprenticeship combined with sufficient school work to assure completion of high school, that approach appears much sounder than any program which provides little advantage to the youth other than completion of high school and an opportunity to earn money. In this connection it would seem fortunate if all groups interested in youth whether public or private could well support that part of the report of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship which reads:

Youth of 16 and 17 years of age need the training and discipline which comes with learning a trade. . . . Under present conditions the nation cannot afford to allow this generation of young men to spend all of its

time in schools or in dead-end jobs or idleness, waiting for its time to enter the military forces. We need now the goods they can produce. We need the skills they can acquire. We will need those skills if they are called to military service, but most of all we will need the sound citizens they will be upon restoration of peace.

Even in the midst of the hardest, most merciless and probably the longest war in which this nation has ever been engaged, the committee is convinced that to fail to train the nation's youth is to court eventual disaster.

Vocational Education. The Vocational Division of the U. S. Office of Education has, since July, 1940, been engaged in training war production workers.

The two federally-financed programs through which the nation's vocational schools have made a major contribution to the war, are Vocational Training for War Production Workers, and Vocational Training for Rural War Production Workers. These programs are conducted as a cooperative enterprise in which the federal, state, and local educational authorities participate. The U. S. Office of Education sets broad training policy in line with the national manpower program. The state boards for vocational education administer details of training programs within their respective states according to the regulations of the U. S. Office of Education, and cooperate actively with the U. S. Employment Service. Representative state advisory committees, composed of equal representation of management and Labor, are required by the regulations of the U. S. Office of Education. They counsel and advise with the state boards concerning the training programs. Local boards of education set up classes, hire instructors, adapt training to specific requirements, and cooperate actively with local offices of the U. S. Employment Service. The establishment and operation of training programs in the local communities is, with the assistance of local representative advisory committees, composed of equal representation of management and Labor, as required by federal regulations, with either special committees or consultants from the crafts involved participating.

The objective of vocational training for war production workers is the immediate employability of the trainee for a specific job in a specific industry. Many of those trained are new to industrial employment, being drawn from such occupations as homemaking, retail selling, and service occupations. Other trainees are workers who have been employed in mechanical pursuits, in civilian production and are now being given "conversion training" for jobs in war industry. In addition to providing preemployment training to this group another large group of workers already employed in skilled and essential jobs are attending supplementary classes for the purpose of receiving instruction designed to increase their knowledge of pertinent technical subjects as well as manipulative skills in certain phases of their trades.

Reports to the U. S. Office of Education for the program of vocational training for war production workers show a cumulative total enrollment of 2,375,516 from July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1943, for preemployment training and 2,730,484 for supplementary instruction during the same period.

Women trainees have formed a constantly increasing proportion of en-

rollees in the war production training program as the ranks of male workers have been depleted by requirements of the armed forces.

The training courses included are for the various skilled trades and semi-skilled occupations required in such industries as aircraft manufacture and maintenance, automotive, electrical, machine tool, shipbuilding, and ordnance.

Many civilians recruited by the U. S. Civil Service Commission for work in army and navy arsenals, ordnance plants, navy yards, and air depots received their training through the vocational schools as a part of their jobs.

The U. S. Office of Education with the advice and counsel of the American Federation of Labor evolved definite policies concerning production work by trainees enrolled in schools for vocational training of war production workers. These policies require that all plans for production work for private contractors be made by a consultative committee composed of representatives of management and Labor. These policies include, in addition, other conditions and safeguards.

The rural war production training program is confined to the rural areas and includes such courses as commodity production, farm machinery maintenance, food for farm families, and specific preemployment training.

The Home Economics Education Service of the U. S. Office of Education, through its regular vocational program, contributes to the war effort through providing for women members of families instruction in conservation of foods, meal planning and preparation, standards of good nutrition, repairing and conserving clothing, furniture, and household implements, child care, home nursing, and first aid.

The contribution of the vocational schools to the war effort during the three-year period July 1, 1940-June 30, 1943, has been 6,114,000 trainees. Of this total 5,106,000 were in the program of vocational training for war production workers; 1,008,000 were in the rural war production training program. During the one-year period 1941-42 an additional 2,629,000 trainees were in the regular vocational school program—all-day, part-time, and evening classes. This makes a total contribution of 8,743,000 trainees.

State federations, central bodies, and local unions are urged to cooperate with the state and local school authorities and to serve actively on representative advisory committees. Only through such efforts and cooperation can vocational education be made to function effectively and efficiently and Labor's interests be safeguarded.

Education and New World Organization. Just as the International Labor Organization was made an agency of the League of Nations potent for lifting the status of Labor throughout the world, the proposal is now maturing to include a Department of Education in addition to that of health under whatever agency may replace the League of Nations. We believe that Labor should favor such a proposal.

However, this agency should perform research and clearance functions and should not be used for any plan to impose cultures or ideologies upon nations or regimes. In such an agency Labor should emphasize that education is more than formal schooling and that ways should be developed to assist adults in

making the experiences of life educational of mind and spirit. Culture is not limited to study of the humanities, but is the experience of a people in their work, their group activities, including politics, their creative enterprises, their recreation and play. Labor could well insist in a world educational agency that the cultural autonomy of nations should be not only safeguarded and developed but enriched by opportunities to share the knowledge and experiences of other nations. Culture achieved through the educational experiences of life is a process of integration. As L. P. Jacks has so well stated:

It is only as a laborer that man is either capable of education or worthy of it. The men of science, the artists, the poets, the philosophers, the heroes, the saints, the captains of industry, and the captains of salvation—what are they in last analysis but highly educated laborers, found most frequently in communities where culture and laborer are working together in alliance, least frequently where they have drifted apart, as alas, they are drifting in these days? The great task of our times, once more, is to reunite these separated elements.

Harvard Trade Union Fellowship Plan. A group of 13 trade union members constituted the initial group under the Harvard Plan to help unions give their members technical training. Ten of these were selected and sent by their unions. Three were granted fellowships by the university with the approval of their unions. Eleven were from American Federation of Labor organizations. All had had responsible positions in their unions.

All members of the group took a basic course and elected special courses in which the individual might have a particular interest. The three basic courses were (1) economic analysis; (2) trade union problems and policy; (3) human problems of administration. Each of these three courses ran throughout the year from September to May.

In addition there was a weekly seminar and weekly meeting, to which outstanding trade unionists and industrialists were invited to discuss current issues and basic policies.

The project has started successfully and deserves the hearty cooperation of International and national unions as well as the counsel of union executives.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

At the end of April of this year, the Executive Committee of the Workers Education Bureau accepted the resignation of Spencer Miller, Jr., as Director, which had been necessitated by the pressure of his wartime duties as State Highway Commissioner of New Jersey. However, as a member of the Executive Committee he will continue to participate actively in the work of the Bureau.

John D. Connors, his successor, is National Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers, former Vice-President of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor and former Secretary of the New Bedford, Massachusetts, Central Labor Union. During the past three years, he has been employed by the American Federation of Labor as a full-time general organizer.

Activities this year are summarized below:

1. **Labor Institutes and Conferences.** The program of labor institutes

sponsored jointly by the Workers Education Bureau and state federations of labor in cooperation with state universities or local educational institutions has been continued. The emphasis has been mainly on Labor's role during the war and in the making of the peace. Among these institutes were the following:

Minnesota. A labor institute was held at the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis, November 7-8, under the auspices of the state federation of labor, the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and the University of Minnesota Local No. 444 of the American Federation of Teachers. One hundred and twenty-five delegates participated in the institute, the keynote of which was "Labor's Stake in This War Crisis."

Iowa. The second Sioux City labor institute was held February 27-28, sponsored by the Sioux City Trades and Labor Assembly, with the cooperation of the state federation of labor and Morningside College. The four sessions considered "The World at War," "The War at Home," "Social Security in the Post-War," and "Peace and Reconstruction."

New Jersey. The thirteenth annual Rutgers Institute of labor was held June 7-9 in Newark this year, because the army has taken over the facilities of the Rutgers campus at New Brunswick. This pioneer labor institute at its eight sessions considered the general topic of "Labor in the War and After." A high light of this year's institute was the state-wide radio broadcast of a recording of the Beveridge Plan made especially for the institute by Sir William Beveridge. This broadcast was wired to the closing session, the gala dinner, which was attended by 260 persons.

Nebraska. The state federation of labor and the University of Nebraska sponsored jointly the fourth annual labor institute on the University Campus at Lincoln on June 19-20. The general theme of the institute was "Labor in the War and Post-War World," and 175 delegates took part in the various sessions.

Massachusetts. The fourth annual institute of labor under the auspices of the state federation of labor was held at Campion Hall, North Andover, June 25-27. The 200 delegates discussed for two days the general topic, "Labor in the War and the Post-War Period."

We had the privilege of having the three delegates from the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain participate in the programs of the Nebraska and Massachusetts institutes.

2. State Federations of Labor. Two periods were set aside on the afternoons of August 25 and 26 at the annual convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor at Columbus for educational addresses, that on the 25th by Spencer Miller, Jr., on "What Are We Fighting For?" and on the 26th by Andrew J. Biemiller, of the WPB, and Colonel A. Robert Ginsburgh, of the War Department.

On September 15, the Nebraska State Federation of Labor held an educational session during the convention at Beatrice, when the discussions concerned Labor and the war crisis.

The Minnesota State Federation of Labor held its annual educational forum during its convention at Winona on the afternoon of September 21. John D. Connors represented the Bureau. Labor's responsibilities in the war were discussed before a group of over 500 delegates.

On September 23, the Indiana State Federation of Labor held its educational program during its annual convention at South Bend, with a large audience present to discuss Labor's part in the war. John D. Connors represented the Bureau at this session.

At the annual conference of representatives of state organizations called by the Bureau during the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto on the evening of October 7, problems of workers education were discussed, one of the main topics being the provision of some kind of educational service to men of Labor now in the armed forces. A resolution was subsequently presented to and adopted by the convention, looking toward such service.

3. **Publications.** During the past year, the Bureau has issued regularly its Monthly News Letter. The Bureau has also issued and widely distributed two pamphlets within the year, one by Fannia M. Cohn on "Workers Education in War and Peace," and the annual publication, "Labor and Education in 1942," which it issues jointly each year with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers.

4. **Exchange Lecturers from Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain.** Following a plan drawn up by Dr. R. H. Tawmney, President of the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain, and the Workers Education Bureau of the United States, during the year, the first delegation of three lecturers from the British organization arrived in this country on June 12. This consisted of Ernest Green, General Secretary of the W. E. A.; H. Huws Jones, and John Parker. They visited labor and workers education groups all over the country, speaking at institutes and conferences. From this first venture, it is hoped that a continuing exchange of lecturers between the American workers education movement and those of other countries will develop.

5. **Affiliation and Support of the Bureau.** During the year, which has been made difficult both by the war situation and the changes in the direction of the Bureau, the affiliations have kept up very well.

The Bureau must depend entirely upon the moral and financial support of the trade unions themselves. For this reason, it is important that the basis of support of this "educational arm of the Federation" be adequate so that its services may reach all unions in active affiliation with the Federation.

THE A. F. OF L. AND WAR SERVICE

More than a million members of our unions are in the armed services and union representatives throughout the length and breadth of the territories served by our flag are cooperating in production and by serving on local war boards. We take sacrifice and changes as a matter of course and interpose

objections only when principles are at stake. At the national level we can report some progress in acceptance of the principle of Labor cooperation through representatives of their own choosing as on the Combined War Labor Board, National War Labor Board, the Office of Price Administration, the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission. In the WLB labor representatives are an integral part of the Board. In the OPA, our labor representatives are able to make proposals and express dissent and seem to be gaining influence as the agency is now seeking more labor representatives at the local level; in the WMC, there is labor representation at every level but the War Manpower Administrator has not definitely accepted the national management-labor committee as a policy committee, or made effective regulations that regional and area management-labor committees must be consulted in advance of initiating projects. In the WPB, the Federation is represented on the management-labor council at the top level and at last has a representative at the top administrative level, Joseph Keenan, Vice-Chairman in charge of the Office of Labor Production. As Labor representation is provided in the industry divisions, we shall be able to contribute in proportion. Labor, of course, constitutes the combined War Labor Board which has opportunity to advise the President. We have a group of union representatives cooperating with the Treasury Department on war bonds and savings.

COMBINED LABOR WAR BOARD

The Combined Labor War Board, which was referred to in the report of the Executive Council to the Toronto Convention one year ago, has functioned during the period which has intervened since the report was made to that convention. The Board is composed of President William Green, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, and Vice-President Daniel J. Tobin, representing the American Federation of Labor; Philip Murray, R. J. Thomas and Julius Emspak, representing the C.I.O. Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, Regional Director, War Manpower Commission, of New York, has attended all meetings of the Combined Labor War Board.

Eight meetings of the Combined Labor War Board were held during the past year. Government labor policies and the functioning processes of governmental agencies which deal with subjects of interest to Labor and which affect its economic status, were considered and discussed at these meetings.

Recommendations regarding Labor's point of view upon anti-Labor legislation, control of food prices by the government, policies pursued by the Director of Stabilization and the Economic Stabilization Board, the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, the Chairman of the War Mobilization Board, and decisions made and policies pursued by the War Labor Board, were presented by members of the Combined Labor War Board to the President at these conferences which were held and at meetings which took place.

These meetings have afforded Labor an opportunity to present its views in order to bring about a better understanding on the part of government of the attitude of Labor toward the constantly changing economic conditions which have taken place during the war period.

NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD

The National War Labor Board was originally established on January 12, 1942, to settle all disputes which threatened to interfere with the prosecution of the war. Since that time, the Board has settled approximately 400 disputes involving nearly a million workers represented by American Federation of Labor unions.

By Act of Congress of October 2, 1942, the Board was given the added responsibility of passing on requests for adjustments of all wages and of most salaries under \$5,000. Control of other salary adjustments is under the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

The increased work of the Board under Act of Congress of October 2, 1942, is indicated by the fact that in 17 months of operation to settle disputes, the Board received less than 4,000 cases, while in eight months of wage stabilization some 52,500 applications for wage and salary adjustments have been received.

To handle this tremendous load, the National War Labor Board set up regional boards, with power to rule on voluntary wage adjustments. Responding to the recommendations of the American Federation of Labor representatives, the Board at a later date gave these regional boards authority to make final decisions on dispute cases, subject to certain powers of review by and appeal to the National War Labor Board. These 12 boards, with headquarters in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Cleveland, Chicago, Kansas City, Dallas, Denver, San Francisco, Detroit, and Seattle, are composed, like the National War Labor Board, of equal numbers of labor, public, and industry representatives.

On October 2, 1942, when Congress passed an Act designed to aid in controlling inflation and directing the President to stabilize wages, the American Federation of Labor promised to support the wage stabilization program as part of the over-all effort to hold down the cost of living. American Federation of Labor members of the Board have carried out their commitment to support wage stabilization, while at the same time they have dissented vigorously on a number of specific cases.

The Board's wage powers were outlined in the Executive Order of October 3, 1942, and were further interpreted in a wage policy announced on November 6, 1942. The Board acted under this policy until April 8, 1943, when the President issued his "hold-the line" Executive Order, which drastically curtailed the power of the Board to approve wage adjustments. American Federation of Labor members protested this restriction and the Board unanimously requested that the power of the Board be restored. On May 12, 1943, the Director of Economic Stabilization issued a clarification of the order, which returned to the Board some of the authority it had before April 8, 1943. At the present time the wage policy of the Board is briefly as follows:

Little Steel Formula. The Board continues to approve general wage increases up to the level of 15 per cent over straight-time rates prevailing on January 1, 1941. In March, 1943, the American Federation of Labor members

filed a petition requesting the Board to increase the 15 per cent formula to a new realistic figure based upon the actual cost of living to the wage earner.

The Board voted 8 to 4 against the request of the American Federation of Labor members, with the labor members dissenting. However, the Board agreed unanimously to proceed with the development of a wage policy which would recognize the existence of inequalities, substandard wages, and the need to aid in the more effective prosecution of the war.

The Board unanimously agreed that rising food prices jeopardized the continued operation of the "Little Steel Formula" and joined unanimously in a statement supporting subsidies and other measures to hold down prices. In June, 1943, the American Federation of Labor requested President Roosevelt to provide subsidies in order to roll back food prices and other cost-of-living items to May 1942 levels.

Wage Inequities Within Industries. These inequities are measured by the "sound and tested going rates" in the industry in the areas. The sound and tested rates are set by the tripartite regional boards for each job classification in each industry in the region. Wages may be raised to the minimum of these "sound and tested rates," regardless of the "Little Steel Formula."

Wage Inequities Within Plants. The Board has recognized that these inequities may be destructive of good employer-labor relationships and production and has the authority to correct them within the general level of wages without reference to the "Little Steel Formula."

Substandard Wages. Wherever it is necessary to correct substandard wages the Board has the authority to grant increases without regard to the "Little Steel Formula." Employers have been authorized to grant increases up to 40 cents per hour without Board approval and regional boards may approve increases above that figure to the extent they find necessary to correct substandard wages.

Effective Prosecution of the War. The Board has authority, "in rare and unusual cases where critical war production cannot otherwise be obtained," to grant increases, not authorized under the other four general categories. American Federation of Labor members have consistently urged that fuller use be made of this authority and the Board is now using it to correct obsolete wage structures which interfere with the effective prosecution of the war.

One of the most important issues coming before the Board is that of union security, and maintenance of membership is frequently ordered. The standard form of maintenance provides that employees, who are members of the unions after a stipulated date, or who later choose to become members, shall remain in good standing for the duration of the contract as a condition of employment. A recent study of the effect of membership maintenance after several months of operation showed that in most cases the union increased its membership after the maintenance provision went into effect.

When a contract arrived at through collective bargaining provides for a union or closed shop, the Board orders that the union or closed shop be maintained for the duration of the war. This action has been taken in order to

prevent an employer from taking advantage of the war and of Labor's no-strike pledge to change the status of the union.

The Board has emphasized during the past year the need for the establishment of step-by-step grievance procedure, with a provision for final determination of grievances by an arbitrator or an umpire. This action has been taken in the hope that the use of such procedures will speed the settlement of disputes within the plant and prevent the necessity of taking many grievances to the Board.

During the past year the Board has established the policy of equal pay for women who do work of the same quality and quantity as that performed by men and authorized employers to equalize the rate of women workers with those of men without prior Board approval.

American Federation of Labor members of the National War Labor Board are George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer, and Matthew Woll, Vice-President. The alternates serving with Secretary Meany and Vice-President Woll are Robert J. Watt, International Representative of the American Federation of Labor, and Martin P. Durkin, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

In important industries, the Board has set up commissions which make recommendations to the Board on cases involving the industry.

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD

Management-Labor Council. The Management-Labor Council of the War Production Board was established in March and held its first meeting on April 2, 1943.

Formation of this advisory group representing labor and business organizations marked a step forward in the development of sound relations between government and industry. The example is to be recommended to the many thousands of plant managements which have, for one reason or another, failed to establish labor-management committees to promote the war production drive.

Appointed to the Council were the Presidents of the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Manufacturers' Association, and in addition, these members were asked to name associates to serve with them at the meetings.

Meetings have been held at the call of the chairman and have been participated in by the named representatives of the four organizations, together with Mr. Nelson, Executive Vice-Chairman Charles E. Wilson and the Vice-Chairman of the WPB. The meetings have been informal and entirely advisory or consultative in character.

The Council likewise proved an effective instrument in accomplishing the long reiterated demand of Labor for participation in the administration of the war effort. During the preliminary discussions with WPB officials, Labor's insistence upon the establishment of two vice-chairmen in the WPB was made clear. At the same time a suggested outline of the ways in which the two vice-chairmen could each fulfill important and necessary functions in the

organization was presented. These suggestions met with favor with the government officials.

The two vice-chairmen participate in the meetings of the Management-Labor Council along with the vice-chairmen from industry, and because of the nature of their activities, they are called upon to carry out the policies suggested or agreed upon by the Council.

The Council also has given extensive consideration to analyzing the character of labor-management committee activities in the war production drive. The American Federation of Labor representatives submitted a brief outline of suggestions in this connection which were unanimously adopted by the Council and embodied in letters to be issued by the four organizations to their membership.

The statement of the President of the American Federation of Labor pointed out that while some managements resent any collaboration which seems to indicate a sharing of the prerogatives of management, and while some unions take an over-optimistic view of the opportunities provided by such committees, the main handicap seems to arise out of lack of understanding as to the character of joint production committees and out of failure to provide the informational material and competent advice which such committees need. His statement declared:

First, we need to decide how and why labor-management committees can be helpful. To operate effectively requires giving them some real substance on which to exist. Presumably management is already rendering its maximum supervisory function and exercising its maximum resourcefulness. Channels from government to management are fairly clear and not difficult to maintain.

Any net gain to the war effort from labor-management committees can be expected only from tapping the ingenuity, practical experience, individual sense of responsibility, and collective self-discipline of workers in the plant. Much could be gained by creating an opportunity for greater information about and participation in the war job in which the workers are engaged.

Labor-management committees are neither revolutionary nor radical. They simply bridge the gap between management and the worker which has been created by the size and complexity of modern industry. In trades where the shops are small, the employer talks directly to his employees and hears their ideas and their complaints. It is a human characteristic for anyone to seek ways to do his job better and faster if he gets suitable recognition for his part.

The way to get more committees into existence is to use the channels of organized labor and organized business to carry the message of a practical labor-management council urging the establishment of such committees for specific purposes.

Care should be taken not to confuse the labor-management committee with the duly established collective bargaining procedure unless the basic agreement calls for such action. Questions involving compensation, hours of work, etc., should be kept in the field of collective bargaining.

Specific programs were recommended. At the top of the list was a health and safety program. It was pointed out that if such committees could cut down

the accident and illness rate, they would justify all the time and effort spent on such committees even if no other gains were achieved.

The importance of committee action to reduce other manpower problems was also pointed out and it was suggested that transportation, housing, ration board services, shopping facilities, check cashing and similar matters should be handled by such committees.

Over-emphasis upon inventions was criticized in the present conduct of the war production drive because of the limited number of persons who can be expected to compete successfully for national honors. A recommendation was made that labor-management committees concentrate their efforts upon securing suggestions from production workers rather than to operate as a review board for ideas from inventors, engineers, superintendents and foremen. Conservation, salvage campaigns, car pooling and training were other activities recommended in the statement.

Office of Labor Production—Functions and Organization. After numerous complaints and petitions, the chairman of the War Production Board was finally prevailed upon to reorganize the Labor Production Division so as to give Labor responsibility and voice. On June 21, the Office of Labor Production was established in the War Production Board replacing the former Labor Production Division, headed by Joseph Keenan with the title Vice-Chairman, War Production Board. The objective of the Office of Labor Production is to maximize worker productivity in war and essential civilian industries. For the achievement of this objective the Office of Labor Production has grouped its functional responsibilities into four primary operating units:

1. The Industrial Relations Division.
2. The Plant Productivity Division.
3. The Plant and Community Facilities Service.
4. The Shipbuilding Stabilization Division.

In addition to these divisions, the Vice-Chairman for Labor Production is assisted by a number of special offices established to perform selected functions with which the Office of Labor Production is also concerned, as for example, problems involved in the employment of women in war industries.

For administrative purposes, the Building and Construction Trades Board of Review is attached to the Office of Labor Production. The Board interprets the Building Stabilization Agreement between the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and certain government contracting agencies designed to procure continuity and speed in building and construction operations required for war purposes. The eighth paragraph of that agreement provides for a Board of Review to be constituted by a representative of the government agencies, a representative of the Building and Construction Trades Department and a representative of the War Production Board. It also provides that it shall be the function of this Board to interpret the provisions of the agreement, to adjust disputes arising thereunder and the findings of the Board shall be binding on the parties to the agreement.

As of August 1, the Office of Labor Production had 158 persons in its Washington offices and 95 people in the regional offices of the War Production

Board. The Office of Labor Production is represented in the 12 regional offices of the War Production Board throughout the country by regional labor representatives who have been selected on the basis of their affiliation with organized labor and their understanding of, and experience with, labor problems.

It is the purpose of these labor representatives in the field to assist the Vice-Chairman for Labor Production in securing Labor's participation and cooperation in the war production program and to render all possible assistance to organized labor in its efforts to maximize its own contribution to the war effort on the production front. In order to achieve these aims, the labor representatives maintain personal contacts with representatives of organized labor throughout the country. They cooperate with unions and managements of war plants in securing the establishment of effective labor-management production committees, and the improvement of their operations, assist in the elimination of labor relations difficulties which threaten to interfere with war production, advise with unions and managements on methods of eliminating production bottlenecks, and assist in the execution of the various programs developed by the Office of Labor Production designed to overcome obstacles to the realization of Labor's productive potential.

In all of its activities the Office of Labor Production attempts to secure the viewpoint and participation of organized labor. This is done either through labor advisory committees, through contact with local or international unions, through the labor press, through the field staff of the Office of Labor Production and through the Industrial Relations Division.

The program of the Office of Labor Production includes a wide variety of activities, all of which are of direct concern to Labor. These activities are related to both war and essential civilian industries. The following description of the functions of the primary operating units of the Office of Labor Production indicate the specific tasks which are being performed in furtherance of the objective of maximizing worker productivity.

The Industrial Relations Division

The Industrial Relations Division is charged with the responsibility of maximizing war production through the improvement of relationships between Labor and management. By continuous and intimate contact with production problems and the impact of labor relations background upon them, the Division endeavors to insure that production is uninterrupted and that Labor's maximum capacities are utilized.

The Division makes sure that the Washington and field staffs of the Office of Labor Production are available at the request of union, management, or government representatives (including the U. S. Conciliation Service) to assist in the adjustment of disputes which affect or threaten to affect production.

A substantial part of the Division's work has to do with labor relations problems growing out of the establishment or operation of labor-management war production drive committees. In this work there is close cooperation at both the Washington and field levels between the staffs of the Labor Production Office, and the War Production Drive headquarters.

The Division is frequently of service to Labor and management in helping them to adjust disputes over technical production problems. Some of these grow out of labor-management war production drive committees but in many others there are no such formal committees. Frequently the nature of the problem is such that War Production Board technical assistance and authority is necessary to produce a settlement.

With the assistance on occasion of special investigations by the field staff, the Division makes recommendations with regard to the appropriateness, insofar as labor relations are concerned, of the Army-Navy "E" award for concerns which have been nominated by the armed services or the War Production Board.

The Plant Productivity Division

The Plant Productivity Division serves as the representative of the Office of Labor Production in the industry divisions of the War Production Board. As such, its function is to carry out the policies of the Office of Labor Production in the industry divisions; and to bring from the industry divisions to the Office of Labor Production labor and manpower problems which require attention and solution by the various sections of the Office of Labor Production, by other parts of the WPB, or other agencies.

These functions are carried out by working closely with the labor assistant who has been selected directly from Labor as the official responsible for labor and manpower problems within each industry division and through labor consultants assigned to special functions.

It is the responsibility of the labor consultants, acting under the policy of the Office of Labor Production, to see that the viewpoint and contribution of Labor is given full weight in the decisions made by the industry divisions.

Thus, in the determination of the kind and character of limitation, conservation or allocation orders of scarce materials, the labor consultants, co-operating with labor assistants, study these proposed orders from the standpoint of their effect on Labor's contribution to the war effort. A recommendation is made to the industry division directors or through the representative of the Office of Labor Production on the order clearance committee.

This necessarily involves taking into account not only the saving in material, but also the possible loss from the dislocation of labor, effect on security rights and many other factors.

As an example, in the recent Stove Order which would eliminate a concentration program in that industry, the Plant Productivity Division worked closely with the unions to try to assure the protection of small companies, especially those in loose labor areas in the operation of the order.

Through its contacts with the Smaller War Plants Corporation, the labor consultants are able to call attention in production programs to situations where sub-contracting or a wider spread of prime contracts might be feasible and thus utilize all available labor in the smaller shops. The Plant Productivity Division deals here with the labor representatives of the smaller war plants chosen from the ranks of Labor.

By its consultants assigned to the civilian goods industries and through cooperation with the labor representative in the Office of Civilian Requirements, the Plant Productivity Division enters the problem of production of civilian goods and service with the object of insuring a program of meeting essential civilian needs consistent with the requirements of the war program.

The labor consultants also act on appeals on the operation of limitation or conservation orders sent in by employers or unions. By knowledge of the labor problem involved as well as the general production situation, the consultants are able to render a balanced judgment both to the industry divisions and to the labor representative on the Appeals Board of the WPB on whether the appeals should be granted.

The second major activity of the Division is in helping the Office of Labor Production to carry out its authority to maximize labor production, insofar as it affects the work of the industry divisions.

The labor consultants, working directly in the Industry Division, or working in cooperation with the labor assistants, study the important war production programs and draw up reports and recommendations on where and how labor production can be increased. This may involve recommendations for the expediting of wage cases before the War Labor Board, the prompt settlement of potential industrial relations disputes, increased recruitment, the reduction of turnover or absenteeism, the improvement of working conditions, the change of hours of labor or shift arrangements, improvement of training or up-grading of workers, the solution of problems of housing, transportation, etc.

The investigation of these problems which affect labor production is carried on in Washington through examination of the situation by actual plant investigation or by utilizing the field staff of the Office of Labor Production to make investigations.

In either case, the viewpoint of the unions affected is secured so that they can make their full contribution to whatever recommendations are proposed. The labor consultants then work with the various divisions of the Office of Labor Production, the WPB, or other agencies concerned with labor problems, to attempt to secure action necessary to solve those problems which are hindering maximum production.

To a certain extent in the past because of inadequate staff, the consultants were forced to operate on the basis of complaints of falling production or inadequate production after some of the delay in production had already occurred. Now, however, the Plant Productivity Division is engaged in a series of projects in which a number of the most critical war programs will be attached and a determination made of the labor necessary to secure full production; employment schedules will be drawn up for the key plants of each industry and referred to the Office of Manpower Requirements and then to the War Manpower Commission with the request that the labor necessary to meet the production schedules be provided and protected. Projects are now under way for the radio receiving-tube industry, the steel valve industry, the power boiler industry, several of the important chemical industries necessary to the

high-octane gasoline program, and others. It is contemplated that these projects will be extended, as experience is gained.

It is confidently anticipated that this kind of operation will make it possible for organized labor to play a much closer and larger role than heretofore. Too often, the participation of Labor has taken place only in a very general way, and in some cases after a plan was already well-formulated. This new approach is designed to make it possible to have Labor "in the picture" from the beginning to the end, and to work directly with the representatives of Labor who are actually part of the industry affected.

The Plant and Community Facilities Service

Because of their direct effect upon employee productivity, a responsibility for all aspects of labor production must include a concern for the provision of those services and facilities required at the plant and community levels to meet the needs of war workers. The Plant and Community Facilities Service is responsible for insuring that essential community facilities are made available to war workers, such as housing, transportation, services, community sanitation, and essential trade services. It is also interested in seeing that proper plant working conditions are provided for war workers, including health and safety precautions, cafeteria, medical care, and plant facilities for women war workers. The toll of war production taken by the absence of these facilities is well known. The instability of the labor force is accentuated by bad housing and poor community services. With regard to food, there is a need for establishing differential food rationing for workers in heavy industries and special rationing procedures for workers in industries not located in established communities. In addition, due to the use of new and substitute materials, the war has increased occupational hazards encountered in industry.

The Plant and Community Facilities Service will utilize organizational and remedial services already available. It will act in an intergovernmental coordinating role, making contacts with Labor and management through the field staff of the Office of Labor Production. Through its central position in the War Production Board, it is in a position to integrate plant and community facilities programs and remedial action with war production necessity as indicated by the industry divisions. It will also provide a channel through which industrial hygiene and community facilities problems of labor organizations, labor-management committees in war industry plants, and war workers might be directed to appropriate government agencies for action. It is through this division that the Office of Labor Production will arrange for the cooperation of local labor representatives with federal and state agencies to develop and execute remedial programs in designated critical war industry areas.

The Shipbuilding Stabilization Division

The Division of Shipbuilding Stabilization is the administrative office of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee of the War Production Board. The Division is responsible for carrying out the administrative responsibilities of this committee and implementing its policies and decisions. From the beginning,

the committee has been a tripartite agency including members from the Navy Department, U. S. Maritime Commission, the War Department and the War Production Board, representing the government; six members nominated by the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and six appointed on nomination of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations representing Labor; and management, by 12 members, selected to represent as many as possible of the shipbuilding interests on all coasts.

In the spring and summer of 1941 the committee conducted conferences of representatives of government, shipbuilding management and organized labor in each of the four zones. As a result of these conferences four separate stabilization agreements, officially known as the Zone Standards of the Atlantic Coast, Pacific Coast, Gulf Coast and Great Lakes, were established. These Zone Standards are in the form of tripartite agreements entered into between (1) the Office of Production Management (predecessor to War Production Board), the Navy Department, the U. S. Maritime Commission and the War Department on behalf of the Federal Government, (2) various shipbuilding companies and (3) representatives of organized labor in the shipbuilding industry.

The zone standards establish basic wage rates for "standard skilled mechanics" in the Gulf and Pacific Coast zones and for "standard first class skilled mechanics" in the Atlantic and Great Lakes zones; they further govern overtime and premium pay rates, vacation policies and training programs, provide against strikes, lockouts or any limitation on production, define procedures for the adjustment of disputes and in other ways establish conditions designed to obtain maximum output in the shipbuilding industry. These tripartite agreements embrace new ship construction, ship conversion and ship repair. The zone standards are incorporated in collective bargaining agreements wherever they exist in shipyards subject to the zone standards. Where no collective bargaining agreements exist, the zone standards are made effective unilaterally by shipyard management, subject to the general supervision of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee.

The Shipbuilding Stabilization Division investigates any question arising in respect to the interpretation, application, coverage and the securing of compliance with the four zones standard stabilization agreements in the shipbuilding industry. It also gathers information and data to serve as a basis for recommending such amendments to the zone standards stabilization agreements as may be necessary to facilitate production, promote harmonious labor relations, and stabilize wages, hours, and working conditions in the shipbuilding industry. Finally, the Division secures and analyzes all factual data necessary to aid the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee in determining the necessity for recommending changes to be made in accordance with Executive Order 9250, and the subsequent War Labor Board directives, in the wage rates established by the National Shipbuilding Conference on May 16, 1942, and assists the committee in developing procedures for conducting annual and special reviews of such wage rates.

MANPOWER

During the period since the 1942 convention at Toronto, the mobilization of American manpower for the vigorous prosecution of the war has gone forward steadily. On the whole, despite extreme stringencies in some localities, the essential manpower needs of the nation have been met. Until the late summer of 1943 delays in production could properly be charged to manpower shortages only in certain highly skilled trades and for temporary periods in individual communities where suddenly increased demands occurred.

By late summer, however, serious shortages began to appear in such key industries as airplanes, shipbuilding, radio equipment, aluminum and copper and other non-ferrous mines and mills. Even in these industries, however, some question exists as to whether the manpower shortage was a real overall lack of workers or a condition due to excessively high turnover among newly recruited, unseasoned members of the labor force.

Unemployment has shrunk to a figure somewhat under one million workers out of a labor force of over sixty million. This represents a very small percentage and undoubtedly reflects temporary unemployment of migrant workers between jobs, plus a substantial number of sub-marginal workers.

Manpower Needs in 1943. Manpower requirements for the calendar year 1943, based on current production and armed force objectives have tightened considerably since the earlier forecasts were made but have followed patterns predicted at the first of the year.

The goal of the armed forces is 11,300,000 for January 1, 1944, as against 7,000,000 on January 1, 1943. Labor requirements for the munitions industries are now estimated at 11,300,000 for January, 1944.

Employment requirements for other non-agricultural industries are estimated at 30,000,000 for January, 1944.

The estimates of labor requirements in agriculture set a figure of 8,700,000 in January, 1944, and a July, 1944, high of 12,000,000. There are 1,000,000 unemployed which will continue.

Combined manpower requirements for the armed forces and the civilian labor force are now estimated at 65,900,000 for January, 1944.

Requirements to July, 1944. Government officials estimate that a minimum of 3,600,000 persons must be added to the armed forces and munitions industries during the one-year period from July, 1943, to July, 1944. This is a smaller increase than that of the previous 12-month period or than that occurring in the present calendar year. Eight factors should be considered, however, in this connection:

- (1) If the net strength of the armed forces is maintained at the indicated size, replacements for an unknown amount will be required. In the estimate, no allowance has been made for such replacements, which will result in an additional drain upon the labor supply.
- (2) The problem of recruitment of additional men and women for the labor force is becoming increasingly difficult now that the more readily available persons have already been absorbed.
- (3) Although labor requirements in the munitions industries are expected

to increase less rapidly than hitherto, the labor demands are concentrated in labor market areas in which critical shortages already exist.

(4) The peak requirements for the armed forces and the munitions industries in July, 1944, are superimposed upon the seasonal peak requirements of agriculture.

(5) Both changes in productivity and in average weekly hours have been assumed in the estimates of labor requirements. An increase of 10 per cent in munitions output per manhour for the calendar year 1943 was assumed and a further increase at the rate of 4 per cent per year to July, 1944. An increase in the work week from an average of 46.9 hours to 48 hours per week was also assumed.

(6) In these estimates, labor requirements are expected to remain virtually unchanged in agriculture, in the food industries, and in textiles, clothing and leather products.

(7) Labor requirements in the trade and service industries are expected to decline by about 700,000 as a result of a diminished flow of manufactured consumer goods and a substantial depletion of inventories which, to date, has cushioned the decline in this field of employment.

(8) While urgent non-construction requirements continue to call for large volume of lumber and wood products, the curtailment in the wartime construction program will cut labor requirements in the construction and building materials industries by about 600,000.

Stringent Situation. These net changes in over-all manpower requirements are difficult to accomplish in an already stringent manpower situation. In the first place, the increases in labor requirements are largely concentrated in a few industries that are in turn concentrated in local labor markets where manpower shortages already exist. The decreases in labor requirements, on the other hand, are in industries that are widely dispersed throughout the country.

We must also remember that the estimated increases in labor requirements are net increases. The gross number of workers that will have to be mobilized is much larger to allow for turnover, for replacements of workers who die or withdraw from the labor force, and for whatever replacements may be required by the armed forces.

To obtain the estimated minimum additional labor supply from July, 1943, to July, 1944, it is expected that the required 3,600,000 will be mobilized chiefly from transfers from other industries totalling 2.3 million, together with a net increase in labor force of 1.3 million.

The large number of construction workers who will be released by the general decline in construction requirements represent the largest single group of workers who can be readily absorbed in the munitions industries.

Decreases In Unemployment. With the reservoir of unemployed already down to approximately 1,000,000 persons, the unemployed can no longer be considered as a source for meeting the expanding labor needs of the war economy. Because of between-job shifts resulting from changes in production

requirements and other causes, it is assumed that 1,000,000 represents the approximate minimum level of unemployment.

To effect a net increase of 1,300,000 in the labor force, possibly one-half will be provided by the normal increment to the labor force resulting from population growth. The remaining one-half must be comprised of persons who would not normally be in the labor force—some of whom may be persons who postpone their retirement. The physically fit young men will go into the army at the age of 18, and many will be in training courses at an earlier age.

Womanpower. Women who are not occupied as homemakers or who are unoccupied form the principal remaining source of additional workers at the present time. No other group in the population can provide any substantial number of new entrants. It is not possible, however, to count to any appreciable extent on older women or those responsible for the care of young children. The most available group at the present time are the 4,100,000 non-farm housewives under the age of 45 who are not responsible for the care of children under 16 years of age.

Since July, 1940, the number of women at work has increased by more than 5,000,000. Most of this gain, however, had been achieved by the end of 1942. In the first five months of 1943, only 100,000 were added to the total of 14,000,000 employed in non-agricultural industries in December, 1942. The continued expansion of employment in specific munitions industries represents a large part of transfers from other industries rather than a net gain in the number of women at work. A somewhat better showing is made in agriculture, in which 1,800,000 were employed in May, 1943, as compared with 1,400,000 in the same month of 1942. Few of the women currently taking seasonal jobs on the farm will become available for other employment, however, when they are no longer needed in agriculture.

The number and variety of jobs now being filled by women are amazing. They have by voluntary action met the nation's urgent needs and demonstrated a high level of versatility and adaptability. Even though absences from work and quits are higher among women than among men, no adequate comparison exists between female and male recruits to the labor supply. There is reason to believe that many of these personnel difficulties are due to their lack of experience in industry and to the very trying circumstances of overcrowded community conditions in war industry centers.

Critical Labor Areas. Government agencies believe that while the labor resources of the nation as a whole appear more than adequate for all essential needs to mid-1944, they recognize that very serious local problems of labor supply exist.

The expanding labor requirements of war industries are largely concentrated in highly critical local labor areas—centers of war production like Buffalo, Seattle, or Detroit. In July, 1943, over half of the employment in the final assembly of aircraft, aeroengines and propellers, and more than two-thirds of the employment in shipyards will be located in areas of current acute labor shortage or areas in which labor shortage is anticipated within several

months. By January, 1944, the aircraft plants in these areas will have to find 130,000 additional workers, and the shipyards will have to find another 50,000 persons. A large part of our war production program is thus seriously affected by local labor shortages.

The adequacy of labor resources elsewhere in the country does not help materially because the further influx of population into these areas is limited by the amount of housing and other community facilities which can be provided. The problem is complicated by the fact that in critical labor market areas it will be necessary to expand employment in civilian industries, to maintain civilian services at the minimum required to support expanding war industry.

One of the most practical steps undertaken by the War Manpower Commission and War Production Board is the designation of critical labor supply areas to guide the procurement agencies in the placing of contracts. Aside from its effect in spreading the distribution of production contracts to areas where labor is more readily available, this official policy has resulted in a much more realistic forecasting of labor needs by local employers. Manufacturers are no longer inflating their estimates of employment needs, or at least are doing so to much lesser extent, now that they realize that government agencies will withhold new contracts and may even withdraw ones previously agreed upon.

War Manpower Commission. The War Manpower Commission was created by the President on April 18, 1942, by Executive Order No. 9139. On May 25, 1942, Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, issued an order establishing the Management-Labor Policy Committee. This committee was given a new status on December 5, 1942, when in Executive Order No. 9279, the President provided that the chairman of the War Manpower Commission should appoint a Management-Labor Policy Committee, which provided that *he shall consult with the members thereof in carrying out his responsibilities*. This Executive Order also transferred the Selective Service System to the War Manpower Commission.

In March, 1943, upon the voluntary suggestion of the members of this committee, seven spokesmen for Labor, Industry, and Agriculture, including President Green, conferred with the chairman on the subject of the reorganization of the Management-Labor Policy Committee. In accordance with the suggestions made at that time, the committee was reorganized, and is now composed of the following members: Management Representatives—R. Conrad Cooper, Assistant Vice President, Wheeling Steel Corporation; Eric A. Johnston, President of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce; and Frederick C. Crawford, President of the National Association of Manufacturers. Labor Representatives: President William Green of the American Federation of Labor; Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and H. W. Fraser, President of the Order of Railway Conductors. Agriculture Representatives: Edward A. O'Neal, President of the American Farm Bureau Federation; James C. Patton, President of the National Farmers' Union, and Albert S. Goss, Manager of the National Grange. In this reorganization, it

was agreed that each member should have one alternate and that the alternate members would meet with the chairman of the committee each week, and that the principal members would be called together on matters of major policy or at such times as the alternate members were unable to agree. The committee meets each Tuesday afternoon at the headquarters office of the War Manpower Commission with its chairman, Arthur S. Flemming of the United States Civil Service Commission.

With the high degree of decentralization that characterizes the administration of the war manpower program, it has been particularly important to secure adequate representation of Labor on regional and area (local) war manpower committees. There are now in operation 12 regional manpower committees with equal representation of management and Labor. There are 26 members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who serve these regional committees.

As of this date, there are now in existence, 177 area committees, on which there are 381 members selected from union and city central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This is in addition to members of railway labor organizations on these committees, some of whom are from shop crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Importation of Foreign Workers. Since the summer of 1942, there has been pressure from various industries and from agricultural employers to meet the manpower shortage in certain sections of the country by importing foreign workers, chiefly from the Bahamas and from the Republic of Mexico. The management and labor committees, as a whole, have consistently taken the position that the War Manpower Commission should not sanction the importation of foreign workers except where it can be shown positively that there are no American workers available, and in no case should the foreign workers be imported except under provisions that definitely provide that their employment will not undermine the wage standards or the working conditions of American workers. The procedures that have been worked out now provide for such guarantees.

Development of Lists of Essential Activities and Occupations. Many war manpower programs and directives relate to the essentiality of certain activities and occupations. Periodic review of this list and of any proposed changes by the Management-Labor Committee is now provided.

Development of Stabilization Programs. The actual development of the job stabilization programs is done at the local level by area directors in consultation with area management-labor committees. Certain basic policies, however, are worked out at the national level and serve as guides to the area and regional committees. In working on these national policies, the majority of our Management-Labor Committee has taken the position that the manpower problem of the nation cannot be solved by the apparently simple freezing of workers to jobs without some protection being given them to avoid undue personal hardship, and to retain their essential freedom of movement. An effort has been made to devise standards for stabilization programs that would reduce unnecessary turnover, prevent costly job shopping and labor

pirating without denying the freedom to the worker, which is a part of his American heritage.

The effectiveness of these programs is by no means as great as it would have been, if a well-rooted and adequate public employment service, as often recommended by the American Federation of Labor, had been ready to meet the emergency as it was in Great Britain.

As a part of the development of stabilization programs, we have felt that an adequate machinery for appeals was very essential. A recently adopted regulation (No. 5) provides that any individual worker or any labor organization aggrieved or prejudiced by an act or failure to act by a War Manpower Commission representative may appeal first to the area committee and, if desirable, to the regional committee, and finally to the chairman of the War Manpower Commission who makes his decision *after consultation* with the national Management-Labor Policy Committee.

Use of Furloughed Soldiers. There has been from some quarters increasing pressure to use soldiers furloughed from the army to meet manpower shortages, particularly in agriculture and in non-ferrous metal mining. With respect to these proposals, we have taken a vigorous position to the effect that soldiers should only be used where there was clear evidence that an emergency existed and that no other civilian labor was available. We have also taken the position that when used, members of the armed forces should be paid the full prevailing rate for work of a similar nature in the area where they are employed, so that their employment does not tend to undermine the standards of working conditions for civilian workers. Procedures have now been worked out effectuating these principles. As a result, the requests for the use of furloughed soldiers have declined, but in some genuinely critical situations, they are being utilized. They are being used with particular effectiveness in non-ferrous metal mines of the West. Their employment in each case, however, is voluntary on the part of the soldier and his placement is worked out in cooperation with the U. S. Employment Service and representatives of the labor unions which are the accredited collective bargaining agencies for the mines in which the soldier is to be employed. This employment is helping to meet a situation which is very critical to the entire war production program.

Use of Prisoners of War. It is now reported that there are some 60,000 Italian prisoners of war in continental United States. Under the terms of a War Department circular issued some months ago, officers in charge of prison camps were authorized to make arrangements for the use of these prisoners in private employment, subject only to the terms of the Geneva Convention of 1929 and to the security regulations of the War Department. Under the terms of this circular, a number of incidents arose in which prisoners of war were allocated to private employers at wage rates and under working conditions which were substandard. Our Management-Labor Policy Committee has recently taken action which will provide that prisoners of war shall not be used in competition with free American labor and shall not be employed except at a cost to the employer at least equal to the cost of employing free American labor. We have pressed for the employment of these prisoners under condi-

tions that will assure the maximum of good treatment to American soldiers who are captured by the Axis forces. We have also expressed the view that they should be employed chiefly on public work projects other than public buildings and construction work.

Controlled Hiring Through the United States Employment Service. Under the terms of the Executive Order No. 9279 of December 5, the chairman of the War Manpower Commission was authorized to require in any labor market area where he deemed it would contribute to the prosecution of the war, that all hiring should be done through the U. S. Employment Service. In the development of the national standards implementing this program, in the critical labor market areas, through incorporating provisions for central control of hiring in stabilization plans, we have used the inclusion of a clause to provide for the maximum use of existing private hiring channels, such as trade unions, private industry, etc. Accordingly, such a clause was inserted in the national standards to cover referrals of workers by business agents of unions.

Use of Women and Younger People in Industry. In the development of the War Manpower Commission program and policies for the employment of women and younger people in industry, we have pressed for the inclusion in these standards, provisions for equal pay for equal work, for upholding of standards with respect to employment of women that safeguard their health, and for standards which prevent the employment of children and younger people in any hazardous occupation.

Manpower and Economic Stabilization. On April 8, 1943, the President signed Executive Order 9328, the so-called "hold-the-line" order. Immediately thereafter, the staff of the War Manpower Commission worked out Regulation No. 4, implementing its responsibilities as they saw them under the order. The committee never concurred in the provisions of Regulation No. 4 which tended to tighten the controls on Labor all over the country, preventing workers from transferring from one job to another at higher rates of pay. We have vigorously sought to secure relaxation of the rigid controls of Regulation No. 4.

We have proposed Regulation No. 5, which has been accepted by the Management-Labor Policy Committee, and which provides for a relaxation of Regulation No. 4. This is now awaiting the approval of the Stabilization Committee.

Consideration of National Service Legislation. There has been consideration of national service legislation. We have opposed such action on the grounds that: 1. The War Manpower Commission has broad powers under its Executive Order which it has never fully used. 2. Employees and employers everywhere are anxious to cooperate with a voluntary program that is adequate. 3. The possibility for improvement, through voluntary cooperative action on the part of management and Labor have hardly been tapped, and until the full possibilities, under the voluntary program have been exhausted, there is no indication for the need for national service legislation.

WAR HOUSING

Provision for housing of war workers, sufficient in quantity and comfort to meet the minimum needs of millions of workers newly recruited to man strategic war production, has received the least attention in the mobilization of our country for war, yet housing has been consistently the most important factor in the recruitment of war workers to the essential jobs, and in the ability of these workers to keep up a sustained maximum contribution to war production.

That lack of proper housing was one of the chief obstacles in the expansion of our war production program became a glaring fact. In a single community half a million workers were brought in to take war jobs without provision of decent living quarters, consequently disruptive friction and mounting tension was bound to follow. This tension came to a breaking point in the summer of 1943. Race riots broke out in half a dozen communities with violence and bloodshed in Beaumont, Mobile, and Detroit. In every instance lack of housing and the resulting overcrowding were listed as the foremost causes of the disorders.

Direct effect of the lack of housing on war production began to show even earlier. Abnormal rates of absenteeism and unprecedented labor turnover were attributed by both employers and public officials studying the problem, to the lack of adequate housing. Shortages of housing and transportation have been established beyond dispute as the prime factors in the slackening of the pace in war production in many localities in the late summer of 1943.

The responsibility for determining the need for housing and for planning the over-all war housing program as well as for bringing together constituent housing agencies to carry out the program is in the hands of the National Housing Administrator, who is responsible for fact-finding, policy, programming and the over-all administration of war housing. He also operates through ten regional offices and field personnel in the direct supervision of the program in local communities. Thus the Administrator of the NHA has not only assumed unlimited responsibility for the nation's war housing policy, but also directs all operational procedures beginning with the registration and placement of a war worker arriving in a community to take a war job. Within this framework local community responsibility has been reduced to the minimum and relegated to a place subservient to central federal control.

Although war housing is of greater concern to workers than to any other group, Labor has been denied representation or participation even in an advisory or consultative capacity at both the national and local levels of the NHA.

Ability of the National Housing Agency to meet the nation's requirements for war housing depends, first, on Congress; second, on the War Production Board, War Manpower Commission and other government agencies responsible for war mobilization; and third, on the relations with the community in which housing is needed.

The National Housing Agency has not enlisted wide public support of the war housing program which is the necessary foundation for both manpower mobilization and sustained war production. War housing has been consistently kept out of the realm of public scrutiny and understanding. The

NHA has sought to reduce war housing to a minor domestic issue. This in turn has emboldened private interests in their efforts to bend war housing policy to their advantage. It also resulted in congressional indifference toward the plight of war workers forced into overcrowded quarters or compelled to live indefinitely in trailers, tents, and roadside shacks.

It is the responsibility of the War Production Board to make available with speed and certainty critical materials essential for the construction of war housing. It has taken the NHA a year to gain recognition by the War Production Board as a "claimant agency" equal in status with other war agencies and to secure representation on the subcommittees of the WPB Requirements Committee. Since the spring of 1943, however, progress has been made. Priority assistance to war housing has improved, and quarterly blanket allotments were granted the NHA, enabling the agency to determine the actual allocation of these materials in accordance with the programs formulated.

Programming of local war housing needs by the NHA rests on the determinations made by the War Manpower Commission of the extent to which local labor supply must be supplemented by additional workers to be brought to the war plants from outside the community. The WMC also determines how many of these workers will migrate as single persons, how many will come with their families, the nature of their occupations, and the income groups they represent.

On the basis of this information, the National Housing Agency determines (1) whether war housing shall be provided; (2) what quantity and what types of accommodations are needed; (3) to what extent existing facilities may be made to meet this need; and (4) whether the new construction needed will be supplied through public or private financing. These are vital decisions in which Labor is directly concerned.

In the formulation of the program the NHA first decides whether a particular community should be designated as a critical housing area. This decision is based on the data supplied by the WMC. Likewise the WMC data on war worker incomes are the basis for NHA decisions as to the sales prices or the rents that may be charged.

The achievement of the maximum use of existing structures and referral of workers migrating into the communities is the job of the Homes Use Service set up within the Office of the NHA Administrator. The Homes Use Service has established war housing centers in about 100 critical areas.

The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor has taken sharp issue with the manner in which the homes use program was developed and war housing centers organized. The NHA chose to exclude local housing authorities from assuming community responsibility for the work delegated to federally operated war housing centers, and has failed to unify and simplify the procedure of registering and placing war workers in the available housing facilities. Under the procedure the NHA has adopted, a worker coming to a community must clear through three separate government offices located in separate quarters, often in different parts of the community. This cumbersome procedure imposes a real hardship upon workers seeking housing.

Our Housing Committee has also objected strenuously to the nature of war

housing committees, usually appointed by the mayor, the city manager, or the chairman of the Civilian Defense Council. These advisory committees are designed to give a semblance of local participation, but in practice play no part in the formulation of programs or policies. The American Federation of Labor has also objected to the absence of genuine labor representation on such committees. Labor members serve as individuals and speak only for themselves. They are not expected to represent more than a "point of view," and are not responsible to the labor organizations which speak for workers in the community. This approach is characteristic of the basic NHA policy of carefully precluding real and effective labor participation as well as citizen participation in the formulation and administration of the war housing program.

The critical materials situation has been responsible for the NHA's position that "the objective of the NHA is and must be to keep new construction to a minimum." After the minimum amount of necessary new construction has been determined, the NHA apportions this to private and public construction. According to the Agency, "the NHA has operated from the outset on the principle that private enterprise shall be given as large a part of the war housing construction job to do as it is willing and able to handle." The NHA asserts that "the division between private and public building will fall largely on the line between permanent and temporary construction." Accordingly, the NHA points out, "the public war housing program now largely consists of temporary construction including dormitories for single persons and high-salvage value units for families, with some trailer accommodations. The latter are classed as 'stop gap' housing and are moved from place to place to meet crucial needs until more adequate facilities are provided." More recently the NHA was reluctant even to resort to the use of trailers in such situations, preferring the construction of the so-called "hutments," (small prefabricated knock-down shacks).

The conversion program is designed to assist owners to remodel their properties to accommodate more war workers, thus avoiding unnecessary new construction. The privately financed conversion program consists merely of mortgage credit and FHA insurance for remodeling, such loans having maturity up to seven years. Priority assistance has also been extended for such remodeling. The publicly financed conversion program provides for government acquisition of property by lease with a return to the owner-lessor when the lease is terminated. The property so leased is rented by the government to qualified war workers. Increasingly the responsibility for the conversion program has been placed in the hands of private interests. According to the NHA, "Quite recently, considerable impetus has been given to the conversion program by the utilization of real estate brokers as fee-negotiators where the program indicated that this was desirable. The use of these brokers to ferret out the more desirable properties and to handle the transaction to the point of leasing, with the exception of the required architectural work, has advanced the program, although the right has been reserved for any individual to submit his application directly to the war housing center. A large portion of the conversion work now under way is performed by architects, brokers, and

attorneys on a fee basis, thus reducing the number of salaried personnel to a minimum." The supervision over the conversion program has been delegated to the Home Owners Loan Corporation.

With the increase in the authority of the FHA to insure under Title VI by another \$400,000,000, the total amount of the mortgage insurance available for war housing reached \$1,200,000,000. The occupancy of the private war housing, as well as publicly financed war housing, is limited to war workers. Under requirements established by the WPB as a condition to the obtaining of materials for private war housing, such housing shall be held for rental to in-migrant war workers for four months after completion before it can be sold. An appeal from this restriction may be taken by any owner or builder after 60 days from the date of completion. These appeals are handled by the field offices of the FHA. This four-months rental requirement is applied by the NHA only to housing started after February 10, 1943. Of the 203,000 units completed with priority assistance by March 31, 1943, 105,000 units were sold, 74,000 were rented, 12,000 were leased with option to purchase, 4,000 were built for owner's use, and 8,000 were vacant.

The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor has consistently taken the position that while workers should have the opportunity to purchase homes in their own community, war housing should not be sold to workers migrating to other communities for temporary war jobs. Temporary war employment does not assure sufficient stability of income to enable a worker to assume a long-term financial obligation of home-buying. The desire on the part of the private builders to unload at inflated prices structurally sub-standard war housing, is bound to lead to the loss of hard earned equities by workers who must move again to gain steady employment after the war, and to widespread economic distress.

The operations of the Federal Public Housing Authority, responsible for public war housing, have established an excellent record despite great difficulties encountered in the work of the agency. The public war housing program, including all units allotted as of March 31, 1943, comprise 677,000 units. On completion, these units will accommodate nearly 2,000,000 persons. Publicly financed housing comprises only 22 per cent of the entire war housing program.

The FPFA not only acts as the chief supervising agent for all new public war housing, but is responsible for the development and management of a large portion of this program. In contrast to the general approach of the NHA, the FPFA in its operations conforms to the greatest possible extent to local desires and traditions. Wherever local housing authorities are available, full use is made of their services in the development of projects, and management is likewise entrusted to them as agents or under lease. The experience which local housing authorities gained in carrying out the low-rent program under the United States Housing Act has proved of great value in expediting the public war housing program. The gradual encroachment by the NHA on all policy-making procedures, however, has seriously threatened to reduce the FPFA to the role of a construction supervisor of temporary shelter.

RENT CONTROL

On June 1, 1943, federal rent control had been in force for one year. As rents normally constitute at least one-fifth of the living costs of a wage earner's family, stabilization of rents has been a vital part of cost of living control for the workers. While at first the OPA approached the problem of rent control timidly, the operation of the program during the past year has probably been more effective than any other OPA operation. By August 1, 1943, 458 defense rental areas had been designated. Of these, 372, with an estimated civilian population of nearly 80 million, have been made subject to federal rent control.

In the controlled areas rents have been generally stabilized at slightly below May, 1942, levels. In view of the drastic increase in rents which took place between 1941 and 1942, in communities most affected by war production, the May, 1942, level was substantially higher than the rents prevailing before the war. It is recognized that in most cases the OPA rent ceilings have been set at levels which have been administratively feasible. It is clear, however, that the rents paid by most wage earners' families today are far in excess of rents charged at the time when operating costs to the landlord were substantially higher. In many communities before the war, landlords had to contend with a high rate of vacancies, greater occupancy losses, greater turnover and more active maintenance. Under war conditions the landlords are enjoying a far more favorable position. Occupancy is often at an all-time high, reaching 100 per cent in many communities. Rent delinquencies have diminished and in some areas have completely disappeared. While some operating expenses, including payrolls and fuel, have increased appreciably, these have been generally more than offset by economies made possible by the elimination of vacancies and reduction in services. Janitorial and custodial services have been curtailed and, most important of all, repairs, interior painting and decorating, have been sharply reduced.

In the administration of rent control the OPA has made an important contribution to the morale of many thousands of war workers and families of service men in the rent control areas by insuring new tenants security of their home occupancy. In the initial stages of rent control in Mobile, Alabama and many other overcrowded areas, landlords forced tenants to vacate by selling their properties to outright owners. Where overcrowding made it impossible for workers to find other accommodations, purchase of rental properties was often forced upon the war workers. To prevent this circumvention of rent control, the OPA, after consultation with the OPA Labor Policy Committee, amended its regulations requiring a 90-day notice in the case of any eviction. The amendment also prohibited the sale of the rental property in emergency areas except in the case of bona fide sales in which one-third of the purchase price must be paid in cash as a down payment. This provision has effectively prevented forced sales and sales made to circumvent rent control.

By limiting the application of this policy solely to areas where overcrowding has reached emergency proportions, the regulation did not in any way interfere with real estate transactions in communities in which conditions are more

nearly normal. The regulation provides that where a landlord can show that equivalent accommodations are available for similar rent in the same community he may sell the property with no down-payment and with no restrictions.

There has been strong organized pressure on the part of real estate interests to do away with rent control. It was apparent that the OPA was willing to yield sufficiently to the pressure to reduce the 30 per cent down-payment requirement in the case of sales to 20 per cent. The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor has countered this drive for relaxation of the rent control program and has pressed for the extension of rent control and of its enforcement. In smaller communities in which much war production is concentrated, the absence of rent control has imposed a real hardship upon thousands of war workers. In such areas as Greater New York where substantial rent increases have occurred, the OPA has failed to establish a basis for rent control. In a number of communities the Housing Committee has assisted central labor unions in conducting rent surveys among members of affiliated unions, thus helping to establish rent control protection for the workers.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE

The Fair Employment Practice Committee appointed by the President in June, 1941, was transferred in July, 1942, to the War Manpower Commission as the agency vested with the responsibility for the enforcement of Executive Order 8802, which provided that "there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin." While the committee was given the authority to enforce this policy, this authority was admittedly limited.

The committee's procedure was to first attempt voluntary compliance with the policy by the employers and, if no affirmative action was taken to effect compliance, to hold public hearings which would afford all parties concerned the opportunity of presenting publicly the facts involved. Because of the reluctance of the employers to have discriminatory practices in their plants become a matter of public knowledge, the threat of a public hearing often proved sufficient to eliminate discrimination in war plants. Toward the end of 1942 several major cases were scheduled for hearing, including that of the southeastern railroads.

In January, 1943, pursuant to a request from the White House, Chairman McNutt of the War Manpower Commission ordered these hearings postponed. It was soon intimated, however, that a complete reorganization of the committee was contemplated and that it would then be free to re-schedule such hearings.

On May 27, the President issued Executive Order 9346, which superseded Executive Order 8802, and established a new Committee on Fair Employment Practice to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower and to eliminate discriminatory employment practices. The new Executive Order reaffirmed the non-discrimination policy and declared "that it is the duty of all

employers, including the several federal departments and agencies, and all labor organizations, in furtherance of this policy and of this order, to eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms or conditions of employment, or union membership because of race, creed, color, or national origin."

To enforce this policy the order provides that all government contracts, and subcontracts let under such contracts, must include a provision obligating the contractor "not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, or national origin." All agencies of the federal government concerned with vocational and training programs for war production are also required to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination. The committee is empowered to formulate policies designed to enforce non-discrimination and to make recommendations to other agencies and to the President with respect to steps necessary to make non-discrimination effective. It is the duty of the committee to receive and investigate complaints of discrimination, conduct hearings, make findings of fact, and take appropriate action to eliminate discrimination forbidden by the order.

On July 6, 1943, a new seven-man committee was appointed to administer the non-discrimination order—consisting of three labor members, three employer members, and one public member.

The new Executive Order did not change materially the committee's authority, but set it up as an independent agency responsible directly to the President. The provision in the order, declaring it to be the duty of all labor organizations to eliminate discrimination in regard to union membership, was a new departure in the intervention of the federal government in the self-organization among workers.

The policy of non-discrimination because of race, creed or color in trade union ranks has always been the fundamental policy of the American Federation of Labor. For over half a century the A. F. of L., through the actions of its conventions and through the efforts of its officers, has sought to effect universal voluntary adherence to the principle of non-discrimination among its affiliated unions. Notable progress has been made in this direction and a non-discrimination policy has been embodied in the operating laws of the majority of our national and international unions. In a number of local situations, the national and international unions concerned have successfully dispelled intolerance and prejudice on the part of individual members and groups of members, assuring the acceptance of the policy not only in form but also in fact.

A small number of our affiliates have not yet joined in the positive efforts of the Federation to assure equality of work opportunity without regard to race or color. The Executive Council reiterates its belief that discriminatory denial of work opportunity to any person because of race, creed or color is inconsistent with the principles of industrial democracy and trade union practice which the American Federation of Labor has championed since its inception. We recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to intensify and extend their efforts to secure complete acceptance of our non-discrimination policy by all affiliated unions.

The direct and wholehearted participation of the representatives of the

American Federation of Labor in the work of the Fair Employment Practice Committee has been based on the recognition of the fact that race discrimination in war employment is inconsistent with the nation's foremost objectives in a war for the survival of democracy. Such discrimination is not only contrary to individual human rights affirmed by our Constitution and basic to our institutions, but is also a serious threat to national unity during and after the war. Differential treatment of minority groups, and especially negroes, at the time of maximum employment induced by the war, is bound to establish and perpetuate basic differentials in the nation's wage structure solely because of race. When employment is curtailed after the war, the creation of a reservoir of cheap labor among negro workers can only serve to destroy the established wage standards for all labor and result in racial strife. Insistent need for elimination of race discrimination in employment and wage standards is thus dictated, not only by the democratic principle to which the labor movement is pledged, but also by the need to assure economic justice to all workers through stability of wages and employment after the war.

The Executive Council does not believe, however, that imposition of any policy, no matter how salutary, through compulsory government control of freely constituted associations of workers, accords with the basic right of freedom of association among the American people. While it endorses without reservation the policy of non-discrimination in employment, the Executive Council takes strong exception to the compulsory imposition upon unions of this or any other policy interfering with the self-government of labor organizations.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

This year as in previous years, the American Federation of Labor has continued its cooperation with the International Labor Organization which was created in a large measure through the efforts of Samuel Gompers following the first World War. Through its international representative, who is a member of the Governing Body of the ILO, the Federation has participated in the activities of the International Labor Office—the Secretariat of the International Labor Organization.

The International Labor Office is devoting much attention to the subject of social security, which is of definite interest to organized labor throughout the world, both at the present time and for the post-war period. Social security is one of the subjects included in the American resolution on post-war reconstruction which was adopted by the Conference of the International Labor Organization held in the United States in 1941.

The First Inter-American Conference on Social Security, organized with the assistance of the International Labor Office, met in Santiago, Chile, at the invitation of the Chilean Government, September 10-16, 1942. This conference was attended by representatives of twenty-one American countries and by a tripartite delegation from the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization. The International Labor Office provided technical assistance for the conference and prepared documentation for its use. The conference adopted the Declaration of Santiago, Chile, defining the objectives of the

social security program for the Americas and confirming the solidarity of countries of the Western Hemisphere in solving the problems of social security. The Declaration of Santiago, Chile, includes the following provisions:

I. Social and Economic Security

(1) Society must find a new inspiration in a movement of solidarity of all men and nations to abolish poverty and secure the means of living in health and decency.

(2) The potentialities of economic and technical resources must be turned to account in order to satisfy the necessities of life of the greatest number of persons and peoples everywhere.

(3) The economic objective will not suffice to evoke a hearty and generous cooperation unless identified with the moral objective of a just social order, which equitably distributes the fruits of production.

(4) Each country must create, conserve and build up the intellectual, moral and physical vigor of its active generation, prepare the way for its future generations, and support the generation that has been discharged from productive life. This is social security: a genuine and rational economy of human resources and values.

(5) The provision of such basic security will promote personal effort and initiative and improve the structure of society by the elimination of the causes of social insecurity.

II. Social Insurance

(1) Social insurance, as an expression of social security, is called upon:

(a) To organize the prevention of risks the occurrence of which deprives the worker of his earning capacity and means of subsistence;

(b) To restore, as quickly and fully as possible, the earning capacity lost or reduced by reason of sickness or accident;

(c) To supply the means of subsistence in case of cessation or interruption of gainful activity as the result of sickness or accident, temporary or permanent disability, unemployment, old age, and premature death of the breadwinner.

III. A Continental Program

(1) A policy of social security for the Americas should comprise measures for promoting employment and maintaining it at a high level, for increasing the national income and sharing it more equitably, and for improving health, nutrition, clothing, housing and general and vocational education for workers and their families.

(2) The health, capacity and welfare of the workers of any one American nation is a concern of all American nations, and therefore concerted action by social security institutions is imperative for the preservation of their human assets as a guarantee of continental defense and integrity.

(3) This action implies for the American nations the necessity of establishing a common reservoir of all things required for maintaining the continuity of their social policy, for preserving their unity, and for meeting any eventuality in this connection.

(4) A continental agreement entered into by the social security institutions will forge new links of solidarity by solving problems in which the fate and conscience of all peoples are deeply engaged and will strengthen the belief in the future of the Americas.

IV. A World Aspiration

(1) The decisions of the Americas with a view to a new structure

of social security represent a contribution to world solidarity in seeking the well-being of peoples and the attainment and maintenance of peace.

The Inter-American Conference on Social Security was set up at this meeting as a permanent agency to act in cooperation with the International Labor Office.

An informal private consultation on social security was held by the International Labor Office in Montreal, July 9 to 12, with the authors of some of the outstanding social security plans and administrators of social security systems in effect in various American countries. This meeting was planned to afford opportunity to express views on new trends of social security policy. Specific topics for consideration were income maintenance and medical care. At the invitation of the Acting Director of the International Labor Office, the Minister of Pensions and National Health of Canada served as chairman for the meeting.

Another subject of immediate and future interest to Labor which is being studied by the International Labor Office is the problem of employment and the organization of the labor market to meet wartime demands and to help in meeting the labor transfer to peacetime economy following the war. The Canadian-United States Tripartite Committee which is studying these problems in cooperation with the International Labor Office has held several meetings during the year, the most recent one being February 13-14, in New York City. The work of this committee serves to illustrate the successful operation of tripartite groups in dealing with the problems of common interest to Labor, management and government.

Other committee work conducted during the year included a meeting of the Canadian and American members of the Committee on Accident Prevention of the International Labor Office. This committee met in New York on December 15 and 16, 1942, to discuss plans for a model safety code for factories which the International Labor Office is preparing and to consider a monograph on safety in dock work which is to be published by the International Labor Office. In addition to the safety code for factories, the International Labor Office is preparing a model safety code for civil engineering, which will supplement the building code of 1937; and a model safety code for electrical equipment and installations.

An important part of the work of the International Labor Office is that of providing technical assistance to member countries on request of their governments in matters concerning labor legislation, social security and conditions of employment. On the invitation of the Bolivian Government and the Government of the United States, David H. Blelloch of the International Labor Office served as consultant with the Joint United States-Bolivian Commission which was appointed in 1943 to study "the situation of the laborer in Bolivia, and, in particular, of the mine worker, with a view of the betterment thereof."

Although conference work on international draft conventions has been suspended during the war, the ratification of existing codes continues. During

1942 Mexico ratified two international labor treaties—that of 1938 concerning statistics of wages and hours of work, and that of 1936 concerning holidays with pay for seamen. This brings the total ratifications of ILO conventions to 884.

Another significant development for the year was represented by the action of Costa Rica, which on November 12, 1942, resumed active membership in the International Labor Organization. The Governing Body of the ILO unanimously decided that Costa Rica should be entitled to full rights of membership subject to confirmation at the next conference.

In connection with the work on post-war reconstruction the Acting Director of the International Labor Office, Edward J. Phelan, and the Legal Advisor, C. W. Jenks, went to London in May, 1943, to confer with officials of the British Government. The subjects for discussion included the future program for the International Labor Office and its participation in plans for post-war reconstruction. All of the officials interviewed, including representatives of the government, employers, and workers, expressed strong support for the ILO and the determination to use the International Labor Organization as an agency to assist with the social problems of the post-war period and to implement the social objectives of the Atlantic Charter.

The American Federation of Labor, recognizing the importance at all times, and in particular during the period of the war and the period of post-war reconstruction, of collaboration between government, employers, and workers in dealing with matters concerning human welfare, asks that the Government of the United States, in accordance with the resolution unanimously adopted at the New York conference of 1941 upon the unanimous motion of the United States Government, employer and labor delegates, invite the International Labor Organization to participate in any international agency or conference established to deal with labor and social welfare reconstruction problems. The American Federation of Labor further recommends that continued cooperation and support be given to the International Labor Organization; and that financial support be assured to make possible the strengthening and development of the work of the Organization in order that it may more effectively promote social security and contribute toward raising the standard of living for working men and women throughout the world.

Jaines Wilson, a former member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, continues to serve as Labor Advisor to the International Labor Organization. He attends conventions of American Federation of Labor organizations, presenting to those in attendance at these conventions facts and information regarding the work and policies of the International Labor Organization. Through contact with Mr. Wilson and the branch office of the International Labor Organization in Washington, the officers of the American Federation of Labor keep in close touch with the work of the International Labor Organization.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The past year for the International Federation of Trade Unions has been marked by an increase of two million members and by the setting up of a central governing body for the whole of the international movement called the Emergency International Trade Union Council. This new general council is composed of the president, Sir Walter Citrine; general secretary, Walter Schevenels; and three vice-presidents, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; Joseph Bondas, and Konrad Nordahl; assistant secretary, J. Stolz; seven representatives of the national trade union confederations; and seven representatives of the international trade secretariats. In addition, there are seven advisory members representing the foreign trade union groups of Great Britain.

The first meeting of this new governing body was held on September 1, 1942. It has been called upon to act for the duration of the war as the principal representative of international organized labor and to coordinate trade union activities in the international field. It has also been instructed to prepare the ground for the establishment of an all-embracing world federation after the war.

Among the first activities of the Emergency Council was the appointment of two subcommittees to study two sets of post-war problems which are bound to be of primary concern to International Labor in the very near future.

These problems are:

- (1) The reconstruction of the International Trade Union Movement, and
- (2) Social and economic demands for the post-war world.

The first committee is composed of the president and general secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, three members representing the national centres and three members representing the international trade secretariats. The second committee is composed of the president and general secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, four members representing the national centres and four members representing the international trade secretariats. The work of these committees, which have held six or seven sessions to date, is proceeding satisfactorily. Some of their conclusions and suggestions have already been submitted to the Emergency Council where it has been decided that, before taking any positive action on proposals, all the organizations concerned will have to be consulted so that the responsible councils will have an opportunity to examine the proposals and, if they wish, to make counter-proposals or amendments.

The general activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the associated international trade secretariats have continuously expanded despite all the difficulties of the present war situation. In a general way all the countries affiliated or associated with the International Federation of Trade Unions have shown that trade unionism is not only increasing in numerical strength but that it is also gaining great influence in public life and is affecting the policy of the respective countries. More encouraging

still is the very strong tendency which can be noticed towards closer international collaboration all over the world.

Apart from the European continent, where the International Federation of Trade Unions has only sporadic opportunities to keep up the necessary contacts with the underground movements, relations have been reestablished or newly established with nearly all the countries of the world. The mere enumeration of those countries where trade unionism is very young and where, during the last year numerous contacts have been gained, will already show the great progress made by the International Federation of Trade Unions in the parts of the world where there had been little or no international trade union collaboration: Chile, Bolivia, Venezuela, Cuba, Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, French North Africa, Northern Rhodesia, Belgian Congo, Sierra Leone, the Cameroons, and the Lake Chad territory.

In the whole picture there are three dark spots—the position in Finland, which is no longer considered as affiliated, has not improved since last year; in India, which is still listed as affiliated, the situation is still as confused as before, and in respect to Mexico, the international general council of the International Federation of Trade Unions had to suspend the Mexican delegation on the general council because this country had not paid its affiliation fees for several years.

On the other hand, however, the progress and the activities of the foreign trade union groups in Great Britain have steadily developed. The Belgian group now has 4,000 members; the French, 800 members; the Polish, 1,300 members; the Austrian, over 700 members; the German, over 500 members; and the Spanish group, 50 members.

Progress can also be reported with regard to the publishing activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions. The fortnightly *Bulletin* in three languages—English, Spanish, and German—has been continued and enjoys an ever-increasing sympathetic reception among militant trade unionists and the press, both trade union and general. Governmental departments, universities, and important research associations have also shown great interest in these publications. The outstanding fact, however, is the publication, since January, 1943, of a new monthly journal called *Trade Union World*, for which the International Federation of Trade Unions and the associated international trade secretariats are jointly responsible. The *Trade Union World* is published in English and Spanish.

The International Federation of Trade Unions and its leaders have been able to devote an increasing part of their time and energy to the war effort and all kinds of activities against the Axis. Prominent in these activities is the action and propaganda towards the Axis-occupied countries in Europe. In the course of these activities, the executive members of the International Federation of Trade Unions, present in London at the end of 1942, seized the opportunity to protest in a public resolution against the dreadful campaign

being carried out at the orders of Hitler and his Gestapo chief, Himmler, to exterminate the Jews of Nazi-occupied Europe.

The International Federation of Trade Unions, after condemning in very severe words the various phases of these unprecedented massacres, appealed first to the German workers to unmistakably show by their deeds that they disassociate themselves from this barbarism, and, secondly, to the governments of all countries, allied and neutral, to admit to all territories under their control, and on the largest possible scale, any Jewish refugees who may still succeed in escaping from Nazi brutality.

In the period under review, the International Federation of Trade Unions has continued to support to the utmost the activities of the International Labor Organization. In this connection, the Emergency International Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions called an extraordinary meeting in London on May 12, 1943, where, in the presence of E. J. Phelan, Acting Director of the International Labor Office, topical questions of common interest to the two organizations were examined and the opportunities explored in order to bring about more rapid and concrete results toward social progress.

The marked improvements of the International Federation of Trade Unions activities in the various fields have been mainly possible by the full moral and financial support given by all the affiliated national trade union movements. Organized labor all over the world has thus shown its belief in the future international trade union movement.

ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADE UNION COMMITTEE

The formation of an Anglo-American Trade Union Committee was reported upon to the convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in Toronto, Canada, in October, 1942.

The British members of the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee met with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at Miami, Florida, on January 27, 1943. However, no questions which were considered appropriate for discussion and action by the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee were taken up at this meeting of the British members of the committee with the Executive Council. A warm, cordial welcome was extended to the representatives of the British Trades Union Congress by the members of the Executive Council.

At this meeting with the Executive Council the delegates representing the British Trades Union Congress on the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee proposed that representatives of the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods be invited to participate in the meetings of the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee. The Executive Council gave careful and serious consideration to this proposal made by the British delegates. After calm deliberation the Executive Council rejected the proposal made by the British delegates to enlarge the committee by including within it representatives of the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods. They made answer to this proposal and gave

their reasons for making such answer in a prepared statement which read as follows:

Because of the importance attached to the formation and the efficient functioning of the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee, and by reason of the extended representations made by the representatives and delegation of the British Trades Union Congress, we submit the following as our official response to the several points raised and considered in our joint conference:

We can understand the disappointment experienced in the councils of the British Trades Union Congress by reason of our inability to view the Soviet trade unions in the same light as our fellow trade unionists in England, and because of our refusal to participate in the projected Russian-Anglo-American conference arrangement. We understand quite clearly the developments which caused the British Trades Union Congress to alter its previous attitude toward the Soviet trade unions. Fortunately we have not been confronted with a like situation. To the contrary our situation here is quite different and there is no reason why we should in any way cooperate or coordinate our activities with the Soviet trade unions.

On the other hand, we are keenly alert and responsive to the fact that Russia is now allied with the United Nations in the common effort of defeating the Axis powers. Our unwillingness to recognize the Soviet trade unions other than as governmental agencies and our refusal to cooperate with them by reason of the fact that they are unlike our free trade unions has in no way, and will in no way, detract or lessen our zeal in rendering every possible aid, support and help to the Russian government and its people who are so valiantly contributing of their manhood and womanhood, of their wealth and effort in the titanic world struggle now taking place. This we have and will continue to do in our individual and organized capacities and as citizens of our Republic. Our contributions in this direction embrace every field of activity. We fail to understand how we could contribute more or render a larger service by an association which we are confident can only result in friction and confusion here at home, and at a time when elements of discord are to be discouraged.

With respect to disappointments experienced in the councils of the British Trades Union Congress because of our unwillingness to include in our delegation to the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee representatives of the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods, we are pleased to note the ready and unqualified acceptance of the interpretation that under the arrangement entered into complete and sole discretion is placed in the American Federation of Labor to determine the makeup and character of its delegation. To avoid any possible misunderstanding on this point we should make clear that while the discretionary authority, provided in our arrangement, does not admit of complaint, criticism or displeasure because we exercise this authority as we deem best, nevertheless we are at all times prepared to consider suggestions offered for the good of all concerned. It is in this light that we have considered the proposed suggestions that we include in our delegation representatives of the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods. It is in the same light and in the same spirit that we reaffirm our former decision not to embrace in our delegation representatives of the C.I.O. and/or of the railroad brotherhoods for reasons hereinafter indicated.

It is alleged, upon what is believed authentic information, that the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods are of equal strength in number, if not of influence, in the field of organized labor. The facts are that the American Federation of Labor now embraces six million members

paying per capita tax, or making contributions monthly to the American Federation of Labor. This number does not include those who may be unemployed or who may be in the armed forces, upon which members no contributions are received by the American Federation of Labor and are therefore not included in our paid-up membership. It is estimated that the number of such members runs into hundreds of thousands.

Insofar as the C.I.O. is concerned, no authentic or public record is available as to the members paying per capita or monthly contributions to that organization. The studious avoidance of publication of the paid-up membership by the C.I.O. leaves conjecture or projected membership subject to serious question. Estimated, however, from records of the reported and alleged membership of the unions making up the C.I.O. at present, and from such other sources as have been made available, it is fair to assert that the total membership of the C.I.O. approximates 2,225,000. It is thus apparent that the membership of the American Federation of Labor is almost three times as large as the C.I.O.

With regard to the railroad brotherhoods, the total membership of these four organizations approximates 340,000 as compared with the 6,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor. In other words the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods combined total an approximate membership of slightly over two and a half million, as against the six million enrolled in the American Federation of Labor.

The estimated membership of the railroad brotherhoods hereinabove noted does not tell the whole of the story. It should be remembered that the railroad brotherhoods represent only part of those employed on the American railroads. There are approximately 1,440,000 workers employed on the American railroads. While 340,000 are affiliated with the four railroad brotherhoods (Engineers, 75,000; Firemen, 90,000; Trainmen, 125,000; Conductors, 50,000), the balance of those employed, or 1,100,000, are represented by international trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It is clearly evident, therefore, that the railway workers are fully and adequately represented through the present arrangement. Indeed, the delegation selected by the American Federation of Labor has made ample provision for representation of our railroad organizations and workers. To provide additional representation to these workers might well overbalance the character of representation on our entire delegation. Then, too, there are other factors embraced in our decision with reference to the railway workers which need no repetition at this time.

Insofar as the C.I.O. is concerned, it is unfortunate that even before the question of the character of representation on our delegation arose that representatives of the C.I.O. lodged protest with governmental authorities against the fulfillment or the carrying out of obligations entailed in our mutual understanding. This effort by those not a party to our arrangement to render ineffective the relationship entered into is but one of other important factors and considerations that have promoted our decision not to include representatives of the C.I.O. in our delegation.

It is further alleged that even though the actual membership of the C.I.O. may not be proportional to that of the American Federation of Labor, that insofar as war production and our war efforts are concerned, there exists a basis of equality. Here again an accurate and comparative accounting will illustrate the fallacy and unsoundness of such an allegation. It is quite true that in the metal industry the C.I.O. organizations do embrace considerable numbers. It is equally true that in the garment trades, shipbuilding and seafaring trades the C.I.O. more nearly approximates the American Federation of Labor. However, when we embrace all other branches of activity and industry, the least of

which is not the transportation trades, as railway figures already quoted attest, and which figures do not include the hundreds of thousands of teamsters, chauffeurs, et cetera, then quite a different picture is presented. We would also remind you that the building trades and many other trades not specifically referred to are equally essential to a war economy as they are to a peacetime economy.

It is alleged, too, that because the American Federation of Labor is cooperating, or at least coordinating, its efforts with the C.I.O. in governmental ventures and enterprises during the war, we should therefore accept the C.I.O. into our voluntary trade union relationships. It is quite true we are coordinating our efforts with one another in all governmental agencies concerned with the war effort and war problems. It is equally true that governmental agencies dealing with labor relations and not limited purely or solely to war activities are being subverted by affiliates of the C.I.O. to the weakening, if not the destruction of affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. Thus the practice of raiding, of annulling contractual relations entered into with the employers, etc., are continuously being carried on against affiliates of the American Federation of Labor by affiliates of the C.I.O. Under such circumstances it is quite impossible for us to join hands with those who would seek constantly to weaken and destroy us.

It is important to bear in mind the fact that the C.I.O. is a dual or seceding body to the American Federation of Labor; that the division in the ranks of organized labor is due to no fault of the American Federation of Labor; that we have not only regretted this division but have sought to heal the breach; that on two previous occasions, when we endeavored to re-unite the forces of labor, the American Federation of Labor on each occasion accepted the result of the joint understanding of the negotiating committees, only to find the joint agreement rejected by those in charge of the affairs of the C.I.O. Then, also, we direct attention to pending negotiations for a re-united labor movement. While hopeful that pending conferences and negotiations may lead to a united labor movement, we are not at all certain but that we may experience a result as before. We are confident that if unity is to be had in the labor movement here it can only be brought about by our own efforts, and that any attempt on the part of the British Trades Union Congress to intervene or interfere either directly or indirectly can only retard, if not defeat, the very objectives we are hopeful may result through existing conferences and negotiations.

We would also call attention to possible complications arising were we to concur in the suggestions and recommendations made to change the present character of representation in our delegation. It should be remembered the United Mine Workers are no longer part of the C.I.O. It should also be noted that the International Typographical Union and several other international unions are without affiliation either to the C.I.O. or to the American Federation of Labor. The United Mine Workers at present claim a membership of approximately 600,000. The total number of members of non-affiliated organizations may therefore run close to 800,000 or a million members. Certainly these organizations would have equal cause for complaint or equal justification for the demand that they be admitted to representation on our committee if the claims urged in behalf of the C.I.O. and railroad brotherhoods should be acquiesced in.

These are but part of the reasons that have prompted our decision to confine the character of representation on our delegation to organizations affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor. Other reasons may be cited, but in our judgment these suffice to justify the

validity of the decision reached under the discretionary authority vested in us.

With regard to the suggestions that we may find it expedient not to proffer recognition to the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods directly, but might be willing that the representatives and delegation of the British Trades Union Congress approach these organizations indirectly, it should be clearly noted that what we are unwilling to do directly, we are equally unwilling to have done indirectly. As a matter of fact, such an indirect approach might not alone be resented by the non-affiliated organizations but would not be well received by our own affiliates. Instead of aiding in the effort toward unity by such a procedure only greater harm would be achieved.

Finally, we have always regarded most highly and have prized most deeply the cordial, fraternal, cooperative relationship which has existed so many years between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor. We should not wish anything to take place that would in any way disturb that splendid relationship, especially at this particular time when more than ever it is essential that the forces of free labor be united the world over. It is unfortunate, indeed most regrettable, that there is at present a cleavage in the ranks of organized labor in our land, and at a time when harmony and unity and the utmost degree of cooperation should obtain. On the other hand, it is fortunate that the British Trades Union Congress is not visited with such an unfortunate and regrettable division. However, were the situation reversed, rest assured that the American Federation of Labor, its officers, representatives or any of its delegations that might visit your land would certainly not attempt to intervene, much less interfere or inject themselves into the affairs of your organization, without first having been requested to do so by those in authority to speak in its behalf; nor would we, in any manner whatsoever, give such oppositional movement any cause whatever for comfort or encouragement and quite regardless of size or influence. Confidence, trust and good faith in each other demand this mutual respect, regard, consideration and support in each others' rights, prerogatives, difficulties and points of view.

In this connection we would also direct your attention to the fact that when England was in its greatest plight, when the clouds of war over England were darkest and most dangerous, it was the American Federation of Labor which, alone in the field of organized labor, championed the cause of the British workers and of the British people and rendered every aid possible to the workers and peoples of England during those trying days of war. It was not until Pearl Harbor that others reversed their position and joined with us in this effort to support Great Britain and the United Nations to the utmost against the powers, greed and brutality of totalitarianism abroad.

In view of the reasons thus assigned and others not herein set forth but referred to in our general conference and discussion, we have reached the conclusion that in the best interests of all concerned we should proceed in our relationship, discussions and deliberations as embraced in our many years of fraternal relationship and as contemplated in our recently consummated agreement without alteration or change, and that we should be guided by experience and future developments in any change that might be favored for the future, whether in the character of representation that should go to make up our respective delegations or in the arrangement itself.

We trust this statement, explanatory of the reasons having prompted our decision, in a matter left wholly to our discretion, will remove whatever misunderstanding or doubt may have prevailed heretofore.

The first meeting of the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee was held in the Executive Council room of the American Federation of Labor Building beginning February 10, 1943. The American Federation of Labor was represented by

William Green, President,
William L. Hutcheson, Vice President,
Matthew Woll, Vice-President,
George M. Harrison, Vice-President,
Harvey W. Brown, Vice-President.

The British Trades Union Congress was represented by

Sir Walter Citrine,
F. Wolstencroft,
H. N. Harrison,
J. Marchbank,
A. Conley.

The first conference of the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee lasted for two days. A spirit of good will and cooperation pervaded the deliberations of the conference. Information which showed how Labor had been affected by the change from a peacetime to a wartime economy in both Great Britain and the United States, was presented by the representatives of the Executive Council and of the British delegates to the conference.

The factual information which was presented by the British delegates upon rationing, price control, taxation and manpower problems as well as the extended employment of women in industry throughout Great Britain was profoundly interesting.

The representatives of the Executive Council who participated in the conference were impressed very deeply by the report of the British delegates upon the sufferings and sacrifices which were made by the workers of Great Britain particularly in the bombed sections of London and other industrial cities throughout Great Britain. The heroic way in which the people faced the ordeal through which they passed in the bombed sections of Great Britain was a challenge to our admiration.

The representatives of the Executive Council submitted to the British delegates all information possible regarding experiences through which we were passing here in the United States as a result of the war. A strong and firm determination that a full measure of support must be accorded to the United Nations in support of the war effort was made clear to all those who participated in the conference.

A tentative understanding was reached that the next meeting of the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee would be held in London early in July. Because difficulties arose it was impossible to hold the meeting as had been tentatively arranged. It is the hope of the Executive Council that such a conference may be held at some early date.

COORDINATOR OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, under Nelson A. Rockefeller, has been increasingly active during the past year in various fields

of importance to Labor in the United States and in other American Republics. An Inter-American Conference on Social Security was held in Santiago, Chile, in September, 1942 with its assistance. Labor experts, administrators and legislators came from all the American Republics and Canada. Various labor movements of the other Americas were represented by delegates to this conference.

In March, 1942, the American Federation of Labor together with the Congress of Industrial Organizations acted as joint host to Bernardo Ibanez, Secretary-General of the Chilean Confederation of Workers. The Coordinator's Office assisted in the arrangements for this visit.

While in this country as our guest, Mr. Ibanez visited New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, Bridgeport and Waterbury, Connecticut. He conferred with the officers of city central labor unions and other representatives of Labor in the cities named. Just prior to his departure for South America, he held a further conference with President Green and Secretary-Treasurer Meany, and other officials of the American Federation of Labor.

The main emphasis of Mr. Ibanez's trip was on establishing fraternal relations with representatives of the United States labor movement. His visit also included trips to war production plants where he could see the contribution of American Labor to the war effort. As a result of his visit, Mr. Ibanez made proposals for continued closer cooperation and understanding between labor groups in the different American Republics. One of these suggestions was that a delegation of United States trade unionists come to visit the various labor movements of Latin-America so as to establish personal contacts with the leaders of those movements. With the aid of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, such a trip was arranged for August-September, 1943. The delegation was scheduled to visit Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, Mexico, and Cuba.

Various publications of the American Federation of Labor have been regularly served by the Inter-American Labor Notes and Labor Letters released by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. That office has also been represented at various state and other American Federation of Labor conventions throughout the country where its interest in promoting better understanding between the labor groups of this hemisphere was manifested and where its cooperation and services were offered.

The policy of expanding the services of responsible agencies engaged in research in the inter-American field of labor has proved to be fruitful, and on the basis of this, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs has continued its grant of funds to the Division of Labor and Social Information of the Pan-American Union, and to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor. These funds enabled the agencies in question to increase their staffs and provide better service to labor organizations and other interested groups. The Coordinator's Office has also established a special section on social and labor relations.

BOLIVIAN LABOR COMMISSION

As a result of the widespread disturbance in the Bolivian tin industry, the U. S. Department of State sent a group of tripartite representatives to constitute, with Bolivian representatives, a joint commission to investigate the situation and make recommendations for its amelioration. A representative of the American Federation of Labor served on this commission, which spent a total of six weeks in Bolivia studying all aspects of labor and social organization. Its findings were issued in a joint unanimous report which was made public by the United States State Department with the approval of the Bolivian Government. The report, which is an analysis of social and labor conditions, strengthens provisions for collective bargaining and for developing and providing adequate enforcement of legislation dealing with minimum wages, and the regulation of hours of labor, the development of a social insurance system in accordance with the recommendations made by the Bolivian experts and representatives of the International Labor Office; the establishment of free public employment services and the improvement of housing, hospitalization and medical care, sanitation, nutrition, and industrial safety, and the development of a sound system of free public education including provision for vocational schools and teacher training.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Because of the uncertainties in world affairs and the probability that, difficulties might be encountered in sending fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor decided to leave the selection of fraternal delegates to these conventions in the hands of the Executive Council.

In accordance with authority conferred upon it by the Toronto Convention, the Executive Council appointed Isidore Nagler, Vice-President of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and H. D. Ulrich, General Chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks organization on the Boston & Maine Railroad, to attend the British Trades Union Congress as fraternal delegates representing the American Federation of Labor. The British Trades Union Congress was held at Southport, England, beginning September 6, 1943.

The Executive Council appointed Arnold S. Zander, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, to serve as the fraternal delegate representing the American Federation of Labor at the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which was held at Quebec, beginning August 30, 1943.

PRICE CONTROL AND RATIONING

Since the President's anti-inflation message of April 27, 1942, which called for a unified stabilization of wages, profits, farm prices, and of the cost of living, the growing disparity between rigid wage stabilization and loose and ineffectual price stabilization became a matter of deep concern to the nation's wage earners.

By the summer of 1943 the demand for integrated administration of wage stabilization, price control and rationing as a means of an integrated anti-inflation program became the foremost domestic wartime issue of the American people.

Price Control. The General Maximum Price Regulation issued by the Office of Price Administration on April 28, 1942, ended the early system of control over prices of selected commodities. These selective controls had reached about half the economy at the wholesale price level, but left retail prices almost entirely uncontrolled. With certain important exceptions, the General Maximum Price Regulation froze prices of all commodities at the highest price charged by each seller during March, 1942. At this stage the new price control did not extend to farm prices, prices of fresh vegetables, and a number of other exempt items.

The Act of October 2, 1942, amended the Emergency Price Control Act by broadening OPA power and extending price control to a number of agricultural commodities previously exempted. The Labor Policy Committee of the OPA, long convinced of the ineffectiveness of the General Maximum Price Regulation, promptly urged the immediate adoption of specific dollar-and-cent ceiling prices in each community. The first attempt by the OPA to establish dollar-and-cent ceilings was made on March 15, 1943, when such ceilings were announced for retail pork prices. A general program of community-wide dollar-and-cent ceilings on food was not adopted until May, 1943, seven months after the change in the law. This program was applied only in 200 larger cities where specific maximum price lists for food items were published. Only a few of the items covered by the new ceilings were subjected to a reduction in the then existing retail price. Such reductions were ordered in the prices of beef, veal, pork, lamb, mutton and butter, the reduction amounting in each case to approximately 10 per cent of the prevailing price.

In the course of the program a number of individual actions were taken by the OPA to reduce price ceilings of individual items, but these were of minor importance to the cost of living. Such cutbacks in individual prices included coffee, women's rayon hosiery, tea, fresh tuna fish, ice cream, vacuum cleaners, electric heaters, paper containers, and wooden matches. In the summer of 1943, the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost of living index for the first time showed a slight reduction, but not more than a fraction of one per cent. A large part of this decline, however, was merely seasonal. In general, it was clear that prices of food had risen disproportionately, showing an increase of 45.1 per cent between January, 1941, and June, 1943. This rise placed a heavy burden on the wage earners' budget as the food consumption increased to sustain the more strenuous physical effort of war production, and food now accounted for a larger share of the consumer budget than ever before. Price surveys conducted by the American Federation of Labor and by its affiliates in a number of communities throughout the nation in the spring and summer of 1943 proved that many essential food staples rose in price up to 250 per cent in one year. In most localities surveyed the unweighted average increase in food prices ranged between 90 and 100 per cent.

Another serious problem was caused by the fact that no attempt had been made to control prices in public eating places. Portions served in restaurants were getting smaller and the practice became general of dividing up a one-price meal into separately priced portions. To millions of wage earners now forced to eat in restaurants, this meant an increase in expenditure for food far beyond their income.

The cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has admittedly failed to reflect fully food price increases which have taken place during the past year. The index also failed to show the increases in the cost of living due to the deterioration in the quality of the commodities bought, or changes in the prices of restaurant meals, nor was the index equipped to reflect the actual prices paid by consumers as the result of the widely prevalent black-market transactions. These deficiencies of the cost of living index were never taken into account in the administration of the economic stabilization policy in which both wage stabilization and price control relied exclusively on the cost of living changes as recorded by the Bureau of Labor Statistics index.

Inasmuch as the economic stabilization policy adopted by Congress called for stabilization of prices, wages and other elements at the common level of September 15, 1942, and in view of the substantial price increases which took place since that date, the American Federation of Labor launched a vigorous campaign for a roll-back in the price of strategic food items to the September, 1942, level. To make possible substantial price roll backs the Federation urged Congress to provide for subsidies which would make it possible to keep down prices of key food staples. The first detailed subsidy program to be publicly offered by any group was presented by President Green to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency last June. He specifically opposed amendments designed to prohibit subsidy payments by the federal government. Although these amendments were passed by Congress they were later vetoed by the President and his veto was sustained. As late as August, 1943, a comprehensive program to roll back prices was not formulated by the Administrator of the OPA, or the Director of Economic Stabilization.

While limited in the scope of its work by the policy and administrative limitations of the OPA, the Labor Policy Committee of the OPA, on which the American Federation of Labor is represented, has done much to protect the interests of wage earners in the administration of the Price Control Act. The committee has not only maintained contact with the Price Administrator and with the top OPA price officials but also initiated and put into effect basic procedure providing for Labor participation in price control in each community and region, as well as nationally. Although the Labor Policy Committee was not always given opportunity of advance consultation before the issuance of OPA policies and regulations, on at least 30 occasions the committee conferred with OPA price officials in advance of the establishment of individual maximum price regulations. Through its frequent contact with the administrator, the senior deputy administrator, the general counsel and other members of the top staff, the Labor Policy Committee has done much to assure consideration of the consumer interests in the OPA decisions.

Rationing. In the field of rationing the Labor Policy Committee of the OPA has concerned itself principally with five main tasks: (1) it has sought and secured participation by Labor at every level of the rationing machinery; (2) it has reviewed the rationing programs for their effect on the consumer, particularly the lower income groups; (3) it has examined rationing regulations for their effect upon the workers who produce the rationed commodity; (4) it has presented to the OPA the special needs of those workers who, because of isolation or other factors, required special attention; (5) it has assured eligibility of union representatives for rationed commodities.

Periodic discussions were held between the Labor Policy Committee and the deputy administrator in charge of rationing, and advance consultation was afforded with the heads of the various rationing branches on questions of over-all rationing policy and procedure as it affected Labor.

In the case of gasoline rationing, the Labor Policy Committee initiated and secured the acceptance of the provisions in the regulations which assured the availability of "C" book supplementary rations to labor representatives who satisfied certain requirements. The committee was able to provide changes in the regulations assuring the participation by trade union members in plant transportation committees and requiring that such committees be organized on a joint labor-management basis. An example of the specific problems in which the committee proved helpful was its ability to persuade the administrator in charge of rubber to place a reasonable limit on the eligibility of salesmen for gasoline essential to their needs.

In connection with tire rationing, the committee secured the inclusion of a provision in the regulations assuring eligibility of union representatives for tire certificates under specific conditions. Eligibility of union representatives for new cars was likewise assured under the automobile rationing program. In connection with bicycle rationing, the committee urged and secured a revision of regulations which made possible a more flexible use of certificates to meet the needs of war workers.

When meat shortage became acute in certain areas in the months preceding meat rationing, the Labor Policy Committee succeeded in putting into effect a program of meat allocation in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, and Providence, Rhode Island. This temporary allocation was carried out quickly and effectively with full participation on the part of local Labor in each area.

The committee also formulated a procedure enabling workers in isolated areas to obtain supplemental meat rations where fresh fish, poultry and other unrationed substitutes are not available. The committee made a detailed study of special food problems of various types of workers and urged immediate promotion of an in-plant feeding program.

In connection with coffee rationing, the committee assured special provision of coffee to workers on freight trains, ships, tugboats, and in other special situations. It also initiated a plan making it possible for workers in isolated areas to obtain additional rations of canned goods.

Either directly or through subcommittees, the Labor Policy Committee represented labor interests in all rationing programs of concern to workers.

The committee was in close touch with the shoe rationing branch prior to the issue of the shoe rationing regulation, and attempted the formulation of a joint labor-management arrangement for issuance of safety shoe rations. An amendment to the regulations was secured by the committee, making labor organizations eligible for typewriters on the same basis as companies under an earlier order. It made sure that workers in certain industries were eligible to receive rubber footwear needed in their occupations, and helped work out machinery making it easy for seamen to obtain rubber boots. Throughout the year the committee kept a close watch on the developments in textile and apparel industries to make sure that if rationing of wearing apparel became necessary the program would be fair and equitable to workers.

Of foremost importance to Labor in the administration of both price control and rationing is the development of a strong local organization of Labor in every community, equipped to deal with consumer problems. Direct participation by representatives of our unions and by members of women's auxiliaries on war price and rationing panels and on local boards is imperative. Unions should also be in position to furnish volunteers equipped to participate in price enforcement. Labor organizations are faced today with strongly organized pressure groups determined to profit from price rises at the expense of the wage earners. Without strong and continuing organization equipped to deal with the cost of living and other consumer problems in every community, Labor will be unable to counteract this organized pressure. To this end we recommend that the American Federation of Labor call upon all central labor unions, state federations of labor, and national and international unions, to form consumer committees equipped to serve our membership in dealing directly and effectively with price, cost of living, and rationing problems as these arise under war conditions.

WAR BOND CAMPAIGN

The record made by the American Federation of Labor in the purchase of war bonds deserves to rank with the remarkable record made by organized labor in war production.

From its inauguration the organized labor movement has endorsed and supported the voluntary war bond campaign. At the Seattle Convention a pledge was made that members of the American Federation of Labor would invest at least one billion dollars in war bonds during the ensuing year. This pledge was more than fulfilled. It was renewed at the Toronto Convention and partially collected statistics indicate that already this pledge has been fulfilled and exceeded.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly endorsed the voluntary payroll savings plan which is, in simplest form, an agreement between workers and management that a certain amount of money, determined by the worker himself, shall be deducted from his wages on each pay period and applied to the purchase of bonds.

Information has come from the Labor Section of the War Finance Division that no instance has occurred of a refusal by a union to whole-heartedly

endorse and promote this plan. This is supported by the records of the Labor Section, War Finance Division, which show the existence as of July 1 of 182,895 payroll savings plans under joint labor-management committees in that number of industrial establishments. A recent letter from President Roosevelt to Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau contains the further evidence of this success, as follows:

I am proud of the fact that 27,000,000 patriotic Americans are regularly investing more than \$420,000,000 a month to help pay the cost of the war. And, since all of this money comes from wages and salaries—nearly 90 per cent from people earning less than \$5,000 and the bulk of it from those working in war plants—I do not hesitate to say that the payroll savings plan is the greatest single factor we now have in protecting ourselves against inflationary spending.

Statistical authorities of the Treasury Department estimate that at least \$300,000,000 per month of the total of \$420,000,000 per month is invested by members of organized labor. This is especially gratifying in that experiences of the Treasury Department have demonstrated that such campaigns do not reach success unless continuously promoted by the union, or unions, in each plant. The enthusiasm with which members of the American Federation of Labor have responded is further evidenced by the fact that this campaign has been conducted with a minimum expense and effort on the part of the Treasury Department.

The American Federation of Labor on July 1 announced a drive in cooperation with the Labor Section of the War Finance Division of the Treasury whereby all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor were urged to underwrite the purchase of some specific article of war material. Every international organization so far approached has enthusiastically responded. Recognition of this campaign was extended to the sponsoring organizations by appropriate ceremonies on Labor Day. The campaign will be continued as a permanent part of the joint cooperation of the American Federation of Labor with the War Finance Division of the Treasury.

POST-WAR PLANNING

COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR PLANNING

The following were appointed to constitute the American Federation of Labor Committee on Post-War Planning:

Matthew Woll, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor, chairman.
David Dubinsky, President, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Agnes Nestor, Director of Research and Education, International Glove Workers Union.

Dr. John Childs, Columbia University.

George M. Harrison, President, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Richard Gray, Secretary, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.

Reuben Soderstrom, President, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

George Q. Lynch, President, Pattern Makers League of North America.

Milton P. Webster, Vice-President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The committee created an executive committee to expedite the preparation and advancement of its work, and has had four general meetings.

Since the committee is without funds to do extensive research and exploratory work itself, it is setting up relationships with other groups which are making such inquiries. The committee believes that its major usefulness will consist in recommending policies on major post-war problems and in setting forth Labor's relationship to such issues.

The field of study of the committee has been outlined to cover problems and policies of a domestic scope as well as international proposals and policies.

In the domestic field the committee plans to study the responsibility of both government and private initiative in the period of demobilization and reconversion. Involved in this problem is the need to determine what disposal will be made of government-owned plants and facilities and government-owned materials. The committee will also consider the problem of controls for the post-war period—what war emergency controls should be retained, what new ones provided, what controls should be applied and in what degree. There is the definite problem of where and when civilian controls replace military controls; post-war tax policies, and many others.

Life after the armistice will proceed from where it is without abrupt or radical changes. In our own country, the important thing is to have ready plans for conversion with definite provisions for carrying them out. In the government there must be definite provisions and plans for handling cancellation of contracts and agencies to see that all rights guaranteed by the government are made good.

The two basic undertakings are for industries to convert to peacetime production and for workers to find jobs in these peacetime industries. There will be involved the largest change-over ever experienced in this country, which must be effected with least possible long-time unemployment so that we may do least damage to our citizens. Private industries must plan and capital must be ready to make the conversion. There must be a national employment service ready and equipped to cooperate with unions and managements to get workers fitted into suitable jobs with the least bungling possible. To tide workers over the intervals between jobs and emergencies that interfere with work there must be an adequate social insurance system to protect workers against the needless demoralization of relief and unemployment without income.

Our problem will be simplified if the war in Europe ends soon so that conversion can be gradual, but this would only decrease the scope of the problem to be dealt with at one time. The committee believes that unions should begin to consider plans for their memberships and plan to organize committees for that purpose.

In the international field consideration is being given to the safeguards necessary to develop democratic as opposed to bureaucratic agencies and procedures. It is studying relief and foreign rehabilitation, temporary governments and recaptured territories, and permanent agencies to maintain peace and replace war as an instrumentality for enforcing foreign policy. The maintenance and development of the International Labor Organization

will be considered, as well as controls in the field of foreign trade, cartels, etc.

The committee has already arranged to have reports on the following special post-war problems:

- Education and Social Welfare.
- Social Security in the Post-War Period.
- Reorganization of the U. S. Department of Labor.
- Employment as affected by the development of the transportation industry and by the housing industry.
- Rehabilitation and Vocational Training.
- Self-help and cooperatives.
- Minorities and underprivileged groups.
- Women's Rights and Problems.

Other industry committees are in the process of development.

The Post-War Planning Committee recommended to President Green that inasmuch as usual methods of celebrating Labor Day would be impossible during wartime, that Labor Day, 1943, be largely devoted to consideration of post-war labor problems, and undertook to prepare "Notes for Speakers" for that purpose.

The committee realizes its responsibility to develop ways and means whereby the membership of unions may know the major post-war proposals together with their implications for Labor and be better prepared for their responsibilities as citizens and voters. It plans to continue "Notes for Speakers."

The committee thinks that the democracies cannot afford to lose the peace after the human sacrifices that have gone into this war. Nations living together on this globe where distances have become unimportant need machinery for collective bargaining in order to establish procedures and agencies for adjusting difficulties. The United States has a major responsibility for achieving this purpose.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS

Domestic. Upon each trade group will fall responsibility for leadership in facilitating reconversion to a normal economy. Practically every worker, industrial or agricultural, and every member of the armed forces is wondering—"Will there be a job for me after the war?" Upon production, management, and union executives rests major responsibility for getting our economy started on a scale that will afford jobs for all. Upon them and upon the government devolves responsibility for facilitating the conversion of private industry and for prevention of uncontrolled inflation.

The change-over of workers from war industries to civilian production, of personnel from the armed forces to civilian occupations, of women workers from war and civilian occupations back to their homes and households, of workers in civilian industries back to jobs which they prefer, of older workers back to retirement insurance—a change-over of approximately 30,000,000 persons.

Obviously two lines of preparation are necessary to meet this situation: jobs must be available and there must be provided a national employment service competent to advise workers where suitable jobs can be had and to

facilitate contact of workers with the jobs. Workers and employers must give their best abilities to plans for the development of their industries after the war. Production plans must be approved, machinery and facilities made ready, sales departments organized to assure markets. Industry and unions must look to the government for policies and agencies to deal with contract cancellation, control of stock-pile prices, disposition of war production facilities, preparation and authorization of a public works program, rate of demobilization, educational and training opportunities, an adequate national employment service together with ample social security provisions. This is an extensive program, but it must be extensive to meet the human needs and to help in the reconversion of our national economy.

Labor knows that this program can be carried through and offers its cooperation to that end. Labor will not tolerate mass unemployment, a revival of a public works program at relief rates, or other devices which rob workers of their economic and political freedom. Our refusal is made in the interests of preservation of democratic institutions. Representatives of Labor and of management should join with the government in formulating the basic policies and developing the plans for this difficult period which military developments have hastened or delayed, but which will inevitably confront us. If plans are ready, hardships will be minimized. If plans are not ready, we may easily be involved in difficulties that will make it impossible for us to meet our obligations at home or abroad.

Union Problems. A major post-war responsibility of wage earners is to revitalize the labor movement so that it can resume its normal functions. Because collective bargaining was frozen by those responsible for inflation control, increases in wage earners' incomes failed to keep pace with incomes of farmers, corporations, war contractors or total business. No controls have been fixed for the incomes of other groups similar to those imposed for wage earners.

The first labor standard that will shift to a peacetime basis will be the work week. With the end of war production the 40-hour work week will be restored. Upon the union will rest responsibility for negotiating terms of shift of shorter hours without reduction in weekly income. Only by increasing basic wage rates can we escape serious depression forces that facilitate unemployment. In all probability price control will be continued during the transition period, for the cost of living will remain high. Wage earners have relied upon overtime to absorb the deficit between wage rates and increased costs of living. In durable goods industries, where the average earnings are \$49.38 per week, the 40-hour week will reduce average earnings to \$38.64; in non-durable goods the reduction in earnings will be from \$34 to \$30.32. Either basic wage rates must be increased or standards of living must go down to depression levels, which will involve a drop in national income. Such a drop would delay revival of civilian industries and efforts to pay war debts.

International. Armistice that will end military combat will bring us opportunity and obligation to effectuate our foreign policy. While foreign policy is formulated by the executive branch of our government subject to approval by Congress, the will of the people controls decisions in a democratic

country. Our responsibility at present is for defense of democratic institutions in the Americas and the islands to which we have made commitments. Any new commitment must be squared with our ability to make good.

Wage earners, like all other groups of citizens, hope that we can use the opportunity at the end of this war to establish agencies and understandings, so that we can regularly consider policies and situations and make decisions that will at least minimize the necessity for wars. We hope that procedures of consultation and cooperation developed by the United Nations can be made permanent and broadened in practice to cover needs of interdependent responsibilities of democratic peoples. We hope that through such an alliance opportunities for democratic freedom and responsibility may be made more secure for all peoples. Experience of the years since World War I have demonstrated that the main key to the maintenance of democratic freedom is the right of wage earners to membership in unions of their own choosing. This right, together with freedom of speech and assemblage, and guarantees of civil freedom, constitute a bill of rights which the united democratic nations ought to assure their allies. Experience further shows that the cooperation of democratic nations promotes democratic ideals and practices internationally, for the plans and purposes of autocrats and dictators mature only with the elimination of democracy. Until such time as democratic institutions are secure in the world, democratic countries cannot enter into treaties of disarmament with non-democratic countries.

Labor realizes that many decisions are being made now that will condition terms of peace, and urges that representatives of civilian groups vitally concerned by these decisions be included in the delegations representing our country in international conferences. We realize that progress toward world peace will be promoted by the development of international machinery to adjust problems that cause wars and by the molding of a world will for peace. We cannot reach this goal by evolving blue prints and resolutions, but we can achieve them by making democratic principles our daily guide in dealing with all issues—both national and international—in scope of effectiveness. Peace and freedom must be achieved each day and each year by free citizens making their individual and collective decisions.

Indispensable to this end is cooperation not only by the United Nations but by the democratic groups within the United Nations. Indispensable to democratic institutions within nations and to deal with matters concerning all nations are the functions of free labor organizations. To safeguard democratic institutions in international conferences, in the peace treaty, and in post-war international agencies, there should be conferences and agreement between the free labor movements of democratic countries.

Our Good Neighbor Policy. Our first international obligation is to those countries which with the United States constitute the New World. We have in common many of the same traditions and experiences that are rooted in the will to emigrate to unknown lands—there to build up a life suited to the land and to their own desires. Internationally it was free from the intrigues of power politics and the suspicions involved in balance of power between hereditary monarchies. Opportunity inherent in tenantless and unused lands

offered new alternatives. Free governments now exist, but there are economic inequalities and conflicts between cultures that make for individual unfreedom. Differences between the resources of the descendants of European immigrants and the descendants of Indian nations have brought about conditions of agricultural and industrial peonage. Latin-American wealth is mainly in lands and in agricultural products. Capital investments for the exploitation of national resources, industries and utilities have been mainly European-owned and controlled. Such United States capital as was there represented corporate enterprise, responsible for dividends rather than for the building up of good international relations.

Since World War I the United States has made a definite effort to bridge the chasms of language, cultural differences and trade forces in order to establish a real community of interests and concern for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, which assures our continents against interference from without. Now, as a part of our world war policy, the State Department, the Office of Economic Warfare, the Coordinator of Latin-American Affairs and the Pan-American Union are acting to promote good-will and the exchange of experience in various fields. All Latin-American countries with one exception are supporting the United Nations. To make these relationships economically independent, our government has organized the Inter-American Development Commission for the purpose of long-range economic planning. This commission operates through twenty-one national committees whose purposes are fixed by the parent body. To serve the commission the Office of Foreign Investment Information was organized in connection with the Export-Import Bank. The commission aims to encourage joint investments of the United States and Latin-American countries for the expansion of industries in Latin-America and to maintain close business contacts; it will develop a program for training Latin-American young men in the methods of American business; it will serve as a channel for business and governmental collaboration for inter-American post-war planning.

Under the auspices of this network, regional developmental corporations have been set up for the purpose which the name indicates and will serve as long-range post-war economic and social planning agencies.

Supplementing this organization but acting unofficially are coordinating committees set up in most of the Latin-American countries, whose membership is exclusively representatives from business interests.

The workers of Latin-American countries and the United States are vitally concerned in what is involved in this planning. Unless economic expansion results in adequate wages so that production brings higher standards of living; in vocational and apprenticeship training for men and women that will enable them to be skillful resourceful workers able to manage their own lives; and in utilization of the products of industries for higher and broader levels of living for all, it will not bring lasting progress.

The Office of Economic Warfare is including in Latin-American contracts protective labor provisions. The same principle should be incorporated in plans for economic development of all these countries so that there shall not be trade competition based on low standards of life for the workers of any country.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor take up these proposals with the various government agencies concerned in this field, and establish a formal understanding with the Director of the Pan-American Union for the development of permanent facilities for the exchange of information on labor welfare and standards of living in all countries. Formal requests should be made for labor representation in all these agencies in order that Labor interests may be represented in the decisions on policies.

Labor Attaches. We should continue to urge the State Department to include representatives of Labor in its embassies in the major industrial countries.

Post-War Housing. Demobilization of the armed forces and termination of employment on war contracts at the conclusion of hostilities will submerge the nation under a tide of widespread unemployment unless specific provision is made in advance for a program of reconstruction and redevelopment of our cities, towns, and rural communities. The war has virtually halted all construction of durable housing. The peacetime housing needs of our growing and shifting population and of our expanded productive economy will be aggravated by the combined deficit resulting from the building inactivity of the last depression and of the war years. If we are to be prepared to launch a well-timed and strategic attack by all elements of our economy and our community against unemployment in peacetime, and if we are to seize this opportunity to build a broad foundation for economic reconstruction and better living, concerted action must be taken without delay to blueprint the strategy and to define the common objectives as well as respective responsibilities of Labor, private enterprise, and of the government.

Responsibility for housing rests with the local community. There must be assurance that every community is equipped to discharge that responsibility. Workers are ultimate producers of our nation's wealth, and they are entitled to participation both as workers and as citizens in the shaping of the plans for the betterment of the community in which they live. Community redevelopment must not be permitted to become an instrument of self-enrichment at the expense of wage earners by real estate speculators, money lenders and promoters. Provision should be made in every city, town and rural county for a duly constituted Land and Housing Authority representative of the people whom it serves. Labor's foremost responsibility is to assure the establishment in every municipality of local land and housing authorities (1) empowered to direct the over-all course of community reconstruction and redevelopment, including land acquisition; (2) equipped to facilitate maximum provisions for needed residential building by private enterprise within standards of sound housing construction and consistent with the long-range plans for community growth, and (3) constituted to carry out a long-range program of slum clearance and low-rent housing for low-income families.

Stable and suitable housing for wage earners is directly related to their employment, for the wage earners' income depends on their jobs. Post-war housing development cannot be unrelated to the reconversion and relocation of industry and with it to the shift of employment opportunities in the transition from war to peace. War has forced mass migration of workers throughout

the entire nation, therefore, community redevelopment must of necessity be related to the realignment of employment opportunities in each community, each region and in the entire nation. Neither cities, towns nor rural areas can achieve stable growth or meet the demand for better living without a long-range plan. Such planning cannot be isolated in a single community but must be related to the economic growth, regionally and nationally. This need for regional and national planning should be met through a democratic procedure. Representation of Labor, farmers and of the communities concerned is essential in the regional and national planning bodies which must give assistance and guidance to local communities in the task of reconstruction. Architects, technicians and other professional personnel needed in this work must be the servants of democratically constituted public agencies rather than their directors.

Private initiative should play a leading part in post-war housing reconstruction. Basic standards and procedures should be firmly established to prevent sub-standard building, eliminate speculative profiteering at the expense of the tenant and the home buyer, and to provide for a drastic reduction in the interest charges on all home mortgage financing.

In neighborhoods in which a large degree of economic stability can be achieved, cooperative mutual home ownership should be furthered as a means of making home ownership available to families of moderate income. Many war housing projects of the permanent type can and should be sold to the present occupants on a mutual basis where future stability of employment is assured.

The low-rent housing and slum clearance program interrupted by the war should be resumed and expanded. All federal aid extended to local communities for acquisition of slums and blighted areas should be on the condition that new decent dwellings suitably located be provided, equal in number and in rental to the dwellings eliminated. Temporary war housing must not be permitted to disintegrate into new slums after the war and should be removed as rapidly as possible. Wherever possible and suitable, the sites, utilities and materials of such temporary projects should be utilized in the construction of permanent low-rent housing.

Of fundamental importance to a national program of post-war housing is the elimination of rural as well as urban slums. Cheaper financing should be available to farmers and farm workers who can afford to build their own homes. Construction of decent farm dwellings under the supervision of the Farm Security Administration, for gradual purchase by farmers, should be made an integral part of a farm settlement program which will play an important part in affording demobilized soldiers and war workers an opportunity to return to farming under favorable conditions. The migrant camp program of the Farm Security Administration should be continued as a part of a positive plan to achieve stable settlement of families.

Organized labor's responsibility for the development of a sound program, democratically conceived, cannot be fully discharged without active work of local labor housing committees in every community. To this end we recom-

mend that a continuing program be developed by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor to assist in the establishment of active local labor housing committees by our central labor unions and to encourage the establishment of housing committees by the affiliated national and international unions.

A. F. OF L. DEPARTMENTS AND TERRITORIAL REPORTS

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

During the fiscal year the activities of the Metal Trades Department were mainly in the field of war production.

The principal problems faced were due to the aggressive manner in which the C.I.O. carried on its raiding efforts in plants where the metal trades had union shop agreements, and the assistance given to this raiding by the National Labor Relations Board.

Shortly after the Toronto Convention adjourned last year, a complaint case was brought by the C.I.O. against the Kaiser Shipyards of Portland, Oregon. It became evident that the Board would hold these agreements in violation of the Wagner Act on the technical ground that when they were entered into, the ultimate total of workmen to be employed had not reached 50 per cent. This legalistic construction was based upon a theory of expanding plant units which the Board had evolved.

In itself the Kaiser case was vital, for it was known that a number of complaint cases were being prepared by counsel for the C.I.O. and counsel for the National Labor Relations Board, which would be brought to hearings when the Kaiser case was disposed of.

There was no doubt as to the attitude of the Board, for its members at a conference between representatives of the government and the attorney for the Kaiser Company, had stated that the agreement had been entered into in violation of the Wagner Act and was therefore void.

In November, 1942, a conference was held, composed of representatives of the affiliated international unions, and also of the Carpenters, the Painters, and the Teamsters Unions with whom the Department has maintained close working relations for a number of years.

The conference decided to make a joint defense. To make this effective, each organization pledged all of its resources, and in addition immediately raised a fund of approximately \$57,000.

A trip was made to the Pacific Coast to acquaint local Metal Trades Councils, Central Labor Councils and the public, with the issues involved.

Eventually the issue was taken to Congress, where an amendment to the Board's appropriation bill was introduced with the approval of the American Federation of Labor. This legislative effort proved successful. The Board's appropriation was cut \$500,000, and an amendment adopted by the House and the Senate which provided that:

No part of the funds appropriated in this title shall be used in any way in connection with a complaint case arising over an agreement be-

tween management and Labor which has been in existence three months or longer without complaint being filed.

Provided, that hereafter notice of such agreement shall have been posted in the plant affected for said period of three months, said notice containing information as to the location at an accessible place of such agreement, where said agreement shall be open for inspection by any interested person.

The action of Congress effectively ended C.I.O. raiding in plants where a union agreement had been in existence for three months without a complaint being filed.

The 1942 convention of the Metal Trades Department had authorized its officers to propose a "no-raiding" agreement to the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipyard Workers of America. When the President of the Department testified before the Truman Committee of the Senate and the O'Leary Committee of the House, he offered, while before the committee, to enter into a no-raiding agreement with the C.I.O. organization of shipyard workers. In both instances the C.I.O. representatives declined to make any statement.

The action of Congress which put a check on the discretionary authority of the National Labor Relations Board, was the first time since the Wagner Act was passed that Congress took any action placing limitations upon the Board.

In July, 1943, the Utah Labor Board, a state NLRB, certified the independent welders' union as the sole agency for collective bargaining for welders in that state. By this action the state board began the dismemberment of international unions.

What had been done for the welders, if carried forward would permit every dissatisfied group within an international union to win separate representation. Such a policy would lead to the dismemberment of international unions.

Again the international unions of the Metal Trades Department, and their close allies (the Carpenters, the Painters and the Teamsters), decided to carry this case to the State Supreme Court of Utah, and then, if necessary to the Federal Supreme Court.

The Department's experiences during the past fiscal year have definitely indicated the necessity of even closer cooperation between the international unions if they are to be safeguarded from the destructive decisions of state and federal agencies, authorized to operate in the field of industrial relations and trade union organization.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

On February 1, 1943, the late President of the Department, John P. Coyne, due to illness, had to be relieved of his duties. He did not recover and passed away on April 30, 1943. Since that time, the Executive Council of the Building and Construction Trades Department directed that Richard Gray perform the duties of President of the Department until the next convention, at which time a successor to John P. Coyne will be selected.

The Department has succeeded in reaching an understanding with the

War Department definitely drawing a line as to where construction work starts and stops and where maintenance work begins. This arrangement arrived at with the War Department, which was promulgated in the form of a departmental order, may be explained in a practical manner as follows:

All new construction work and additions to and alterations on existing structures shall be considered as coming under new construction work. All original installations of equipment in new structures and in altered or extended buildings shall be considered as coming under new construction work and installation. The maintenance and upkeep of such structures and the temporary repairs and maintenance of all installed equipment shall be considered to be maintenance work.

After the issuance of President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9240, which designated five definite holidays and Memorial Day or some optional holiday, confusion resulted throughout the country in the building and construction industry due to the sixth holiday. However, at our request, the Secretary of Labor issued a definite order, specifying Memorial Day as the sixth holiday to be observed by workers in the building and construction industry. We now have uniform holidays throughout the industry and the confusion has been eliminated.

Jurisdictional disputes during the past year, while numerous, have been satisfactorily handled under the Plan for Settling Jurisdictional Disputes.

We are proud to report that the finances of the Department are in an excellent condition, having reached the highest peak in its history. All affiliated national and international unions are in good standing and will be represented at the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention in September, 1943. There has been a marked increase in the membership of the subordinate local unions of the 19 national and international unions affiliated with the Department, and charters for several new Building and Construction Trades Councils have been issued during the past fiscal year.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Union Label Trades Department is the clearing house for all of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that have adopted a union label, shop card or service button to designate their particular product or service. The chief aims of our Department are to publicize union labels, shop cards and service buttons and to promote union label goods and union services. Our constant goal is the publicizing of the official emblems of national and international unions which make up the Union Label Trades Department. We urge the members of all labor unions to buy only goods that are manufactured under union conditions and to patronize only those establishments that employ only members of service unions.

Due to the present war emergency, the Union Label Trades Department has supplemented its regular program by several activities. Our president is serving on the National War Labor Board. Our secretary-treasurer has been appointed to serve on the Labor Policy Committee of the Office of Price Administration. He is also a member of the Labor Advisory Committee of the Nutrition and Food Conservation Branch, War Food Administration.

In addition, we have cooperated with the United States Treasury in the sale of war bonds and stamps and the Red Cross in distributing information to local officers of labor unions and women's auxiliaries.

Outstanding among our new activities is the union label cigarette campaign for free smokes to be sent to our armed forces overseas. Several million American union label cigarettes are supplied each day for free distribution among members of our armed forces overseas. This campaign is building good will for the American labor movement.

The Union Label Trades Department is pursuing its regular policy of issuing news releases, editorials and cartoons which are sent to all labor weeklies, official monthly labor journals and other periodicals. Our features receive unusual display in the labor press and also in many independent publications.

In addition to the regular union label features, our Department prepares special articles for state federation of labor annuals, trade journals and daily newspapers. These exclusive articles are prepared upon the request of editors for various publications throughout the United States and Canada.

There is a continual demand for cuts of all the official union labels, shop cards and service buttons. There are 68 insignia in all, and if run separately they form a good weekly feature for the labor publications. This year we have added the emblem of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor to this service.

Hundreds of thousands of pieces of union label literature have been distributed since our last convention. This literature, in addition to pamphlets, includes a new war poster showing the cooperation between our American fighters and organized workers. We are also continuing to issue a large poster displaying all of the union labels, shop cards and service buttons.

The Union Label Trades Department continues the use of radio networks and local broadcasting stations to carry the union label message to the general public.

A special union label Christmas program was broadcast on "LABOR FOR VICTORY," Sunday, November 22, 1942.

During this year our secretary also participated in the "LABOR FOR VICTORY" program, January 31, 1943. The program was sponsored by the American Federation of Labor in cooperation with the National Safety Council.

The Department also furnishes electrical recordings for broadcasts on local stations.

Local broadcasts have been made of addresses delivered in various cities at banquets and conventions. The Department is ready to furnish radio addresses to officials of labor unions and affiliated organizations for local broadcasts. In several cities regular weekly labor news programs are now being broadcast.

In cooperation with the Office of Defense Transportation, and to give priority to war claims on railroads and other transportation facilities, our secretary-treasurer is sending messages to state federations of labor conventions by electrical transcription.

The Union Label Trades Department acknowledges with appreciation the splendid cooperation that our Department receives from the officials of the American Federation of Labor; Building and Construction Trades Department; Metal Trades Department; Railroad Employees' Department; national and international unions; state federations of labor; central labor unions; union label leagues, American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor; union label committees of local unions and various other union label-conscious organizations. We have received unusual support from buyers' clubs, cooperative associations, and various other consumer groups.

President William Green and Secretary-Treasurer Meany have continued the policy of offering the services of the American Federation of Labor headquarters to our Department. The American Federation of Labor organizers have been instructed by the President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor to assist in union label campaigns in every locality and we appreciate their cooperation.

The back cover page of the *American Federationist* is running advertisements for the union label, shop card and service button. The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service carries all publicity in reference to union label campaigns.

The new 1943 Union Label Catalogue-Directory has been published and distributed among officials and members of the national and international unions, central labor unions, state federations of labor, union label leagues and committees, organizers, and secretaries of the auxiliaries as well as union manufacturers and merchandisers. The Catalogue-Directory is the only official union label buyers' guide in America.

Union label committees composed of representatives of central labor unions, women's auxiliaries and union label leagues continue to issue local union label directories in many cities throughout the United States.

The Union Label Trades Department is continuing the issuance of a popular series of articles on "Nutrition and Labor—The Food For Our Soldiers in Overalls." Twenty-four articles have been printed in pamphlet form. There is a popular demand for this pamphlet for nutrition lectures in the armed services of our nation as well as the educational institutions. Thousands of copies have been sent to the leading universities and to public libraries throughout the United States and Canada. The pamphlet is being reprinted and used as a textbook in several schools. It is also used as a basis for a lecture course in over a thousand industrial plants.

Due to the great interest in nutrition among leaders of Labor, in order to strengthen the home front, and to clarify Labor's views on the food problem, a call has been issued for Labor's Conference on Food and Nutrition, to be held in the Hotel Statler, Boston, Massachusetts, Saturday, October 9, 1943, at 10:00 a. m. The conference is to be held during the American Federation of Labor convention.

The Union Label Trades Department has sponsored Labor's Nutrition Committee with the one desire of working out constructive suggestions for assuring the nation a sufficient food supply with fair prices and equitable

distribution. We desire to help make rationing a success by doing our share in obtaining an adequate quality and quantity of food for war workers. We not only want to maintain but to improve the health level of American Labor.

It is the purpose of Labor's Conference on Food and Nutrition to make Labor's contribution to the nation's food problem a worthy and outstanding success. We are glad to announce that this Department of the American Federation of Labor is taking the lead in this vital issue of nutrition and health.

The Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department, together with a member of his staff, is serving on Labor's Advisory Committee of the Nutrition and Food Conservation Branch, War Food Administration.

The American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor started with a membership derived from national and international women's auxiliaries, local auxiliaries, and central and joint council auxiliaries. We have recalled the temporary certificates of affiliation and we are now issuing permanent certificates to the auxiliaries affiliated with the A.F.W.A.L.

Members of women's auxiliaries are also playing a vital part in civilian war activities. They are actively engaged on committees in the various branches of war work. Among these are: policing price control, war bond sales, civilian defense, Red Cross, nutrition committees, and other war agencies in which it is very essential that the women members of trade unionists' families play an important role.

The American Federation of Labor and the Union Label Trades Department had a booth at the Nineteenth Annual Women's International Exposition of Arts and Industries, held in Madison Square Garden, New York, N. Y., November 19-24, 1942. A war bond booth was included. Figures showed that American Federation of Labor workers had bought over one billion dollars in war bonds since Pearl Harbor and had pledged another billion for this year.

As we have so often stated, one of the best ways to maintain American trade union standards is to demand the union label on all goods and to use union services which are designated by the shop card and service button. In no better way than patronizing those firms that display these emblems can organized labor sustain wages, hours and working conditions established by collective bargaining over the past sixty years by the American Federation of Labor. As consumers, trade unionists must realize that they have a sovereign economic power in their pay envelope that is as important as the sovereign political power of the ballot. Both weapons must be used effectively in order to maintain our present position.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

The Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations have continued to make progress during the past year in improving the wages and working conditions of railroad workers and extending their organization. In addition to revising numerous agreements already in effect, a number of new agreements have been secured. Railroad employment has shown a marked increase so that rather than having an unemployment problem, the railroad

industry now has a manpower problem, due in no small part to the failure of those in authority to recognize the needs of this industry. The constant vigilance of the railroad labor organizations has been necessary to prevent the execution of plans for the solution of this problem which would create new and more difficult problems. At the same time constructive measures have been undertaken to solve this problem, chief of which has been a movement for an increase in wages and the union shop.

Progress of Organization

The organizing program which has been in effect for a number of years has been continued during the past year. Since the industry is substantially organized as the result of the campaign which was inaugurated in 1933, the chief emphasis has been on the amendment of existing agreements so as to establish substantially improved working conditions in the railroad industry. On the other hand, organizing continues, and new agreements have been secured on a number of additional railroads which were not previously organized. During the past year representation has been established on seven railroads not previously organized and for one or more crafts on seven railroads on which representation was established for some of the crafts, while new or revised agreements were negotiated on a total of twenty-five railroads. In addition, existing agreements were taken over on seven railroads where representation was established, making a total of thirty-two agreements which have been negotiated during the year.

Railroad Employment

The rapid increase in war production together with the reduction in the available supply of highway and intercoastal transportation has caused railroad traffic to increase phenomenally and at an accelerated rate. Breaking all previous records of the amount of traffic handled, the railroad industry is now the chief source of mass transportation and is in the dilemma of not how much traffic it can get but how much it can handle.

With the increase in railroad traffic, railroad employment has also increased but not to the extent necessary to maintain an adequate labor force. In addition, priorities, and the lack of sufficient materials and equipment have placed a further burden on the railways. For these reasons, it has become increasingly difficult to meet all traffic needs and it is only by the greater utilization of existing facilities and greater devotion to duty that essential needs have been met. Meanwhile, non-essential civilian travel has been discouraged, but if traffic continues to increase at the present rate, a further increase in railroad employment is necessary. Thus unemployment is no longer an immediate problem in the railroad industry but rather it is one of manpower.

The extent to which railroad traffic has increased is indicated by the number of revenue ton miles handled, that is the number of tons carried one mile. With the great increase in the length of haul and the heavier loading of cars, ton miles are a better measure of revenue traffic carried than car loadings,

because weight is given not only to the quantity of traffic measured in tons but also to the distance it was hauled measured in miles.

According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the number of revenue freight ton miles handled have shown a constant and accelerated increase since 1938 and during the year 1942 reached the highest level in the history of the railroad industry, exceeding even the record year, 1941, which was in excess of the previous peak reached in 1929. More than 638 billion revenue freight ton miles were handled during 1942, which is an increase of 34.3 per cent over the year 1941 and 42.6 per cent over the year 1929. Revenue passenger miles likewise increased substantially to the highest level in history. In excess of 53 billion revenue passenger miles were handled in 1942 which is 82.9 per cent higher than the number of revenue passenger miles handled in 1941 and exceeded the previous peak in passenger traffic handled in 1920 by 14.6 per cent.

Although all previous traffic records were shattered in 1942, the traffic handled in the early months of 1943 continues to show an increase. During the first four months of 1943, for which data are available, revenue freight ton miles increased 26.3 per cent and revenue passenger miles increased 98.7 per cent over the same period last year.

While railroad employment has shown a substantial increase, it has not increased anything like railroad traffic. In 1942 there was an average of 1,271,077 employes on Class I railroads in the United States. This is an increase of 11.5 per cent over 1941. Maintenance of equipment employment increased 10.9 per cent during the same period. During the first four months of 1943 total employment on Class I railroads increased 11.3 per cent over the same period last year while maintenance of equipment employment increased 8.1 per cent.

It is significant that while revenue freight traffic in 1942 increased 42.6 per cent and revenue passenger traffic increased 72.7 per cent over 1929, employment actually declined by 23.5 per cent.

Owing to the difficulty of securing additional new equipment, greater utilization of existing equipment has been necessary in order to handle the tremendous increase in railroad traffic, consequently a higher standard of maintenance has been required and as a result the bad order situation is the lowest in many years, if not the lowest in history. According to the Association of American Railroads the number of freight cars unserviceable of the total on line as of July 1, 1943 was only 2.9 per cent as compared with 3.3 per cent on July 1, 1942 and 5.2 per cent on July 1, 1941. The number of locomotives unserviceable has likewise declined. Of the total on line, 5.2 per cent were unserviceable on July 1, 1943, compared with 7.0 per cent on July 1, 1942 and 12.3 per cent on July 1, 1941.

Although the bad order situation has shown a constant improvement over the past several years, it is significant that since the first of this year there has been a reversal of this trend as shown in the following table:

LOCOMOTIVES AND FREIGHT CARS UNSERVICEABLE

Month	PER CENT AWAITING REPAIRS					
	Freight Cars			Locomotives		
	1941	1942	1943	1941	1942	1943
January 1st.....	6.8	3.7	2.4	14.9	8.6	4.9
February 1st.....	6.7	3.6	2.6	14.7	8.6	5.0
March 1st.....	6.6	3.6	2.6	14.7	8.2	5.0
April 1st.....	6.3	3.5	2.6	14.4	8.2	5.3
May 1st.....	5.9	3.1	2.6	14.0	7.9	5.3
June 1st.....	5.8	3.7	2.8	13.1	7.5	5.2
July 1st.....	5.2	3.3	2.9	12.3	7.0	5.2
August 1st.....	4.8	3.2		11.7	6.8	
September 1st.....	4.7	3.1		10.7	6.6	
October 1st.....	4.4	2.7		10.2	6.1	
November 1st.....	4.1	2.4		9.6	5.5	
December 1st.....	4.1	2.6		9.2	5.4	

It appears that the saturation point in the tapping of available manpower has been reached and unless corrective measures are taken immediately, this situation can rapidly become extremely serious.

The Manpower Problem in the Railroad Industry

The railroad industry has not only found it difficult to recruit additional employes but labor turnover has been enormous so that although the employment service of the Railroad Retirement Board has recruited many workers for the railroads, the shortage of employes continues to increase.

According to the Railroad Retirement Board the railroad industry had to hire more than a million new employes to maintain an average force of approximately one and a half million workers during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1943, and if the employes re-entering the service were counted, labor turnover would be close to 100 per cent. Furthermore, the railroad industry was in need of almost 81,000 additional workers in June of this year, which is almost double the shortage of last January.

This problem has long been recognized, not only by the railroad managements but also by the railroad labor organizations. As it became more acute, some railroad managements suggested various solutions, among them the importation of foreign labor and the employment of war prisoners. Such proposals have been looked upon by the railroad labor organizations as impractical and consequently unacceptable. Rather than bringing about a solution of the problem, these measures would create additional new ones more serious than the problems they sought to solve.

The railroad labor organizations, on the other hand, have cooperated fully with both the railways and the various governmental agencies having jurisdiction over manpower problems. Among other things they amended existing rules agreements to permit upgrading of labor to meet the demand for skilled labor. They also assisted the carriers in recruiting additional workers. While being helpful, none of these measures were adequate to meet the real problem, namely, the substandard wages and working conditions in the railroad industry, and in the belief that the greatest contribution to the solution of the manpower problem could be made only by correcting the conditions out of which it

grew, the organizations began a national wage movement to achieve this purpose.

Wage—Union Shop Movement

On September 25, 1942, the following Fifteen Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, including those affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, served notice on the carriers for an increase in wages of twenty cents per hour, the establishment of a minimum rate of seventy cents per hour and the union shop:

International Association of Machinists,
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and
Helpers of America,
International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers,
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association,
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers,
Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America,
International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Helpers, Round House and
Railway Shop Laborers,
Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees,
The Order of Railroad Telegraphers,
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America,
National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America,
National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association,
International Longshoremens' Association,
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders'
International League of America.

In keeping with the previous policy followed by the railroads and the organizations in connection with other national movements, the various managements were also requested to form a National Conference Committee to deal with this dispute in the event an agreement was not reached in local conferences on each property.

Conferences were conducted locally on each railroad as required by the Railway Labor Act. Failing to reach an agreement on the matters in dispute, the carriers formed Conference Committees representing the railroads in the Eastern, Southeastern and Western territories and conferred with the Employees Conference Committee in New York City from December 15th to the 17th, inclusive, without reaching a settlement. The employees' representatives, therefore, invoked the services of the National Mediation Board on December 18, 1942, and mediation proceedings were begun in Chicago on January 7, 1943, continuing until January 14th when the chairman of the National Mediation Board asked the parties to arbitrate. The Employees' Conference Committee advised him on January 15th that the organizations were unwilling to arbitrate any of the matters in dispute. On January 16th the Eastern Carriers' Conference Committee took the same position while the Southeastern and Western Conference Committees declined to arbitrate the Union Shop dispute although they were willing to submit the wage dispute to arbitration.

On January 20, 1943, the Employees' Conference Committee notified the chairman of the National Railway Labor Panel of the failure of the parties to

adjust the dispute and requested the appointment of an Emergency Board as provided under Executive Order No. 9172 and the Railway Labor Act. Under this order, a board can be appointed without the necessity of taking a strike vote.

The chairman of the National Railway Labor Panel, on February 20, 1943, appointed an Emergency Board to investigate the dispute and report thereon to the President.

The Emergency Board began public hearings in Chicago on March 1, 1943. Under the Railway Labor Act the Board was required to report within thirty days of its appointment, but by stipulation of the parties, this provision was waived in order that all interested parties would have an opportunity to be heard. The hearings continued until May 7th, consuming a total of forty-four hearing days during which 234 exhibits and 6,338 pages of testimony were taken. As required by the Railway Labor Act, the Board also conducted mediation proceedings with the parties at the close of the hearings and failing to bring about a settlement, submitted its report to the President on May 24, 1943. Later, on May 29th, the Board filed a supplemental report containing a complete analysis of the testimony, exhibits and arguments utilized in the preparation of its report.

In its report the Board recommended an increase in wage rates of 8 cents per hour effective February 1, 1943, and that retroactive wages due be paid in war savings bonds. The request of the employees for a union shop and the seventy-cent minimum was denied. As required under the provisions of Executive Orders Nos. 9250 and 9299 and the Policy Directive of the Economic Stabilization Director of May 12, 1943, the Board also certified that its recommendations were designed to correct gross inequities, to aid in the effective prosecution of the war and that the increase recommended was non-inflationary since it did not provide a basis for increased railroad rates or for resistance to justifiable reductions in such rates.

Under the terms of Executive Order No. 9299 the recommendations of the Board would become final after thirty days unless otherwise directed by the Economic Stabilization Director. On June 22, 1943, the Director issued an Order which was transmitted to the chairman of the Emergency Board, directing that the increase should not become effective and that he would later submit a memorandum outlining his views on the matter. This he did on June 30, 1943, suggesting that only the adjustment of sub-standard rates could be considered and that the Emergency Board reconsider its findings and recommendations accordingly. The Emergency Board was dissolved with the filing of its report and therefore could not function unless reconstituted by the President, but the chairman of the Emergency Board, nevertheless, wrote a letter to the Economic Stabilization Director on July 3, 1943, advising him that his suggestion was unworkable in the railroad industry and further that there was no reason why the Emergency Board should change its original recommendations since they were made after careful consideration of all the facts and in the interest of safeguarding the stabilization program.

• With unrest growing among the employes and the manpower difficulties

confronting the carriers becoming acute, the conference committees representing the railroads and the employees entered into further negotiations and on August 7, 1943 signed an agreement which provides for an increase in wages of eight cents an hour effective February 1, 1943, with the understanding that the retroactive pay, although it will be paid in cash, is to be used for the purchase of war bonds. Approval of the government must be secured, however, before the agreement can be placed into effect.

Canadian Railroad Wages

Under the stabilization program in effect in Canada, wages, prices and profits are under government control. This program, which is designed to prevent inflation, has been in effect since 1941.

The first measure relating to the control of wages was Order in Council P. C. 7440 which became effective on December 16, 1940. This Order merely set forth the policy to be followed by Boards of Investigation and Conciliation in their recommendations on wages. Affecting only the industries covered by the Industrial Disputes and Investigation Act, among which was the railroad industry, the Order provided for the payment of a cost of living bonus which, however, was not mandatory. Later this Order was replaced by the Wartime Wages and Cost of Living Bonus Order, P. C. 8253, effective October 24, 1941, which extended the coverage of the Order to substantially all industries except agriculture, fishing and non-profit organizations. It made the payment of a cost of living bonus compulsory through the establishment of penalties and provided for uniform dates on which the cost of living bonus would be determined. In addition to stabilizing wages at the level of November 15, 1941, the National War Labor Board was created by the Order to administer this policy.

At the same time measures were also enacted to control prices (P. C. 8527 and P. C. 8528) and the general stabilization program was placed in effect.

The Wartime Wages and Cost of Living Bonus Order was subsequently amended in a number of respects so, for convenience, the Order as amended was incorporated in the present Wartime Wages Control Order, P. C. 5963, which became effective July 14, 1942.

This Order applies, with minor exceptions, to all employers with respect to employees who earn less than \$175 per month or those who are not above the rank of foremen. It is administered by the National War Labor Board, which has been recently reorganized, and the various regional boards. The Order prohibits any reduction or increases in wages in effect on November 15, 1941, except that under certain circumstances, changes within the range of rates in effect on that date for a classification can be made upon authorization of the Board. It also provides for the payment of a cost of living bonus by the employer, which is adjusted quarterly (February, May, August and November) by Orders issued by the National War Labor Board. Such adjustment is made only when the cost of living index of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics increases or falls at least one point, in which case the bonus is adjusted by twenty-five cents per week in the case of adult employees and all other employees receiving \$25 per week or more and by one per cent of the basic

weekly wage rate in the case of men under 21 years of age and women who receive less than \$25 per week.

Under the provisions of P. C. 7440, an agreement was entered into between the railway labor organizations and the railways providing for the payment of a cost of living bonus in the amount of \$1.93 per week effective June 1, 1941. Later the cost of living bonus was increased to \$3.20 per week effective September 1, 1941, and following the promulgation of P. C. 8253 the bonus payments were increased to \$3.65 per week effective November 16, 1941. Under the provisions of the present Order, the cost of living bonus was increased to \$4.25 per week effective August 16, 1942. The cost of living as reflected in the index of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has remained relatively stable and therefore no change has been made in the weekly bonus payments since that time.

Amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act

The Railroad Retirement Act has been amended in a number of respects by a bill (H. R. 6387) which was passed by the House of Representatives on March 16, 1942, by the Senate on March 30 and approved by the President on April 8, 1942 (Public Law No. 520, 77th Congress). Although enacted last year, these changes have not been previously reported and are, therefore, discussed in this report.

The most significant change provides that current or future service in the armed forces, during war periods or times of national emergency, is creditable. Legislation enacted in 1940 provided that military service for periods prior to January 1, 1937 would be counted in determining rights of railroad employees to annuities. The Act now places railroad men who enlist or are conscripted in the present emergency on an equal footing with veterans of previous wars.

Not only will current and future service be included in an employee's years of service for purposes of determining eligibility for an annuity but it will also be used for computing lump-sum death benefits payable under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937. These benefits are based on creditable compensation earned after December 31, 1936, and for the purpose of computing such benefits, the individual is credited with \$160 compensation for each month of military service after 1936.

In order to secure credit for military service, whether it be voluntary or involuntary or whether or not rendered within the United States, an individual must have rendered employe service under the Railroad Retirement Act or lost time as an employe for which he received remuneration before entrance on military duty, in the same year in which the military service began or in the calendar year immediately before. He is counted as in military service when commissioned or enrolled in the active service of the land or naval forces (including air forces) of the United States and until resignation or discharge. A member of the land or naval reserves, even though serving for less than 30 days, is deemed to be in active service. War service periods include not only actual war periods but any period after September 7, 1939 proclaimed to be a national emergency and during which

a strengthening of national defense is required, any period of compulsory military service and any period after the close of a war during which the individual must continue in the armed forces.

In addition, the new law prescribes that claims for death benefits must be filed within two years after the date on which the benefits become due and establishes an order of precedence for their distribution. If no one has been selected by the worker to receive the benefit due at the time of his death, the spouse, child, parent, brother or sister, or grandchild, as determined by the Board and in the order named, will be awarded the death benefit. If no member of the family is alive, the Board may pay other individuals to the extent and in the proportion that they bore the expenses of the funeral or last illness upon such conditions as it deems equitable. Such payments, however, may not exceed the amount of the death benefit. Previously, when there was no designation, a benefit amounting to \$500 or less was distributed according to the law of the state in which the deceased employee was domiciled. Larger payments could be paid only to the deceased's legal representative. The new provisions simplify and speed payments in cases in which there is no proper designation of beneficiary or in which no designee is alive when the death benefit falls due.

A third change in the law permits the Board to presume conclusively that beneficiaries, under any of the programs, are competent unless incompetency is shown in a specified manner. The Board may recognize actions by, and deal with, persons acting on behalf of individuals held to be incompetent if the Board finds that such actions are in the best interests of the incompetents.

A fourth amendment declares that service for a local lodge or division is creditable service, no matter where rendered, if all or substantially all its members are employees of employers conducting the principal part of their business in the United States. It prescribes similar tests for service to general committees of railway-labor-organization employers. The new law revises the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act and pertinent tax laws accordingly.

Prior to approving these amendments engendered by administrative expediency and the war, the Senate adopted a resolution on July 22, 1941, directing the Board "to make an investigation of injuries and diseases incurred by employes in the railroad industry as a result of their employment." An extensive inquiry was immediately undertaken and a report will be made soon by the Board. On the basis of this report it is anticipated that appropriate legislation will be drawn up and introduced in Congress with respect to workmen's compensation for railroad employes.

Employment Service Operations of the Railroad Retirement Board

The employment service organized by the Railroad Retirement Board under the provisions of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, has played an increasingly important role since its inception. The purpose of this service is to stabilize employment and place workers in jobs through a system of free employment offices.

The first employment office was opened in Chicago in September, 1939. By the summer of 1940, the value of a placement service for railroad workers

was widely recognized by both employers and employees in the Chicago metropolitan area. In consequence of the progress made by this office, the Board decided to extend similar facilities throughout the country. Beginning in October of that year, a small employment service staff was attached to each of the Board's regional offices, and operations were begun on a nation-wide scale.

From that date, the placement service has been gradually extended to all field locations of the Board, and today, the majority of the field personnel are engaged almost exclusively in the stabilization program. In addition, many new offices have been established at important centers of railroad employment to perform these functions. Itinerant service is also utilized for the purpose of recruiting workers and for obtaining information on potential needs and surpluses. In developing the extensive field organization, consideration was given to the needs and employment customs of railroad workers, and much of the success of the service may be attributed to the recognition of employment problems peculiar to the railroad industry.

In April, 1943, the War Manpower Commission issued instructions officially recognizing the employment service of the Board as the Federal employment agency solely responsible for the recruitment of railroad labor. The instructions authorize the employment service to accept and handle only orders for workers from employers covered by the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. Orders received from non-covered employers are referred to the United States Employment Service, and when covered employers place orders with the United States Employment Service, they are immediately turned over to the Board. At times, each agency assists the other in supplying personnel needs.

Cooperative relations have been established with other federal agencies as well. Among these are the U. S. Civil Service Commission, the Work Projects Administration, and the Selective Service System. Information on the railroad manpower situation, which the Board currently assembles, is made available to the Selective Service System to be used in connection with the granting of occupational deferments to essential railroad employees.

The efforts of the Board to supply the railroad labor demand and to stabilize labor in the industry have been aided immeasurably by the standard railway labor organizations. The organizations have advised the Board on employment conditions affecting their membership and, in some instances, have integrated the work of their own employment bureaus with the Board's employment service.

The carriers have also cooperated with the employment service in solving problems of recruiting and placement. At the suggestion of the Board, employers have appointed personnel officials to handle all employment matters with the service. Through conferences with these officials, the Board instituted procedures for collecting information on labor surpluses and shortages in order to facilitate the rapid and economical movement of workers to critical areas and thus insure a necessary labor supply.

As the labor needs of the railroads grew from month to month, the employment service intensified its recruitment efforts. During the past year, particu-

larly, the field staff was enlarged. Many employes were transferred from unemployment insurance and other activities of the Board to the employment service staff. With the added personnel it was possible to interview and place many more workers than in the two previous years. Every known labor reserve was canvassed and placements spiralled upward.

In June, 1943, alone, more than 36,000 placements were made. The growth of placement activities is illustrated by contrasting this figure with the 10,800 made during the first nine months of operation of the employment service—October, 1940, through June, 1941. The total number of jobs filled during the last fiscal year was 196,600, a 230 per cent increase over the 59,200 jobs filled in 1941-42.

The Board is performing an important and necessary function through its employment service, and were it not for its activities the manpower situation in the railroad industry would be very much worse than it is now. While serving an essential need during the present emergency, this service will be invaluable in stabilizing employment in the railroad industry after the war.

Railroad Labor and the War. The railroad industry, as has been indicated, is doing a remarkable job in furnishing transportation service to the nation. In addition to caring for our domestic needs, this industry forms the very foundation of our war effort, for neither the industries which provide the weapons nor our armed services which use them could long carry on without an adequate supply of transportation. Thus far the railroad industry has literally performed miracles in overcoming what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles, and for this both the railroad managements and the employes deserve the highest praise.

While essential traffic requirements are being met, there is some question whether the industry can continue to meet the increasing transportation needs of the country in view of the critical labor situation. For the past year the railroad workers have sought an increase in wages as a practical solution to this problem. In so doing they asked only for simple justice. The refusal of the carriers and the Economic Stabilization Director to grant their request, however, so reduced morale and the ability of the carriers to recruit labor that a breakdown of transportation appeared likely.

A wage increase has finally been agreed upon which, however, must still receive the approval of the government. Whether this increase, if approved, will be another case of "too little, too late," remains to be seen. The delay in reaching an agreement caused many skilled railroad workers to go into other industries where higher wages were being paid, and every day approval is withheld will make the manpower situation just that much worse. Even with the increase, railroad wages will be lower than those being paid in other comparable industries, so while the increase would undoubtedly be helpful, it is not likely to prove adequate to meet the manpower needs of the industry. It is to be hoped, therefore, that approval of the increase will be given immediately and that the carriers will take prompt action in granting time and one-half for all time worked beyond eight hours in any one day and after

forty hours in any one week, with double time for the seventh day worked in any week and for holidays. The correction of these and other sub-standard conditions in the industry would contribute materially to the solution of this problem.

FREE FEDERATION OF WORKINGMEN (PUERTO RICO)

Without ignoring the great responsibility of Labor in this crucial moment and without forgetting its patriotic duty to give 100 per cent cooperation to our nation in its gigantic effort to win the war and give material and moral support to all democratic nations involved in the present universal conflict, the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen carried on during this year an intense program of activities which resulted in important achievements, with the support and assistance of the American Federation of Labor.

Collective Agreement in the Sugar Industry. The validity of the collective agreement negotiated by the Free Federation of Workingmen with the Sugar Producers Association and in force up to December, 1944, was challenged by the enemies of our organization, who filed a petition with the Regional Director of the NLRB, contending that an employer unit is appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining instead of the association-wide or Insular-wide, as maintained through our agreement and our Federation since 1933. The purpose was to run elections in each sugar mill to afford politicians and the government officials an opportunity to use their machinery to destroy our unions and the strong foothold of the American Federation of Labor in Puerto Rico. Hearings held at San Juan lasted over four weeks. On April 6, 1943, we filed our briefs and on April 13, 1943, oral argument was presented before the board at Washington. In its decision and order the board stated, among other things, the following:

From 1933 to the present date a system of collective bargaining on an Insular basis was developed between the Association and the Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen). In 1933 the F.L.T. and the Association, on behalf of its members, executed the first association-wide contracts, each for the period of one year with the exception of the January, 1942, contract, which is for a period of three years. . . . In their contracts the F.L.T. and the Association have set up a comprehensive machinery for the settlement of grievances and disputes. . . . In support of its contention for the appropriateness of an association-wide unit, the F.L.T. showed that prior to the organization of the sugar industry by the F.L.T. working conditions were chaotic, that during most of such period the sugar workers were either unorganized or were organized on less than an association-wide basis; that since 1933, when the first association-wide agreement was executed, the basic work day has been reduced to eight hours, minimum wages have been established, piecework (which was one of the greatest evils in the sugar industry) has been abolished, and a number of other improvements in working conditions have been achieved. . . . We are convinced that the full benefit of their right to self-organization and to collective bargaining can not be insured to the employees by breaking up the collective bargaining unit which has been established by a long history of contractual relations between the Association on behalf of the sugar producers and the Federacion Libre de los

Trabajadores de Puerto Rico on behalf of the sugar workers of the Island.

The petitions were dismissed and our agreement saved once more as an instrument of industrial peace so badly needed in this present emergency.

Agreement With the Water Resources Authority and FWA. For the first time in our history, and after organizing a powerful union of the electrical workers, we succeeded in negotiating a collective bargaining agreement with the Water Resources Authority and the FWA controlling all the electrification industry throughout the Island. It provides for an increase of 25 per cent in wages; union security and the check-off; stability of employment; vacations; a partial committee to draft a pension plan; and other important achievements.

Another great achievement of this union was the liquidation of the claim filed by the union with the Puerto Rico Railway, Light and Power Company to recover back wages in accordance with court decisions. The sum recovered amounted to nearly \$250,000, which were distributed among the claimants.

For the last months this organization, comprising all the employees of the Puerto Rico Water Resources Authority, with a membership of 1,200, has been studying and discussing the advisability of affiliating itself with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.

Agreement in the Bread Industry. The agreement in the bread industry was renewed by the San Juan local with the employers, providing hourly rates fluctuating from 75 to 35 cents an hour for an 8-hour work day and the payment of double wages for overtime. The union shop was established again. Many other agreements are being renewed in different towns of the Island with a coverage of nearly 4,000 bakers.

Longshoremen's Agreement. As a contribution to the war effort, our longshoremen unions affiliated with our Federation and with the I.L.A. did not put much stress in their demands, submitting the negotiated agreement to the approval of the War Shipping Administration. A 5-cent increase over the hourly rates was established and some other improvements were made. All the ports of the Island are controlled by our locals.

Agreement in the Rum Industry. (a) Our Distillery and Liquor Workers Union at Catano succeeded in negotiating an agreement with the Rum Carioca Company with an increase of 16½ per cent over all wage rates prevailing as per the Wage and Hour Law and established the union shop. This agreement put an end to the unrest which was stimulated by the regional director of the NLRB ordering elections, which were run thrice and repeatedly won by our union.

(b) Another agreement was negotiated by our local at Arecibo with the Ron Rico Corporation, by means of which our members got a substantial increase in their wages and the union shop. A hostile group, led by politicians and assisted by the regional director of the NLRB, has been trying to destroy both the union and the agreement through the pretense of elections.

(c) The regional director of the NLRB has also interfered with our local at Ponce, which was nearly ready to negotiate an agreement in the rum industry. After elections were ordered the regional director cancelled the order.

When the regional director arbitrarily cancelled the order for an election to which consent had been previously given by all parties he expected to allow at least six months to elapse without taking any action, injuring the interests of our organization that had submitted a draft of an agreement to the employer in December, 1942.

Having been informed of this situation, the counsel for the American Federation of Labor requested in writing to the regional director of the National Labor Relations Board that our organization be certified to the employer as the exclusive bargaining agency. This request was based upon 257 petitions, duly signed by the employees in the plant, numbering 365 eligibles. In spite of the National Labor Relations Board's instructions, the regional director dismissed that request. Although an appeal was taken before the National Labor Relations Board, in view of the fact that the interests of our organizations were being endangered, we arranged to have an election conducted by U. S. Commissioner of Conciliation, which took place on August 6 of this year, with the following result, as per the report rendered by the Commissioner of Conciliation:

Two hundred and sixty-eight (268) votes were cast; the *Federacion Libre de Trabajadores* received 248, the C.G.T. received 11 votes; 4 votes were voided and 5 votes were cast favoring no representation, totalling 268.

Central Rufina Case. A complaint was filed with the regional director of the NLRB against the employer of the Sugar Central Rufina, involving our local, which was maliciously accused of being the successor to a company-dominated union which the regional director claimed previously existed at Guayanilla, where Central Rufina does business. Stipulations between the parties were later approved by the Board at Washington. The decision once more ratified our collective bargaining agreement in the sugar industry, recognizes our local as a genuine labor organization, forces employers to pay back wages to some employees, and tends to protect the rights of Labor.

Hospitals and Clinics Drive. An organizational campaign is in progress among the non-technical employees of hospitals and clinics. Our local union in San Juan negotiated a collective bargaining agreement with the Presbyterian Hospital for the first time in this activity. The contract provides for a substantial increase in wages and the retroactive payment of same, back to September 1, 1942. It resulted in the improvement of wages and working conditions in the clinics and the hospitals in the Island, where there have been paid monthly salaries as low as \$8, \$10, \$12 and \$15. The Insular Minimum Wage Board established minimum wages for non-technical employees of hospitals and clinics.

Laundry Industry. An agreement with the employers' association of the laundry industry stopped unfair competition, establishing uniform wage rates, union shop and other important provisions beneficial to both employers and employees.

Foundry Industry. The union renewed last year's agreement with fundamental changes both in wages and in working conditions.

Agreement in the Hairnet Industry. Our hairnet employees' union renewed their agreement with a 5 per cent increase in wages and covering, to some extent, the home workers.

Other Agreements. Some other local agreements have been signed by our unions in the Gas and Coke Company at San Juan; in the Ponce Cement Corporation at Ponce; in the ice industry at the capital; and with the Caguas Bus Line.

Drive in the Telephone Industry. Employees of the Puerto Rico Telephone Company are organizing under the auspices of the Free Federation.

Congressional Committees. During the month of February a committee from the Senate of the United States came to Puerto Rico to investigate social and economic conditions of the island. The president of our State Federation of Labor, testified before the committee, presenting the Labor points of view and making valuable suggestions. This committee was authorized to investigate social and economic conditions in Puerto Rico, but not political. A written memorandum was submitted by our organization.

During the months of May and June of this year another congressional committee of the House of Representatives visited Puerto Rico. This committee had been vested with authority to investigate economic, social and political conditions in Puerto Rico.

Our State Federation of Labor, having already appeared before the Senate committee, did not intend to take any of the time of the committee of the House, but having been repeatedly requested by its chairman to submit a written statement over our signature for inclusion in the official committee records, and in view of the fact that this committee had authority to investigate political conditions also, our organization (as per instructions of the Executive Council of our State Federation) decided to submit a certified copy of Resolution No. 36, as approved by the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, in October, 1942, together with certified copy of the address to that convention delivered by our delegate, depicting social, economic and political conditions prevailing in Puerto Rico when the resolution was approved and the address was delivered.

A letter was also addressed to the committee accompanying the above-mentioned certified copies, explaining slight changes in shipping facilities, but ratifying that all our fundamental problems are still unsolved and some of them more acute than they were at the time Resolution No. 36 was approved.

We understand that preliminary reports have already been submitted by both committees to Congress suggesting some tentative measures to alleviate food and shipping conditions, and that as to our big fundamental and permanent problems other reports will be submitted when they have finished their investigations.

Office of Price Administration. Price control in Puerto Rico has been a complete failure. The Office of Price Administration lacks adequate machinery to check the black market. A labor committee was recently appointed by the Administrator of the OPA. Our secretary was the only representative of our Federation on said committee. He resigned on the basis that the Free

Federation was not given complete recognition. Notwithstanding, we are contributing part of our time in our Sunday radio program to the OPA and are cooperating also in distributing material to inform our members and the public in general. The OPA organized local consumers' boards without giving representation to Labor.

Federal Labor Legislation

Extension and Administration. In spite of our repeated efforts to have extended to Puerto Rico the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act, intended to assist financially the different states in the establishment of a National Employment Service, Puerto Rico was never favored with the benefits of this law.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended to favor Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands of the United States, has been of great assistance to the workers and employers as well as to improve working conditions. The administration of this Act has been fairly well conducted by the Wage and Hour Division of the U. S. Department of Labor and its branch office in Puerto Rico.

Of the Social Security Act only two chapters have been made applicable to Puerto Rico, those covering children's welfare and maternity. Unemployment insurance would do a lot of good to our people if such benefits could be obtained and adapted to our Island through special local and federal legislation which would be practical and would not endanger the solvency of such a fund, if and when created for the benefit of our people.

The Labor Relations Act we expected to be of benefit to our workers. However, we are sorry to state it has worked to the contrary and to the detriment of the genuine organized labor movement of Puerto Rico. The administration of this Act in Washington has been most unfortunate in selecting to represent the Labor Relations Board in our Island a man who is a discredit to the Board and Labor as well. He has practically devoted all his time persecuting and discrediting the labor movement affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and has done all within his power to destroy our unions and to promote and encourage the formation of rival hostile groups sharing his political tendencies.

The suspension of this federal agency in Puerto Rico would be of great benefit for the workers, if this representative could not be removed.

Resolution No. 36. The Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Toronto last year, called for the removal of Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell of Puerto Rico. In compliance with the provisions thereof, President William Green made representations before the President of the United States and had copy of resolution forwarded to him.

A considerable amount of publicity in the American press followed the approval of Resolution No. 36 and strong attacks were made against the national Administration for tolerating such conditions in Puerto Rico as related in the resolution, but no official action was ever taken by the Washington Administration and no step has been taken to relieve our Island from the injurious administration of Governor Tugwell.

We feel that our people have been patient enough to suffer these unbear-

able conditions. Governor Tugwell's appointments, first as chancellor of our University and then as governor, have been a disgrace to our Island. To please him the whole organization of our university has been demoralized through political appointments made this year. Partisan politics have been injected everywhere in our highest educational center. We have now over 250,000 people of school age without school facilities and without school accommodation.

Social Security. On February 5, 1943, the Social Security Commission of Puerto Rico submitted to the governor and the legislative assembly (pursuant to a law approved April 2, 1941, creating the Commission) a report containing recommendations and drafts for the establishment of an Island-wide public assistance program. The commission is composed of five persons appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate of Puerto Rico. The first vice-president of our Federation represents the labor interests. Plans following the lines of the A. F. of L. have been submitted by him to said commission. The commission was created for the purpose of studying, drafting and reporting to the governor and the legislative assembly the plan or plans necessary for the establishment of a social security program. Appropriations made are definitely inadequate to meet the local needs.

The Free Federation of Workingmen has repeatedly demanded, through the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the full extension to Puerto Rico of the Social Security Act.

Cooperation in War Efforts and Final Remarks. Notwithstanding the conspiracy of our local government, together with some federal agencies and politicians backing a dual movement against the American Federation of Labor in Puerto Rico, we have given absolute cooperation to the war effort and have defended American democratic institutions against those promoting independence. We have maintained uninterruptedly the no-strike policy of the American Federation of Labor. Our men are doing splendid work in the local boards and in the boards of appeal of the Selective Service, these being the only federal organisms where organized labor has been given representation. We have stimulated the buying of war bonds and war savings stamps by our locals and members throughout the Island. Our sense of responsibility toward our people and our nation is unalterable. Our faith in American institutions is unconquerable. Our status as American citizens is above any other consideration.

With the support and assistance of the American Federation of Labor we are improving the economic and social conditions of the toiling masses of our Island and we expect to be better understood by those who still ignore the fact that our organization is a genuine and legitimate American institution endeavoring to keep for our people the American way of living.

ALASKA

Organization and Legislation. The last half of 1943 finds Alaska a seasoned theater of war on some of its vast frontier, while in other parts its workers are still on the defensive in an old war against complacent businesses who still follow the "business as usual" theory. However, they do not overlook the war emergency to appeal to the patriotism of their employees to stay on

the job at pre-war wages while they sell the production at ever-increasing prices, plus war risk insurance, freight increases, shortage of wares, inferior products (by substitution) and the willingness of workers to pay any price asked because they are working and have the money.

In some respects, Labor has made large gains. In March a convention was held at Juneau, Alaska, comprised of delegates from every local union in the Territory of Alaska who could find a member not too busy to attend, and the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor was formed. These delegates put in a busy five days (and nights) drawing up a constitution, adopting resolutions and electing officers from those who were represented. The meetings were well attended by dignitaries including the Governor of Alaska, the Mayors of both Juneau and Ketchikan, a representative from the Washington, D. C., Office of the Department of the Interior, the Director of the Alaska Offices of the U. S. Department of Labor, U. S. Employment Service and the War Manpower Commission. All of these people greeted the convention with encouraging remarks and assured us of their support and cooperation.

On the other hand, Labor has taken as bad a beating as any part of this troubled continent in regard to labor legislation. Alaska elects her legislators, consisting of 16 members of the House of Representatives and 8 members of the Senate. Some of these have been riding along on an easy election posing as friends of Labor, who, when it came to an actual test, were found to have changed color. Among the bills introduced in the last session of the legislature were at least three to modify and amend the Unemployment Compensation Law and several to amend the Alaska Workmen's Compensation law. The present unemployment compensation law covers only employers who hire 8 or more employees for more than 20 different weeks. A bill was introduced to cover one or more for 10 or more weeks. This bill originated in the House of Representatives and was killed there by friends of the fishing and mining industries. A compromise bill to cover employers of 3 or more employees for 10 or more weeks was introduced by the Alaskan representative of the American Federation of Labor in the Senate. This bill passed the Senate unanimously after being amended to cover employers of four or more employees. This bill was lost in the House of Representatives by a tie vote, obviously assisted by our friends of Labor, one of whom cast the last and deciding vote. At the same session, a bill to amend the Alaska Workmen's Compensation Law (which now covers 5 or more employees) to cover 3 or more. This bill would also have corrected an error in the original law that deducted any money collected by a worker temporarily disabled, from any amount he was entitled to for any reason later, under the law. This bill also had passed the Senate unanimously, where it was introduced and supported by the American Federation of Labor representative, but was also lost in the House by a tie vote.

As the convention of the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor was held during the last few days of the Territorial legislature, the action of the various representatives was given proper publicity and through the delegates, was carried back to the rank and file of nearly all affiliated unions in Alaska. Since that time, some of the central labor councils have formed labor legislative

committees from their delegates. Through communications and traveling members, they are starting a program to inform Alaskan Labor that through their failure to vote, these several representatives to the legislature have been getting a "free ride" at their expense. The Central Labor Council of Anchorage, Alaska, is one of the foremost in this program, with great effectiveness, which is evidenced by the efforts of these politicians to convince that council of their "purity."

The Alaskan representative of the American Federation of Labor is gathering all data available and through the facilities of the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor hopes to place the facts concerning the actions of the last legislature before every member of Alaskan labor unions.

Regardless of the efforts of the Alaska Office of the Price Administration, living costs to the workers have continued to soar due, no doubt, to the fact that Alaska is the forgotten land when it comes to protection from Washington. While the government bureaus in Alaska are charged with the responsibility of keeping costs down by not allowing adjustments of wages, they are not equipped nor authorized to control like agencies in the states of Washington, Oregon and California.

One example is the hotel and restaurant employees. In any Seattle paper, one can find several dozen classified ads for waitresses offering from \$5 to \$8 a shift with added attractions of bonuses, living quarters, vacations with pay, guaranteed one day off a week, etc. When the local of cooks and waitresses in Juneau, Alaska, made up a new agreement signed by both employers and employees to be effective April 1, this had to be sent to the Seattle office of the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor for their approval, but up to August 1 it is evidently gathering dust in their shelves as no word has been received in answer to many requests for action by the Alaska office of that division. While the local here only asked for overtime when forced to work the seventh day and other conditions comparable to like areas, they were willing to continue under the scale being paid (\$6 a shift) and that would still lack 33½ per cent of reaching the average scale being paid in Seattle for the same work.

Local unions of Alaska are entering into the present effort of the American Federation of Labor to roll back the cost of living. Through the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor, a committee of members from widely separated areas was appointed to act as Labor Advisory Committee to the Office of Price Administration. So far, the relations between the unions and the Alaska OPA has not been very friendly due to the ruling of the Washington, D. C., office on prices for fish for the fishermen. It is hard to convince the fishermen that this ruling was issued by Washington, D. C., or that either the Alaska Office of the OPA or the Fishermen's Union of Alaska were ever consulted on the matter or advised that such a ruling was to be made by Washington without a hearing of Alaskans. However, the canned salmon industry representatives who were able to carry their cases to Washington, were allowed an increase in their top selling price of their products, far exceeding the prices received during the height of the inflation of World War I.

Alaska's areas of intense activity, like the rest of the world, change fast.

Places where a year or two ago there were thousands of workers laboring long hours every day to complete some vital defense work so that our armed forces could protect our land if the need came, now have become once again sleepy fishing villages. The army of workers has moved on to places where they were needed more. Alaskans have fully realized the urgency of staying on the job but when the time came were eager to be released, perhaps losing their seniority on the job, to take up their former occupation of gathering vital food stuff—the Alaska salmon.

The organization of new local unions has declined during the past year for several reasons. The most evident is that there are now established locals for most of the crafts available throughout Alaska. Next, due to the shortage of available workers for Alaskan jobs, the employers were forced to go farther afield for workers and had to accept those lacking in education or desire for organization. Another reason is that the international organizations still feel, in some instances, that Alaska cannot support local unions of their craft. However, another new organization made its start in Alaska this spring when a local of motion picture machine operators was established at Juneau with membership in most Alaska cities. The American Federation of Government Employees is establishing new branches to include workers on finished government projects.

Alaska is getting prepared for statehood and Labor will be represented when we find that time has come.

Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor. A Territorial Federation of Labor for Alaska was organized, and a charter was issued on April 15, 1943. This action was taken in conformity with instructions given the Executive Council by the Seattle 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in response to an application made by a substantial number of unions chartered by international organizations in Alaska, and recommended by the representative in charge of American Federation of Labor organizing work in Alaska.

The convention at which the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor was formed, was held at Juneau, March 16-20, 1943. Fifteen delegates representing central labor unions and 33 local organizations established in Ketchikan, Sitka, Kodiak, Anchorage and Juneau, were in attendance at the convention.

The Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor was formed and launched under the most auspicious circumstances. It is functioning in a constructive and satisfactory way. We are of the opinion that this Alaska Territorial Federation of labor is established upon a sound American Federation of Labor basis.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Union workers in the Hawaiian Islands since December 7, 1941, have been employed primarily in army and navy construction, building and maintaining the supply bases and everything that goes along with the establishment of this area as an operating base carrying out a war program in the Pacific area. Six new local unions have been organized, both federal chartered and international unions. Organizing programs are in progress in all unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Council and these are showing gratifying results.

Several new contracts have been negotiated within the past year covering workers in local industries and utilities. The teamsters union has negotiated four contracts. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local B-1260, negotiated an agreement with the Hawaiian Electric Company, Ltd. The gas workers union negotiated a contract with the Honolulu Gas Company. The Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees negotiated a new contract with the Honolulu Rapid Transit Company. The dairy workers union negotiated a contract with two dairies.

The Teamsters International Union has been requested to take over several federal chartered locals whose members come under their jurisdiction.

While organizing activities have been directed in the past year to the Island of Oahu, there is now under way an organizing program for the outside islands and all indications point to good results from these campaigns.

We were pleased to have the visit to Honolulu during April and May of an international Vice-President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, whose able leadership greatly assisted Local Union B-1260, I.B.E.W., in negotiating their contract with the Hawaiian Electric Company, Ltd. His helpful advice on all matters affecting organized labor in the Islands was greatly appreciated.

The Territorial Legislature convened early in 1943 and this legislature fell in line with many mainland state legislatures in enacting a "union registration bill" and although Labor concentrated its efforts, seeking the defeat of this bill, it was finally passed in the closing hours of the legislature even though the legislative clocks had to be turned back to make it official. Governor Ingram M. Stainback was prevailed upon to veto the bill after representatives of Labor presented a brief to him.

Other legislative achievements beneficial to the working people of the Territory were:

- (1) Compensation for members of volunteer war organizations in event of injury or death in line of duty.
- (2) Amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act providing increased benefits.
- (3) Amendment to the Apprenticeship Law providing for training within industry and other training programs.
- (4) The Wage and Hour Law was revised to add 5 cents per hour more to the minimum wage.
- (5) Amendments to the Unemployment Compensation Act which extends the coverage of this Act and also increases benefits payable thereunder.

On March 10, 1943, some of the controls exercised by the military governor since the declaration of martial law December 7, 1941, reverted back to civilian authority and with the revision of authority a new burden was placed upon Labor to see that its rights would not be jeopardized.

Under authority of the Hawaii Defense Act, the governor issued two rules. Rule No. 42 provided a 30-day job freeze on all workers engaged in industries released from military control. This was later extended an additional 30 days and then allowed to expire. Under the provisions of this rule the freeze was of a temporary nature because chaotic labor conditions were anticipated. However, the anticipated chaos did not mature, consequently, the rule was allowed to expire. The second rule, No. 43, provided stabilization of employment in certain designated industries that are vital to the war effort and

civilian needs. The initial industries subject to this rule were hospitals, laundries, and dairies. The rule also provides for setting up committees within these industries whose duties are to draw up standards of wages, hours, and working conditions and at the present writing these industries committee reports in their initial presentation have been returned to the industries committees for further study and wage adjustments by the Hawaii Manpower Board on which three labor representatives, three management representatives and one public representative, who is chairman, are seated.

At the present writing the Hawaii Manpower Board is studying a labor stabilization program and here again labor representatives have successfully blocked such a program. Their opposition is based upon the fact that the National War Labor Board has never exercised its jurisdiction in the Territory of Hawaii and the civilian governor has not provided a comparable agency.

Further, Labor's opposition to this stabilization program is based on the fact that approximately one-half the entire labor force in the Islands is engaged in work coming directly under the supervision of the office of the military governor and at the present writing, as in the past, Labor is still seeking the release of this labor force from military restrictions.

The Building and Construction Trades Council of Honolulu at the present time is compiling data for presentation to the Labor Control Section, Office of the Military Governor, showing the need for either a 10 per cent increase in wages or a roll back in the cost of living. It is interesting to note that while wages of workers under military control and Wage Schedule No. 9 have received no increases in wages since May, 1942, when this schedule was revised, the cost of living has been rising steadily and is still increasing. The wage and cost of living data now being compiled shows some very interesting information.

The average wage increases for workers subject to Wage Schedule No. 9, Office of the Military Governor, shows 11 cents per hour over those wages paid in June, 1941. In local industries the wage increase has been only 4½ cents per hour over wages paid in June, 1941; whereas, the cost of living index shows an increase in the same period of 40.7 per cent. It is on this basis that every effort is being made to adjust these wage rates or a roll back of prices in the cost of living and it is in this direction that considerable effort is being put forward at the present time.

A further basis for contention among the building trades affiliates is the fact that Pearl Harbor Navy Yard has increased its wages to civil service employees by 25 per cent and now in practically all classifications, navy yard employees are receiving higher wages than building and construction trades classifications.

It should be mentioned here that the navy yard at Pearl Harbor is still in need of workers in practically all classifications to bolster the yard personnel and many good jobs are still available. On the other hand, construction work is over the peak and is now on the down grade. This, of course, is releasing many construction workers brought out from the mainland who are now returning.

The Navy Construction Battalion (Seabees), are doing a large amount

of construction work and no doubt the final phases of all construction work will be completed by enlisted labor, augmented by local labor.

While the housing situation in Honolulu is very bad, at the present time, federal agencies are contemplating the construction of several large units. It is hoped that this construction will get under way very shortly, not only to relieve congestion but to make available housing units for workers who are desirous of bringing their families back from the mainland.

Up to this writing, Hawaii is more fortunate than the mainland with regard to rationing. While the OPA does have offices established and is exercising certain controls, foods and clothing are not as yet rationed.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing constitutes a report on the major problems of the year's work. We realize that the future grows out of the present and hence are vigilant to guard principles so that future progress may be sound.

Our Federation has been tested to the utmost in performing its responsibilities of war leadership in new problems and in new fields. The labor movement has demonstrated its capacity for leadership and for self-discipline and these capacities will enable us to meet the problems and needs of the coming months of adjustment as well as the opportunities of the peace to come.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.
WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
First Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL,
Second Vice-President.
JOSEPH N. WEBER,
Third Vice-President.
G. M. BUGNIAZET,
Fourth Vice-President.
GEORGE M. HARRISON,
Fifth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Sixth Vice-President.
HARRY C. BATES,
Seventh Vice-President.
W. D. MAHON,
Eighth Vice-President.
FELIX H. KNIGHT,
Ninth Vice-President.
EDWARD FLORE,
Tenth Vice-President.

Eleventh Vice-President.
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,
Twelfth Vice-President.
W. C. DOHERTY,
Thirteenth Vice-President.
GEORGE MEANY,
Secretary-Treasurer.
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SUMMARY OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

In the introduction to the report of your Executive Council for the past year special significance should be attached to the statement that "we know the preservation of personal freedom is worth every sacrifice that war demands." This is the secret of the devotion which is being exemplified by the workers of America in every field of endeavor connected with the prosecution of the war. It is our inherent love of freedom and country which motivates our pledges of cooperation and unity in the war effort so that the blessings of liberty shall not perish but be extended to all peoples everywhere. The introduction to the current report of your Executive Council closes with the thought-provoking statement that "it is our responsibility to keep the faith and maintain principles of democracy for war in order to have them for peace."

Secretary-Treasurer Meany's Report

In order to successfully conduct the affairs of a great organization such as ours, sound administration of the finances is very important. Secretary-Treasurer Meany submits a most encouraging report of his stewardship for the past year. On August 31, 1943, the total of receipts over expenses was \$412,906, making a total balance on hand and accounted for of \$1,680,076.38. During the year \$1,270,345.88 was expended for organizing expenses, including \$664,546.36 for organizing and services to directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions and the balance of \$605,802.52 was used for the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of national and international unions and in activities in behalf of state federations and city central bodies.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany has also included in his report a statement of deposits and investments of the funds of the Federation. It will be noted that on August 31, 1943, the American Federation of Labor had invested \$924,281.25 in United States bonds and \$9,912.50 in Dominion of Canada bonds. In addition, \$3,601.57 is listed as earned premium on United States bonds.

Charters Issued

Three hundred and one charters were issued in the 12-month period ending August 31, 1943, and the total membership of the American Federation of Labor on which per capita tax was paid to headquarters as of the close of the fiscal year was 5,939,021, the highest point in our history and a net gain of 456,440 members in the past year.

Gompers Memorial Fund

There was a balance of \$10,969.19 in the Gompers Memorial Fund, which is accounted for in Secretary-Treasurer Meany's report, under the above caption.

Report of Trustees

A. F. of L. Building.

The trustees of the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C. present for your consideration an accounting of their responsibility in connection with the maintenance of the headquarters building. It will be noted that there was at the close of the fiscal year a balance of \$22,182.26 in this fund.

Official Changes

Due to the resignation of Vice-President Gainer in January, 1943, it became necessary for the Executive Council, in accordance with authority vested in that body, to select a successor to Brother Gainer. Brother William C. Doherty, President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, was selected to fill the vacancy thus caused. In accordance with the custom and rules followed by the Executive Council, members of the Council were moved forward in numerical consecutive order to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Vice-President Gainer. This resulted in the appointment of Brother William C. Doherty as Thirteenth Vice-President.

Organizing Activities

Under this caption a very interesting report is submitted on the organizing activities of the Federation during the past year. Despite obvious difficulties which have been imposed by certain governmental agencies, the Federation has kept up its record by establishing a new record in the field of organization. In addition, many of our organizers are serving on the War Labor Board, Office of Price Administration, Manpower Boards, and actively cooperating with the United States Department of Labor in the Bureau of Labor Statistics on cost-of-living studies which are of vital importance to the workers. Our organizers have also cooperated with Treasury Department war bond drives and developed labor-management programs in an effort to increase war production.

Due to the demand from affiliated national and international unions for assistance in organizing war workers, the organizing department of the Federation has been of even more than usual assistance in organizing campaigns. Many A. F. of L. organizers headed up organizing campaigns for national and international unions where that course seemed especially desirable or expedient. Our field organizers are also frequently called upon by international unions to handle questions before the War Labor Board, the War Production Board, and other agencies of the government to assist them in any problem which they have before those boards.

Under the sub-heading of "Federal Labor Unions" the work of our organizing department among workers previously not familiar with collective bargaining practices is described briefly.

Peace Negotiations with the C. I. O.

Several meetings were held during the past year between committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. for the purpose of dealing with the question of peace and unity within the ranks of Labor. At a meeting held on December 2, 1942, an understanding was reached which provided for the establishment of joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. committees to hear and decide in disputed jurisdictional differences which might arise between the two organizations. The agreement reached between these two committees is presented in full. Subsequent developments in connection with the attempt to reach a "no-raiding" agreement are presented for your information.

United Mine Workers Application for Reaffiliation

The President of the United Mine Workers of America directed a communication to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor under date of May 17, 1943, in which he made application for reaffiliation with his organization with the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council gave serious consideration to that communication and subsequently appointed a committee to meet with the President of the United Mine workers and his associates for the purpose of attempting to arrive at an understanding as to the basis upon which the United Mine Workers of America might return to the American Federation of Labor.

A meeting was held between the committees of the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers on July 20, 1943. At the meeting of the Executive Council which met in Chicago, Illinois, beginning August 9, 1943, the A. F. of L. committee reported that President Lewis of the United Mine Workers submitted a statement in behalf of the United Mine Workers as a basis for reaffiliation which is incorporated in the report of your Executive Council to this convention. After extended discussion on the subject by the Executive Council during its August meeting it was decided to submit this report to the 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor without recommendation for its consideration and action.

Printing Trades—Lithographers

While no definite progress is reported toward the final adjustment of the controversy existing between these two organizations the exigencies of wartime rendered it inadvisable on the part of the printing trades organizations to press the matter at this time. It was decided that the matter be continued status quo until after the war has been concluded.

Your Executive Council is of the opinion that the suggestion made in the letter received from Brothers Volz and Berry under date of May 24, 1943, be complied with and

carried out with the definite understanding that the respective claims of the several organizations involved and decisions heretofore rendered upon them by the Executive Council and previous conventions shall in no way be modified or be prejudiced.

Withdrawal of International Association of Machinists from Affiliation with A. F. of L.

On May 27, 1943 a letter was addressed by President Harvey Brown and Secretary Davison of the International Association of Machinists which is presented in full in the report of your Executive Council to this convention. That communication notified the Council that by a referendum vote taken among the membership of the International Association of Machinists, that organization dissociated itself from membership in the American Federation of Labor.

Your Executive Council expresses deep regret at the action thus taken. The representatives of the American Federation of Labor appealed to the officers of the I. A. of M. to reconsider their action and to withdraw its notice of withdrawal from the American Federation of Labor. It was urged that through conferences and discussion efforts be put forth to bring about a settlement of differences which had arisen between the International Association of Machinists and the international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The efforts of the officers of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Council to bring about a reaffiliation of the International Association of Machinists with the American Federation of Labor still continue.

Retirement Plan for A. F. of L. Employees

Pursuant to the instructions of the 1942 convention of the American Federation of Labor as set forth in Resolutions 23 and 24, a committee was appointed by the Executive Council for the purpose of dealing with the question of retirement compensation for employees of the American Federation of Labor. A committee has been making an investigation of retirement plans and has given consideration to a practical plan suitable for the American Federation of Labor. The committee has reported that progress is being made but it has not yet concluded its investigation and study of the question. Further report on this subject will be made at a later date.

Benefit Services of Standard National and International Unions

There is submitted without comment a chart showing benefit services of standard national and international unions which reported to the American Federation of Labor on this subject.

Social Security

Under this caption your Executive Council reports on a subject which is of vital concern to all wage earners. In this section of the report is presented a comprehensive explanation of the proposed A. F. of L. amendments to the existing Social Security Law. These proposed amendments have been embodied in a bill known as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. In the report of your Executive Council under the general caption of "National Legislation" there is presented a detailed explanation of the bill section by section. These two sections of the Council Report are commended to your serious consideration.

Wage and Hour Administration

This section of the report of the Executive Council deals with the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act which was enacted in 1938. It should be noted that \$16,798,000 was paid to the workers in back pay for the violation of minimum wage and overtime provisions of this law, together with those of the Public Contracts Act. No separate figures are available on the amount of restitutions voluntarily agreed to by employers under the Wage and Hour Law.

Labor Standards on Government Contracts

Under this title attention is called to the fact that labor standards on government contracts were given but secondary attention by the Combined Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division although enforcement of the prevailing minimum wage and overtime and other provisions of the Public Contracts Act continued to gain importance. It should be noted that of the 7,900 cases inspected, 2,600 establishments were found in violation of the law.

The Executive Council recommends that the Administrator of the Public Contracts Act be strongly urged to revive and fully extend the operation of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act to the end that minimum labor standards required by the statute be given full application to all government contracts.

National Labor Relations Board

In its report on this subject there is presented the continued unhappy experiences which the American Federation of Labor has had with the National Labor Relations Board. The most outstanding proceeding of the year which is submitted as evidence of the anti-American Federation of Labor attitude of the Board is that of the action of that Board attacking the contract entered into between the Kaiser Shipbuilding Com-

pany and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Because of its significance to the entire American Federation of Labor, a history of this important case and its outcome is commended to your thoughtful consideration.

There is also included in the report on "National Legislation" a section dealing with the efforts of the Federation to stop the raiding tactics of the National Labor Relations Board against American Federation of Labor affiliates.

National Legislation

Since the American Federation of Labor is vitally concerned in the national legislative field there is included in the report of the Executive Council a comprehensive survey of the legislative activities of the Federation during the past year.

Under the caption "Anti-Labor Legislation" is presented a compilation of anti-labor bills presented in the present Congress showing the identifying bill number, subject and status of the bill as of September 15, 1943, the time of writing. The special section under this general caption is devoted to Federation activity in securing ample appropriations for all bureaus, agencies and departments of the government handling matters of special interest to Labor.

Immigration and Naturalization

The present agitation for a lowering of the immigration bars is a serious menace to the post-war adjustments which still face us when millions of our armed forces and the adjustment of industry from a war to a peacetime basis will create an unemployment problem which will probably transcend all previously known. It would be absolutely impossible to absorb the millions now desirous of migrating to the United States. To bring graphically to your attention the present trend toward a relaxation of the immigration bars there is given a tabulation of laws already proposed. The problems involved in the present pro-Chinese sentiment in our country is considered in the discussion of the Oriental Exclusion Law.

Special sections of the report on national legislation cover activities for the benefit of Federal Employees, special proposals for the District of Columbia, and the Canal Zone. A section of the report is also devoted to war housing. In anticipation of post-war adjustments there has been introduced in the Congress a bill authorizing \$1,000,000,000 for federal loans to assist local communities in post-war housing developments. In addition 150 million for federal aid to local communities for land acquisition and redevelopment and 25 million to aid in local community planning is requested in a bill introduced in the Senate.

In the section under the sub-head of "Miscellaneous" will be found reports on a number of legislative proposals which are of special interest to Labor which do not fall in the special classifications otherwise listed.

State Labor Legislation

Attention is directed to the fact that under cover of the war emergency some state legislatures have seized the opportunity to impair and permanently weaken protective labor standards. These trends are dealt with in the section of the report under this caption, while an analysis of both federal and state anti-labor laws is presented in a special section of the report so captioned. In this portion of the report a rather detailed description of the most important anti-labor bills is given including a resume state by state of anti-labor laws either enacted or proposed.

Labor and the Anti-Trust Suits and Prosecutions

Your Executive Council expresses the conviction that the time is fast approaching when the final chapter will be written in the legal attack upon Labor's fundamental rights through civil and criminal prosecutions instituted by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice. In this section of the report there is presented for your information an explanation of the civil suits instituted against the American Federation of Musicians and the Brotherhood of Painters with many of its affiliates jointly with employers associations in the San Francisco Bay area.

Legal Activities

In this section is presented a very brief accounting of the general activities of the general counsel of the American Federation of Labor in the handling of legal problems. It will be noted that our general counsel is cooperating with the several state federations of labor in the fight being waged against anti-labor legislation.

Publicity and the Labor Press

Anti-Labor propaganda gained new momentum during the past year with enemies of Labor seizing upon every pretext to minimize Labor's service in the war program of our country. The Publicity and Information Service of the Federation has been diligently working to counteract unfair aspersions on the patriotism and loyalty of the workers by publicizing proofs of the constructive service and unswerving loyalty shown by the workers in the entire war effort.

The radio programs conducted throughout the past year have greatly aided our informational activities. Appreciation is expressed to the National Broadcasting Company for making this broadcast time available without charge.

Appreciation is likewise expressed for the service rendered by the Labor Press which served the nation's workers within the past year even more effectively than ever before.

American Federationist

Your Executive Council has noted the fact that the **FEDERATIONIST** during the past year has concentrated chiefly upon the objective of presenting the various aspects of the vitally important part which American labor is playing on both the home front and the battle front.

It should also be noted that the "**Federationist**" is now on sale at selected news stands in some two-score major cities. Trade unionists are urged to stimulate news stand demand for the "**Federationist**" in their respective communities.

Labor's Monthly Survey

In addition to interpreting events important to Labor the Survey has filled a particularly useful function this year by publishing results of union cost-of-living studies, by advising local unions, central bodies, etc., of various special ways to serve on manpower committees, rationing boards and other war agencies. There is also being included in this monthly publication sections on post-war planning, living standards data on different countries of the world, and other matters of general interest and concern to the workers.

Education

Your Executive Council has presented a comprehensive report on the general subject of education, calling attention to trends in the field of education with special reference to school finances, more adequate pay for teachers, training and rehabilitation of workers and soldiers in the post-war period, industrial rehabilitation, apprenticeship, vocational education, etc. Attention is also called to the move now being made to include a Department of Education in any agency which may replace the League of Nations which was formed following the close of World War I. This is a matter of vital importance to Labor throughout the world and should be supported with the definite understanding that its activities should focus primarily on research and clearance functions and not be used for any plan to impose cultures or ideologies upon nations or regimes.

A report is included on the Harvard Trade Union Fellowship plan which was put into operation during the past year. Approval and support is urged for the project.

Workers Education Bureau

Under this title will be found the accounting of the Workers Education Bureau to the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor. It will be noted that during the year there was a change in the directorship of the Bureau through the resignation of Spencer Miller, Jr. and the selection of John D. Connors as his successor in office.

The A. F. of L. and War Service

Your Executive Council has submitted a very comprehensive and informative report of the activities of the American Federation of Labor in the war service of our nation. It is encouraging to note that at the national level there has been some progress in securing acceptance of the principle of labor cooperation through representatives of their own choosing as in the Combined War Labor Board, National War Labor Board, the Office of Price Administration, the War Production Board, and the War Manpower Commission. There are also a group of union representatives cooperating with the Treasury Department on war bonds and savings campaigns.

Combined War Labor Board

Eight meetings of this Board were held during the past year, at which government labor policies and the functioning processes of governmental agencies which deal with subjects of interest to Labor and which affect its economic status were considered. Recommendations regarding Labor's point of view upon anti-labor legislation, control of food prices by the government, policies pursued by the Director of Stabilization and the Economic Stabilization Board, the chairman of the War Manpower Commission, the chairman of the War Mobilization Board, and decisions made and policies pursued by the War Labor Board were presented by members of the Combined Labor War Board to the President at these conferences and at meetings which took place. These have afforded Labor an opportunity to present its views in order to bring about a better understanding on the part of the government of the attitude of Labor toward the constantly changing economic conditions which have taken place during the war period.

National War Labor Board

Between January 12, 1942, and the time of the preparation of the report of the Executive Council the National War Labor Board had settled approximately 400 disputes involving nearly a million workers represented by American Federation of Labor unions. On October 2, 1942, the Board was given the added responsibility of passing on requests for adjustment of all wages and of most salaries under \$5,000. Control of other salary adjustments is under the Bureau of Internal Revenue. These new duties greatly increased the work of the Board and it was deemed advisable to set up regional boards with power to rule on voluntary wage adjustments, which authority was later augmented to include the making of final decisions on dispute cases subject to certain powers of review by and appeal to the National Board. There are twelve regional boards composed of equal numbers of labor, public, and industry representatives.

In the sub-sections titled "Little Steel Formula", "Wage Incentives Within Plants",

"Sub-Standard Wages" and "Effective Prosecution of the War" the very important question of wage adjustments and the maintenance of union membership and the union shop in war plants is briefly discussed.

War Production Board

War production is of greatest importance to the successful conclusion of the war. The establishment of the Management-Labor Council of the War Production Board marked a step forward in the development of sound relations between government and industry and the example thus set is recommended to the many thousands of plant managements which have failed to establish labor-management committees to promote the war production drive.

In the sub-section titled "Management-Labor Council" there is set forth for your information a description of the structure and activities of this very important Council.

Under the sub-heading "Office of Labor Production—Functions and Organization" there is presented to the convention a very comprehensive report on this vitally important agency. Because of its significance to the wage earners the report on this subject is more in detail than is possible on all agencies. The various sub-divisions of the Office of Labor Production are described in the report.

Manpower

As is well known, the problem of recruiting and training adequate forces to meet the manpower needs of our nation in its war effort is one that has required serious and careful thought and planning. In its report on this subject, your Executive Council submits a comparatively concise yet over-all covering of this problem. The several proposals which have been put forth for the solution of our manpower shortages in this country are presented for your thoughtful consideration, including importation of foreign workers; the use of furloughed soldiers and prisoners of war; the development of stabilization programs; controlling hiring through the U. S. Employment Service; use of women and younger people in industry; manpower and economic stabilization; and consideration of national service legislation.

War Housing

The inadequacy of our war housing program is deplored by your Executive Council. It is pointed out that this problem has received the least consideration in the mobilization of our country for war though it is most important in the recruitment of war workers for essential jobs and in the ability of these workers to keep up a sustained maximum contribution to war production. The results of the lack of proper consideration for this problem have been reflected in many ways, notably in abnormal rates of absenteeism and unprecedented labor turnover. It is pointed out that shortages of housing and transportation have been

established beyond dispute as the prime factors in the slackening of the pace in war production in many localities in the late summer of 1943.

Attention is directed to the fact that although war housing is of greater concern to the workers than to any other group, Labor has been denied representation or participation even in an advisory or consultative capacity at both the national and local levels of the N.H.A., whose administration is directly to blame for the continued critical housing problem according to the findings of your Executive Council. The functions of the National Housing Agency are described rather fully in this section of the report.

Rent Control

Closely allied with the housing problem is control of rents for it has been estimated that rents constitute one-fifth of the living costs of the wage earners family. In the section of the report of your Executive Council under this title there is presented for your information a statement dealing with the activities of the O.P.A. in the control of rents. Attention is called to the fact that there has been a drive on the part of real estate interests to do away with rent control entirely. This drive has been countered by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor which has pressed for extension of the rent control program and its enforcement.

President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices

The direct and whole-hearted participation of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in the work of the Fair Employment Practices Committee has been based on recognition of the fact that race discrimination in war employment is inconsistent with the nation's foremost objectives in a war for survival of democracy. Your Executive Council expresses the belief that such discrimination is not only contrary to individual human rights affirmed by our Constitution and basic to our institutions, but is also a serious threat to national unity during and after the war.

The Executive Council reiterates its belief that discriminatory denial of work opportunity to any person because of race, creed, or color is inconsistent with the principles of industrial democracy and trade union practice which the American Federation of Labor has championed since its inception and recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to intensify and extend their efforts to secure complete acceptance of our non-discrimination policy by all affiliates. Your Council, however, does not believe that imposition of any policy no matter how salutary, through compulsory government control of freely constituted associations of workers accords with the basic right of freedom of association among American people. The Executive Council advocates strong exception to the compulsory imposition upon unions of this or any other policy interfering

with the self-government of labor organizations.

International

In reporting on its activities in the international field, your Council presents very interesting and informative accounts under the captions INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION, INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADE UNION COMMITTEE, COORDINATOR OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, BOLIVIAN LABOR COMMISSION, and FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

Price Control and Rationing

The continuing disparity between rigid wage stabilization and loose and ineffective price stabilization is of deep concern to the nation's wage earners. For this reason the subject-matter of this section of the report is of especial concern. It will be noted that in the opinion of your Executive Council it is of foremost importance to Labor in the administration of both price control and rationing that we have a strong local organization of Labor in every community, equipped to deal with consumer problems. Direct participation by representatives of our unions and by members of women's auxiliaries on war price and rationing panels and on local boards is urged as being of major importance. It will be noted that the Council recommends that all central labor unions, state federations of labor, national and international unions, form consumer committees equipped to serve our membership in dealing directly and effectively with price, cost of living and rationing problems as these arise under war conditions.

War Bond Campaign

Attention is directed to the fact that ever since its inception the organized labor movement has endorsed and supported the voluntary war bond campaign. The U. S. Treasury Department has estimated that at least 300 million dollars per month of the total of 420 million per month which is being invested in war bonds comes from members of organized labor. This is indeed a very gratifying record.

Post-War Planning

In conformity with action taken by the Toronto, 1942 convention, a committee was appointed to evolve policies for the guidance of the American Federation of Labor in the post-war period. Under the above caption the report of that committee is submitted for your information and consideration.

It will be seen from the sub-section titled "Post-War Problems" that due cognizance is being taken of the problems involved in the transition from war to peacetime production

as they will effect the wage earners. It is estimated that approximately 30 million persons will be affected in the change-over from war to peace, for whom jobs must be found. To meet this situation your Executive Council believes that an adequate national employment service should be provided. Attention is also directed to the importance that should be attached to plans for revitalizing the labor movement so that it can resume its normal functions which have necessarily been subjected to certain restrictions during wartime.

While our nation's foreign policy is formulated by the Executive Branch of our government, subject to approval by Congress, organized labor is deeply concerned that the will of the people shall continue to control decisions in our democratic country. The wage earners hope that we can avail ourselves of the opportunity at the end of the war to establish agencies and understandings so that we can regularly consider policies and situations and make decisions that will at least minimize the necessity for future wars.

Labor realizes that many decisions are now being made that will condition terms of peace and urges that representatives of civilian groups vitally concerned by these decisions be included in the delegations representing our country in international conferences. These and other important subjects are covered in this very important section of the report of your Executive Council.

Plans for post-war housing should play an important role in proper planning for the transition period following the close of the war. Advance planning in this direction will greatly aid in minimizing widespread post-war unemployment. The Council recommends that a continuing program be developed by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor to assist in the establishment of active local labor housing committees by central bodies, and to encourage the establishment of housing committees by the affiliated national and international unions.

Reports of A. F. of L. Departments

Under this caption will be found reports from the several Departments of the American Federation of Labor—the Metal Trades Department, Union Label Trades Department, Building and Construction Trades Department, and the Railway Employees Department. These are very gratifying and informative. There is also included in this section interesting and informative reports from the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor, and reports on Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands.

Conclusion

In concluding its report, your Executive Council directs attention to the fact that "the future grows out of the present" and we must be "vigilant to guard principles so that future progress may be sound." The concluding paragraph summarizes the entire report in substance with the statement:

"Our Federation has been tested to the utmost in performing its responsibilities of war leadership in new problems and in new fields. The labor movement has demonstrated its capacity for leadership and self-discipline and these capacities will enable us to meet the problems and needs of the coming months of adjustment as well as the opportunities of the peace to come."

President Green: The condensed report of the Executive Council's Report, as submitted by Delegate Duffy, will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention. I want to thank Brother Duffy for the service he rendered in submitting this condensed report.

Permit me to announce a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at the close of tomorrow morning's session—a special meeting of the Executive Council.

The chair recognizes the Secretary for a report on resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Meany: The following resolutions have been received within the time limit specified in the Constitution and do not therefore require unanimous consent:

War Labor Board Wage Rate Brackets

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, A situation has arisen which requires prompt action to preserve the rights of all International Unions, and

WHEREAS, We find the Regional War Labor Boards are setting up as they call, sound and tested going rates, and said rates will affect all organizations going before the Regional Board; the rates set up being non-union rates. For instance, the New York City Board has set up classes A, B, and C for Polishers when during the entire history of the organization one minimum rate has always been established. With the approved change it will be necessary not alone to combat the employer but also the Regional Board as the sound and tested rates are not the ones paid by the industry and negotiated by agreement, and

WHEREAS, There has also just been released a sound and tested going rate for the foundries of Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus and Toledo, Ohio; in these rates there being three different classes of molders—floor, bench and machine—floor \$1.10; bench \$1.00; machine 90 cents. The same applies to core-makers only the low rate is 80 cents; then they are classed as A and B mechanics. The

above are the rates for common laborers. Yet this same Regional Board in Cleveland approved a minimum rate of \$1.17½ for all molders and coremakers with no classes and 72½ cents as a minimum for common laborers. Such a policy is not a sound and tested one as those who prepare the wage data go to the non-union plants and then, without consulting the unions, they proceed to say these are the sound and tested rates for the industry, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Mass., in October, 1943, protest this method adopted by the Regional War Labor Boards in securing these rates and setting up different classifications affecting skilled trades.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Hatch Act

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The right of the citizen to vote, freely express his opinion on political questions, whether it be in private conversation or in public discussions, and to join with his fellow citizens in organizing for political purposes, must be regarded as a right never to be abridged, if we accept the theory that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and

WHEREAS, By means of the bridgement of the right of the citizen to fully exercise his citizenship, small but powerful economic groups have succeeded in many instances in controlling elections, and

WHEREAS, Government employes for many years have been subjected to a constant and increasing encroachment upon their rights as American citizens by the enactment of laws which have restricted their right to participate in political activities vital to their interests, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Mass., in October, 1943, go on record as urging the restoration to all government employes of full citizenship rights, including the right to vote, the right of free speech on public questions, and the right to join with their fellow citizens in organizing for political purposes, and be it further

RESOLVED, That to this end this convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the repeal of the so-called Hatch Act, and other legislative restrictions placed upon political activities on the part of government employes.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Twenty-Five Year Optional Retirement for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of the white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th Session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be the most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employes now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employes do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Acts but have a special Retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code; June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, 25 years of service and with full annuity, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to present legislation which will provide for an earlier retirement age with full annuity for years of service for the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Free Hospitalization for Civilian Government Workers on the Isthmus of Panama

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Military personnel are provided with free hospitalization during the war, and

WHEREAS, Many civilian employees of the Government on the Isthmus of Panama are doing work considered as vital and necessary to the war effort in their Government positions, and

WHEREAS, Many of these employees, because of arduous duties, long hours of overtime, unusual working hours, and the effects of the tropical climate, are suffering from maladies not directly traceable to their occupation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, give consideration to legislation which will make it possible for all Government employees considered as engaged on war or defense work to obtain free hospitalization in Government hospitals.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Public Service Hospitalization for Marine Employees

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In order to be eligible for hospital treatment through public health service facilities, a seaman must either be employed on board in the care, preservation or navigation of any registered, enrolled, or licensed vessel of the United States, or as provided in the Act of March 21, 1936, otherwise known as the "Eland Act", be employed on Government vessels not in the military or naval establishments, and

WHEREAS, This Bland Act specifically excludes personnel of such vessels belonging to the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, and

WHEREAS, In general the Public Health Service considers vessels of the Panama Canal or Panama Railroad to be public vessels, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, assist any attempt made by representatives of the Canal Zones Central Labor Union to obtain authority, either by legislation or Executive Order, which will provide that licensed officers and American seamen of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad will be furnished free hospitalization in Canal Zone hospitals.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Replacement of Aliens by American Citizens After the War

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In Panama Canal, Panama Railroad, and allied positions on the Isthmus of Panama there are thousands of aliens holding positions in both "gold" and "silver" categories (United States citizens and aliens) in skilled, semi-skilled, and office work, and

WHEREAS, After the war emergency is over a reduction of force will be due, and

WHEREAS, A similar reduction in force will take place about the same time in Government institutions in the United States, and

WHEREAS, There would be no object in sending personnel back to the United States from the Canal Zone to swell the unemployment lists in the United States, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure enactment of legislation which will give United States citizens preference in all skilled, semi-skilled, and office position on the Isthmus of Panama when the war emergency is over.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Compensation for Death or Injury in Line of Duty

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States vetoed H.R. 1712 (A Bill to provide relief of families of two Government employees killed in line of duty because of the war effort), and

WHEREAS, The President in his veto message stated, "If it should be the feeling of Congress that additional benefits beyond those provided by the present Employees Compensation Act should be made available to civilian employees of the Federal Government who are engaged in the performance of unusually hazardous duties, it would appear that these benefits should be provided by way of general legislation which would accord uniform treatment in this respect to all civilian employees," and

WHEREAS, It is to be expected that during this session of Congress some legislation will be considered providing for the relief of families of Government employees killed under unusually hazardous conditions in line of duty due to the war effort, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to take the necessary steps so that such legislation as may be enacted covers the families of Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Extension of Existing 40-Hour Week Law

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The present 40-hour week law is only temporary, with a provision that it continue in effect only until June 30, 1945, and

WHEREAS, A similar law, known as Section 23 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1935 (Thomas 40-Hour Week Amendment), afforded great relief of unemployment in certain classes of positions during the depression, and

WHEREAS, Similar unemployment conditions can be expected on the cessation of the present war, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention as-

sembled, take steps to insure a continuation of the shorter work week, not to exceed 40 hours, for all Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama who are citizens of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Marine War Risk Insurance

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Serious marine accidents have occurred in waters under control of the Canal Zone Government, and

WHEREAS, Life insurance becomes inoperative when a marine employee enters a danger zone such as a mine field, and

WHEREAS, A seamen's war risk policy is issued by the War Shipping Administration, and

WHEREAS, Marine men working for the United States Government on the Isthmus of Panama should have similar protection when working through danger zones, and

WHEREAS, Such positions should include pilots, towboat personnel and those of dredge-crane, derricks, barges, and allied positions, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to furnish every possible assistance to labor representatives from the Canal Zone who are attempting to have such marine war risk insurance apply to Government personnel in tropical service on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Increasing Injury and Death Compensation for Government Employees

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Injury and death compensation in Government service is based on average earnings of Government employees, and

WHEREAS, The Compensation Act was amended February 12, 1927, increasing the monthly compensation for total disability from \$66.66 to \$116.66, and

WHEREAS, Organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad believe that compensation for injury and death should follow the general trend of increases, both in wages and cost of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to secure the enactment of legislation which will follow out the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Overtime Pay Regulations on Panama Canal

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Time keeping regulations on the Panama Canal provide that when an hourly employee is prevented from working on a holiday occurring during the regular five day work week from Monday to Friday, and then works on Saturday, he receives overtime pay for the Saturday worked at the rate of time and one-half, and

WHEREAS, When the same employee works on a holiday occurring during a regular work week, he is paid at straight time for that holiday, but when required to work the Saturday at the end of the same work week he is also paid only at straight time, and

WHEREAS, The hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad desire that regulations be adopted which will include holidays in the 40-hour work week, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to render all possible assistance to provide that a holiday worked within a regular work week be considered as a 9-hour period in the regular 40-hour week.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The present National Administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location, a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act specifically gives the Federal employee the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War, to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed

to proceed to Washington, under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Panama Canal Employees Substituting in Supervisory Positions Should Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Pay While on Leave

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Panama Canal regulations provide that hourly employees on leave may receive only six days' pay for every seven days of leave, and

WHEREAS, Each day per week is paid for at the regular day's earnings except Saturday, which is considered a "G" or non-work day, and

WHEREAS, Hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are being penalized to the extent of one day of leave for every seven taken, and

WHEREAS, Attempts to correct the situation through decisions from the Comptroller General have failed, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do everything in their power to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union to obtain by legal means payment for every day of leave taken by hourly employees, or authority for granting the additional day without charge against leave credit.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Amendment to Communications Act

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In its 1942 report, the Building and Construction Trades Department pointed out in detail the vast potential possibilities of post-war building trades employment in the indicated development of the television, frequency modulation and electronic industries, and

WHEREAS, The expansion of radio broadcasting, television, frequency modulation, facsimile, and allied electronic services can best be furthered through the broadest possible application of the traditional American free enterprise principle, and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court, in its decision of May, 1943, has so interpreted the present Federal Communications Act as to empower the Commission to take practically any action it chooses with reference to radio program material and the business relationships of broadcasters, with a resulting serious threat of governmental domination of broadcasting content, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges that the Congress of the United States should, at the earliest possible date, assure the preservation of freedom of speech on the air waves by enacting changes in the present Communications Act prescribing the limits of government supervision of the radio and allied industries, and definitely safeguarding broadcasting from any actual or implied government censorship authority over program content. By such reconsideration of the Act, we believe, a secure foundation may be laid for the post-war expansion of the radio, television and other new electronic industries upon a free and constructive competitive basis.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Democracy for Italy

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, American Labor has, from the very moment that fascism reared its ugly head in Italy, bitterly fought this throw-back to savagery as a sinister menace to the welfare of the Italian people and a grave threat to the peace and freedom of the world, and

WHEREAS, Under the impact of the heavy defeats inflicted on the fascist regime by the armed forces of the United Nations and the overwhelming opposition of the Italian people, and particularly Italian Labor, the infamous Mussolini dictatorship has collapsed, and

WHEREAS, the collapse of Hitler's jackal in Italy and chief lieutenant in Europe is a great contribution towards hastening a United Nations victory and the triumph of democracy over totalitarianism, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled here with notes with warm approval the consistent, fearless and vigorous struggle against Fascism waged by the **ITALIAN-AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL**, among workers of Italian origin in our own country and against the detestable totalitarian regime in Italy proper, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we also welcome the recent formation of the **AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ITALIAN DEMOCRACY** dedicated to assuring a United Nations victory, the establishment of genuine democracy in Italy, and categoric opposition to every hue and stripe of totalitarian dictatorship.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolutions Received After Expiration of Time Limit

Secretary Meany: The following resolutions have been submitted and require unanimous consent for introduction:

Special Conference of National and International Unions to Assist in Organization Drive in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Federation of Free Workingmen.

Whereas, Resolution No. 168 as unanimously approved by the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor fully authorizes the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to financially assist the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico in carrying out the work which is necessary to improve conditions of the workers of the Island, and

WHEREAS, The situation that has been confronted by the workers of Puerto Rico for so many years makes it imperative that such financial assistance be rendered now through the combined and effective efforts of the American Federation of Labor and various of the National and International Unions, so as to enable the insular labor movement to carry out an organization campaign, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Director of Organization of the American Federation of Labor be instructed, subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to call a Special Conference in Washington, D. C., of representatives of various National and International Unions having potential members in Puerto Rico, this special conference to discuss plans and ways and means to carry out such an organization drive as may be deemed necessary and convenient, and be it further

RESOLVED, That, if deemed advisable by the President of the American Federation of Labor, the Director of Organization of the American Federation of Labor be also instructed to invite to this Special Conference a representative of the Puerto Rico State Federation of Labor to present the views and plans of that body and to make those suggestions believed to be practical to carry out the purposes of this resolution, and be it further

RESOLVED, That among others that could be called to this special conference by the Director of Organization of the A. F. of L., we suggest representatives of the following National and International Organizations: International Ladies Garment Workers' Union; Cigar Makers' International Union of America; International Longshoremen's Association; Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; American Federation of Teachers; Electrical Workers' International Union; Retail Clerks; Plumbers; Hotel and Restaurant; Barbers; Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Truck drivers; Railroad workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Extension of Civil Service to Special Delivery Messengers

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor; Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Lanis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to the employees, and

WHEREAS, The position of Special Delivery Messenger in the Postal Service still remains unclassified, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its sixty-third convention, does unqualifiedly endorse either legislation, or the issuance of an Executive Order, the purpose of which is to promote or effect the extension of the classified civil service to the position of special delivery messenger in the Post Office service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Amendment to Existing Compensation Laws to Aid Ex-Servicemen

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate H. S. Jordan, Niagara Falls Federation of Labor, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

WHEREAS, After the cessation of hostilities the members of the armed forces will be looking for re-employment, and

WHEREAS, Due to curtailment of War Production, the manpower problem will no longer exist, and

WHEREAS, Management will again resort to pre-war conditions of not hiring men over the age of forty and increase the physical requirements prerequisite to employment, and

WHEREAS, Many members of the armed forces will not be able to meet the requirements brought about by the State Insurance Fund and other private Insurance Funds in relation to Workmen's Compensation Benefit, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at Convention convening at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record during the enactment of Federal Legislation supplementing existing laws relating to Compensation Insurance Fund, etc., thereby making it possible for the members of the armed forces to meet their Post-War Requirements.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Amendment to Article IV, Section 1, A.F.L. Constitution

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the American Federation of Labor Article IV, Section 1, states, "The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that

Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other trade unions, shall be eligible as delegates from federal labor unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor" and

WHEREAS, According to Article IV, Section 1, Central Labor Bodies Affiliated to the American Federation of Labor are entitled only to one regular delegate but not to an alternate delegate to American Federation of Labor Conventions, and

WHEREAS, If a regular delegate of a Central Labor Body should at the last moment be unable to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, According to Article IV, Section 2, of the American Federation of Labor Constitution "delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the secretary-treasurer of this body immediately after their election," and

WHEREAS, Lack of time would prevent a Central Labor Body from selecting another delegate which would leave a Central Body unrepresented at an American Federation of Labor Convention, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor amend Article IV, Section 1, of the American Federation of Labor Constitution to permit the simultaneous election of both a regular delegate and an alternate delegate from each Central Body.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Congressional Abuse of Franking Privilege

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Members of Congress of the United States are permitted to send official letters free under United States Postal Frank, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Hamilton Fish, Congressman from the 26th Congressional District of the State of New York has permitted and is still permitting the use of his Postal Frank by persons inimical to the interests of the United States in spite of the fact that many of the persons so accommodated by Mr. Fish are openly sympathetic to Nazism and Fascism, and

WHEREAS, We members of the Poughkeepsie, New York, Trades and Labor Council,

together with other voters in Mr. Fish's own constituency are truly ashamed of this notorious activity of Mr. Fish, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor call upon the Congress of the United States to investigate this un-American abuse of an American privilege, and be it further

RESOLVED, That legal action be taken under the Espionage Act, or any other appropriate law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AFL Press Service for the Armed Forces

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There are already over 7,000,000 men in the Armed Forces of the United States and this number will be soon increased to 11,000,000 according to the plans of the War Department, and

WHEREAS, These American Forces are stationed in military and Naval Bases throughout the world where sources of information concerning the home front are largely controlled by Syndicated Press Services, and

WHEREAS, Home-front news received by our troops is frequently anti-labor in character creating in most cases a false picture which does not in any sense reflect labor's true participation in the war effort, and

WHEREAS, The intent and purpose of this flood of anti-labor news furnished to the troops is to establish the political basis for the defeat of those gains in social legislation obtained for working people in the United States by the Trade Union Movement, and

WHEREAS, Open-Shoppers will thus attempt to utilize returning troops to organize a drive against union labor such as occurred after World War I, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to plan and prepare a Labor Press Service to be sent as a regular mailing to union members and their relatives in the Armed Forces presenting the true picture of the contribution of American Labor to the War effort.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Repeal of Smith-Connally Bill

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Never before in the history of our country have we been faced with as great a problem as at present which calls for our wholehearted support and unity of action, and

WHEREAS, Labor, in an effort to do its part, unselfishly pledged to have no strikes for the duration of our national emergency, and

WHEREAS, Labor has adhered to its pledge and the amount of man-hours lost because of strikes has dwindled to less than one-five-hundredth of one per cent of the man-hours lost in peacetime, and

WHEREAS, The passage of such an anti-labor legislation as the Smith-Connally Bill has greatly impeded the honest and sincere efforts that labor is making to help our nation in its hour of need and fosters bitter resentment among the laboring people to the extent that our efforts will be diverted from our most important task which is to work toward a speedy and victorious conclusion of the war, and

WHEREAS, Since the passage of this bill there have been more unions asking for the Federal Government to conduct a strike vote among their members than if this bill had not become a law, and there would be no thought of even taking a strike vote let alone having a strike sanctioned according to the provisions of the Smith-Connally law, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record requesting the repeal of this anti-labor law, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call for the defeat of those Senators and Representatives who voted for its passage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Our Nation is engaged in a war for the preservation of democracy and the defeat of Nazism and its medieval theory of race superiority, and

WHEREAS, We cannot conduct a democratic war abroad without practicing complete democracy at home, and it has always been the commendable position of the American Federation of Labor that the right to work or admittance into Union membership should not be based on race, creed, color, or national origin, and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has deemed it necessary to issue Executive Order No. 8802, as well as to set into motion a governmental body known as the "Fair Employment Practices Committee" to assure that there will be no discrimination in industry on the grounds of race, creed, color, or national origin, and

WHEREAS, In spite of this clear policy in the interests of justice and national unity in war, some few locals in the American Federation of Labor are following contrary pol-

icies of either not accepting minorities into their Unions or putting them into auxiliaries, thus aiding the Fascists who claim this country is not truly democratic and defaming the name of the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as

1. Opposing all discrimination based upon race, color, creed, or national origin;
2. Calling upon all the Internationals and their affiliated unions to accept all workers into membership without discrimination or segregation, and
3. Calling for complete support and cooperation of all unions with the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Unity

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates W. G. Desepete, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, America was never in greater need of unity on its home front that it is now, in order to repel the attacks of its enemies and to properly execute a victorious offensive against them, and

WHEREAS, The call for Labor Unity issued by President Roosevelt has received the warm response of William Green of the A. F. of L. and Philip Murray of the C.I.O., and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions have strengthened our war effort by establishing working unity committees, joint labor endorsements, and other forms of essential cooperation throughout the entire country, and

WHEREAS, In this very trying period for democracy everywhere, it is the foremost duty of organized labor regardless of union affiliation to do everything in its power to defeat barbaric fascist reaction, which can most effectively be accomplished through the unity of the labor movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor resolve to do all in its power to aid in making labor unity a working reality in their community, and urge all success to the negotiations between the committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Cooperation with President Roosevelt

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates W. G. Desepete, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has amply demonstrated his spirit and understanding of our problems and has consistently held a progressive and far-sighted view on domestic and foreign matters, and

WHEREAS, Certain Tory labor-baiting politicians oppose the nation's war effort and the President's Victory program as shown through their opposition to the Administration's foreign policy, their appeasement on the home front, in their scuttling of President Roosevelt's seven-point Economic program, to freeze wages, to pass repressive anti-labor legislation, and to alienate Labor's allies by refusal to pass the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, and

WHEREAS, Labor has given full cooperation to the President and to our Government in bringing about increases in production of the essential instruments of war, in the elimination of work stoppages, and in other ways, and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has proven his support to organized labor and his obligation to all working people by vetoing anti-labor legislation such as the Smith-Connally Bill and by his support of the O.P.A. in its struggle to establish subsidies and an adequate and effective roll-back in prices, and

WHEREAS, The successful prosecution of the war demands that all Americans give full cooperation to their Commander-in-Chief, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in his conduct of the war, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge to our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, its full cooperation and support of his administration by aiding in the establishment of adequate subsidies and the effort the O.P.A. is making to roll back prices, to the end that our efforts will be crowned with Victory, and the war will end with the complete destruction of the anti-democratic forces which are seeking to enslave the free peoples of the world, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to President Roosevelt.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Poll Tax Repeal

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates W. G. Desepete, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Discrimination against the South's poor white and Negro people has long been a blight on our country's democratic principles, and the poll-tax law in the South is a particularly flagrant manifestation of such discrimination, and

WHEREAS, The Nation recognizes the important contribution the Negro people are making and can make to the nation's war effort, and

WHEREAS, Some of the most anti-labor, anti-social legislation is endorsed, initiated, and pushed through Congress by poll-tax representatives and senators, such as Repre-

sentative Cotton Ed Smith of Virginia and Senator Tom Connally of Texas, authors of the anti-labor Smith-Connally Bill, elected in many cases by only eight per cent of their constituents, and all such legislation impedes the war effort and serves as a severe blow to national unity, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has taken a firm and concrete stand against the poll tax as a requisite for voting; and many people have called the poll tax a Negro issue as it is particularly hard on Negroes because they are the poorest in the South, and yet the fact remains that it disfranchises six whites to every four Negroes, and

WHEREAS, The passage of the anti-poll-tax bill, HR 7, by the House of Representatives was the first step and is now being held up in the Senate, a bill that would serve to more completely involve in the nation's war effort against the Axis those ten million citizens living in seven Southern states, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of the passage of the anti-poll tax bill, HR 7, and urge the passage of the bill and use their influence to have HR 7 reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee without hearings, without amendment, without delay, and to vote for cloture which limits debate, and to continue to vote for cloture until the filibuster is broken, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to U. S. Senators, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, President Roosevelt, and to the International, urging that they take similar action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Opposing National Sales Tax

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, The reactionaries and defeatists in Congress have created a false impression of the inflation issue and are now drawing up a tax bill that does not meet the needs of the nation through the mutilation of the Treasury Department's Tax program, and

WHEREAS, They are pushing, as a substitute, a sales tax on the whole people, and

WHEREAS, The sales tax will throw the burden of the tax program on the lower income groups, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposed to any sales tax and send letters to all the Representatives and Senators, so notifying them of our position, and bend our efforts to have Congress adopt measures that will prohibit any unbearable burden of taxes on the lower income groups.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Financial Assistance to Seafarers International Union in Organ- izing Workers in Fishing Industry

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Harry Lundeborg, Patrick McHugh, John Mogan, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The members of the Executive Committee of the Seafarers' International Union of North America has petitioned the American Federation of Labor for assistance in organizing a large group of 30,000 workers in the fishing industry from Brownsville, Texas, at the Mexican Border to Norfolk, Virginia, and throughout the Pacific Coast and Alaskan territories, and

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International Union of North American has established local unions throughout the Nation, some of which have been operated with only partial success, while local unions in the New England states and Pacific Coast Ports have been operated with total success, and

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International Union has striven diligently to organize the fishing industry, and

WHEREAS, Their financial ability is so limited as to prohibit an organizing drive on a large scale, due to the fluctuating operations such as confront the seamen, fishermen and fish cannery workers during the war period, and

WHEREAS, They have extensive information regarding the fishing industry, and

WHEREAS, They have definite proof that wholesale exploitation is taking place relative to the fishermen who deliver the catch, and

WHEREAS, Large groups of these fishermen live on incomes which are actually lower than those of the sharecroppers of the deep south, and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, further petition the American Federation of Labor to lend assistance in a problem involving Towboatmen, which problem has arisen in the past few months and is due solely to the war effort and enemy submarine activities, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has constructed some 500 new tug boats and large numbers of oil barges which are to be operated on our inland waterways, and

WHEREAS, They have been successful in establishing a Towboatmen's Union in New Orleans, Louisiana, with some of the major operators in the peacetime period, and

WHEREAS, It now develops that these new oil barges are to be operated on a twelve-hour work day basis, and

WHEREAS, They find that the Government agencies have awarded these barges to companies having a twelve-hour work day and no union relations, and

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International Union is unable to effect this widespread organizing campaign at this critical time, and

WHEREAS, Their sea-going members are being shifted from one part of the nation to another, and

WHEREAS, Because of the war they are compelled to establish temporary offices and move out to little ports never before heard of, which has involved an increase in personnel and a corresponding increase in overhead expense, and

WHEREAS, They find that the amount of revenue the international has on hand with which to operate renders the situation to an impossible status, and

WHEREAS, They further feel that unless the American Federation of Labor can come to their rescue in this war emergency that some dual or would-be dual union is likely to intervene, and

WHEREAS, A Federally owned Corporation known as Federal Barge Lines, which operates all traffic on the Mississippi River has established an eight hour day with overtime in excess of eight hours, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor now in convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record to give the Seafarers' International Union of North America the necessary financial assistance to carry through to a successful conclusion an organizing campaign among the fishermen, bargemen, and towboatmen in the above mentioned field.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Prison Labor

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Joseph P. McCurdy, A. Adamski, W. R. Brooks, George C. Slater, Anne Peterson, United Garment Workers of America.

WHEREAS, It has been reported by the OWI, as late as September 14, 1943, that more than 160,000 prisoners in 100 state prisons are producing war goods for the Army, Navy and Maritime Commission, and

WHEREAS, On July 9, 1942, Federal restrictions on the sale of convict-made goods to Federal agencies were suspended for the duration by Executive order, and

WHEREAS, To date, war contracts totaling nearly \$11,000,000 have been awarded to prisons, and

WHEREAS, Before the war, prison industries were prohibited from competing with free labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Sixty-third Convention assembled, go on record to use every possible effort to eliminate manufacturing in prisons

in competition with free labor immediately upon the termination of hostilities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing War-Time Prohibition

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Sol Cilento, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, There has been considerable activity on the part of the "Dry" forces throughout the United States to enact legislation which will prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages, and

WHEREAS, The "Dry" forces have been successful in many local communities in the United States to cause, not only unnecessary and unwarranted restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages, but in many towns the actual and complete prohibition of the sale of beer, wine and liquor, and

WHEREAS, There are upwards of ten million men serving in the Armed Forces of the United States away from their home communities in camps in the United States and in many lands across the seas, and

WHEREAS, Scores of thousands of workers engaged in war production are away from their legal voting residences, and

WHEREAS, The "Stars and Stripes", the daily newspaper of the Armed Forces in Europe, commenting on the subject of prohibition and the activities of the "Drys", has stated, "We feel those at home should wait until we return before initiating legislation on liquor control", and

WHEREAS, A strong movement on the part of the "Dry" forces to take advantage of this situation, resulting from millions of voters being away from their homes, is gaining dangerous proportions, and

WHEREAS, The distilling industry, since October 8th, 1942, has not distilled one drop of whiskey, and

WHEREAS, The distilling industry has, since October 8th, 1942, been on a 24-hour-a-day, seven-days-a-week basis, producing alcohol solely for the War effort, such alcohol being used in the manufacture of smokeless powders, munitions, synthetic rubber, medicine and other necessities of War, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, in Boston, Massachusetts, go on record opposing the passage of any bills which would restrict or prohibit the manufacture, sale or distribution of alcoholic beverages in the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we strongly urge that all local prohibition elections be postponed until all the workers and persons in the Armed Forces return to their homes so that they may have an opportunity to express at the polls their views on the issue of prohibition.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Restrictions on Sale of Alcoholic Beverages

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Sol Cilento, Distillery Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Many bills have been introduced into the Congress of the United States for the purpose of creating prohibited areas in the vicinity of Army Camps and Navy Bases in which areas beer, wine, and liquor may not be sold legally, and

WHEREAS, The military and naval authorities have publicly expressed themselves opposing attempts of the "Drys" to restrict the sale of alcoholic beverages in the areas and vicinity of Army Camps and Navy bases because such laws would be "harmful to the men in the Service", and

WHEREAS, The Commander-in-Chief and the Camp Commanders now have full and complete authority to protect the men of the Armed Forces, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, recommend to the Congress of the United States that no action be taken by that body on any measure during the existence of the present emergency which shall create such areas in the vicinity of Army Camps or Navy Bases prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: Are there any objections to the introduction of the resolutions just read? Hearing none, they will be accepted and referred to the appropriate committees, as indicated, for consideration and report.

REFERENCES OF SECTIONS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Secretary Meany: Reference of sections of the Executive Council's Report to the various committees is indicated below:

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report

Official Changes

Resignation of Vice-President Edward J. Gainor.

Selection of Vice-President William C. Doherty.

Printing Trades—Lithographers

Trade Union Benefits

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

The A. F. of L. and War Service
Combined Labor War Board
Fraternal Delegates
War Bond Campaign
Metal Trades Department
Railway Employees' Department

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Introduction

Peace Negotiations with the C.I.O.

United Mine Workers Application for Re-affiliation

Withdrawal of International Association of Machinists from Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor

Retirement Plan for A. F. of L. Employees

Social Security

Old Age and Survivors Insurance

Unemployment Compensation

Wage and Hour Administration

Labor Standards on Government Contracts

National Labor Relations Board

National Legislation

Anti-Labor Legislation

Federal Appropriations

National Youth Administration

Office of Civilian Defense

Farm Security Administration

Inflation and Subsidies

International Labor Office

National Labor Relations Board

Federal Employees

Increased Pay for Federal Employees

Increased Pay for Postal Employees

District of Columbia

Unemployment Compensation

Regulation of Hours of Employment of Women

Salary Increases for District of Columbia

Firemen, Policemen and Teachers

Suffrage for the District of Columbia

Barbers Bill

Canal Zone

Canal Zone Teachers, Policemen and Firemen

Clerical Workers

McCarran Amendment

Home Owners' Loan Corporation

Vocational Rehabilitation—Industrial

Vocational Rehabilitation—Veterans

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

George Washington Carver Memorial

Pharmacy Corps, U. S. A.

Labor and the Anti-Trust Suits and Prosecutions

Legal Activities

Publicity and the Labor Press

American Federationist

Labor's Monthly Survey

National War Labor Board

Little Steel Formula

Wage Inequities Within Industries

Wage Inequities Within Plants
 Substandard Wages
 Effective Prosecution of the War
 War Production Board
 Management-Labor Council
 Office of Labor Production—Functions and Organization
 The Industrial Relations Division
 The Plant Productivity Division
 The Plant and Community Facilities Service
 The Shipbuilding Stabilization Division
 Manpower
 Manpower Needs in 1943
 Requirements to July, 1944
 Stringent Situation
 Decreases in Unemployment
 Womanpower
 Critical Labor Areas
 War Manpower Commission
 Importation of Foreign Workers
 Development of Lists of Essential Activities and Occupations
 Development of Stabilization Programs
 Use of Furloughed Soldiers
 Use of Prisoners of War
 Controlled Hiring through the U. S. Employment Service
 Use of Women and Younger People in Industry
 Manpower and Economic Stabilization
 Consideration of National Service Legislation
 Rent Control
 Price Control and Rationing
 Price Control
 Rationing
 President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice
 Post-War Planning
 Committee on Post-War Planning
 Post-War Problems
 Domestic
 Union Problems
 International
 Our Good Neighbor Policy
 Labor Attaches
 Post-War Housing
 Alaska
 Organization and Legislation
 Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor
 Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico
 Hawaiian Islands
 Conclusion

Referred to Committee on Organization

Organizing Activities
 New Unions
 Federal Labor Unions
 Central Labor Unions

Referred to Committee on Labels

Union Label Trades Department

Referred to Committee on Education

Education
 School Finance
 Training and Rehabilitation
 Apprenticeship
 Industrial Rehabilitation
 Vocational Education
 Education and New World Organization
 Harvard Trade Union Fellowship Plan
 Workers Education Bureau of America

Referred to Committee on State Organizations

State Labor Legislation
 Emergency Legislation on Hours of Work
 Child Labor
 Safety and Health
 Wages
 Workmen's Compensation

Referred to Committee on Building Trades

Housing (Legislation)
 War Housing
 Building and Construction Trades Department

Referred to Committee on Legislation

National Legislation
 Taxation
 Immigration and Naturalization
 Federal Employees
 Substitutes' Pay Increase
 Retirement
 Senate Confirmation of Certain Employees
 Canal Builders
 Social Security
 Interned Employees of Contractors
 Bankhead and Pace Farm Bills
 Care of Children and Mothers
 Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities
 Poll Tax Bills
 Analyses of Federal and State Anti-Labor Laws
 The Hobbs Bill
 War Labor Disputes Act (Smith-Connally Bill)
 State Anti-Labor Laws

Referred to Committee on Inter- national Labor Relations

International Labor Organization
 International Federation of Trade Unions
 Anglo-American Trade Union Committee
 Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs
 Bolivian Labor Commission

ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Subject	Committee
Introduction	Resolutions
Official Changes	Executive Council Report
Resignation of Vice-President Edward J. Gainer	Executive Council Report
Selection of Vice-President William C. Doherty	Executive Council Report
Organizing Activities	Organization
Peace Negotiations with the C. I. O.	Resolutions
United Mine Workers Application for Re-affiliation	Resolutions
Printing Trades—Lithographers	Executive Council Report
Withdrawal of International Association of Machinists from Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor	Resolutions
Retirement Plan for A. F. of L. Employees	Resolutions
Trade Union Benefits	Executive Council Report
Social Security	Resolutions
Wage and Hour Administration	Resolutions
Labor Standards on Government Contracts	Resolutions
National Labor Relations Board	Resolutions
National Legislation	
Taxation	Legislation
Anti-Labor Legislation	Resolutions
Federal Appropriations	Resolutions
National Youth Administration	Resolutions
Office of Civilian Defense	Resolutions
Farm Security Administration	Resolutions
Inflation and Subsidies	Resolutions
International Labor Office	Resolutions
National Labor Relations Board	Resolutions
Immigration and Naturalization	Legislation
Federal Employees	Resolutions
Increased Pay for Federal Employees	Resolutions
Increased Pay for Postal Employees	Resolutions
Substitutes Pay Increase	Legislation
Retirement	Legislation
Senate Confirmation of Certain Employees	Legislation
District of Columbia	Resolutions
Unemployment Compensation	Resolutions
Regulation of Hours of Employment of Women	Resolutions
Salary Increases for District of Columbia Firemen, Policemen and Teachers	Resolutions
Suffrage for the District of Columbia	Resolutions
Barbers' Bill	Resolutions
Canal Zone	
Canal Zone Teachers, Policemen and Firemen	Resolutions
Clerical Workers	Resolutions
McCarran Amendment	Resolutions
Canal Builders	Legislation
Housing	Building Trades
Social Security	Legislation
Miscellaneous	
Interned Employees of Contractors	Legislation
Home Owners' Loan Corporation	Resolutions
Bankhead and Pace Farm Bills, S. 660 and H.R. 1408	Legislation
Vocational Rehabilitation—Industrial	Resolutions
Vocational Rehabilitation—Veterans	Resolutions
Care of Children and Mothers	Legislation

Miscellaneous (Continued)

Continuation of Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities	Legislation
Reciprocal Trade Agreements	Executive Council Report
George Washington Carver Memorial	Resolutions
Pharmacy Corps, U. S. A.	Resolutions
Poll Tax Bills	Legislation
State Labor Legislation	State Organization
Emergency Legislation on Hours of Work	State Organization
Child Labor	State Organization
Safety and Health	State Organization
Wages	State Organization
Workmen's Compensation	State Organization
Analyses of Federal and State Anti-Labor Laws	
Pending and Enacted in 1943	Legislation
The Hobbs Bill	Legislation
War Labor Disputes Act (Smith-Connally Bill)	Legislation
State Anti-Labor Laws	Legislation
Labor and the Anti-trust Suits and Prosecutions	Resolutions
Legal Activities	Resolutions
Publicity and the Labor Press	Resolutions
American Federationist	Resolutions
Labor's Monthly Survey	Resolutions
Education	Education
School Finance	Education
Training and Rehabilitation	Education
Industrial Rehabilitation	Education
Apprenticeship	Education
Vocational Education	Education
Education and New World Organization	Education
Harvard Trade Union Fellowship Plan	Education
Workers Education Bureau of America	Education
The A. F. of L. and War Service	Executive Council Report
Combined Labor War Board	Executive Council Report
National War Labor Board	Resolutions
Little Steel Formula	Resolutions
Wage Inequities within Industries	Resolutions
Wage Inequities within Plants	Resolutions
Substandard Wages	Resolutions
Effective Prosecution of the War	Resolutions
War Production Board	Resolutions
Management-Labor Council	Resolutions
Office of Labor Production—Functions and Organization	Resolutions
The Industrial Relations Division	Resolutions
The Plant Productivity Division	Resolutions
The Plant and Community Facilities Service	Resolutions
The Shipbuilding Stabilization Division	Resolutions
Manpower	Resolutions
Manpower Needs in 1943	Resolutions
Requirements to July, 1944	Resolutions
Stringent Situation	Resolutions
Decreases in Unemployment	Resolutions
Womanpower	Resolutions
Critical Labor Areas	Resolutions
War Manpower Commission	Resolutions
Importation of Foreign Workers	Resolutions
Development of Lists of Essential Activities and Occupations	Resolutions
Development of Stabilization Programs	Resolutions
Use of Furloughed Soldiers	Resolutions
Use of Prisoners of War	Resolutions

Manpower (Continued)	
Controlled Hiring through the United States Employment Service.....	Resolutions
Use of Women and Younger People in Industry	Resolutions
Manpower and Economic Stabilization	Resolutions
Consideration of National Service Legislation	Resolutions
War Housing	Building Trades
Rent Control	Resolutions
President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice	Resolutions
International Labor Organization	International Labor Relations
International Federation of Trade Unions	International Labor Relations
Anglo-American Trade Union Committee	International Labor Relations
Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs	International Labor Relations
Bolivian Labor Commission	International Labor Relations
Fraternal Delegates	Executive Council Report
Price Control and Rationing	Resolutions
Price Control	Resolutions
Rationing	Resolutions
War Bond Campaign	Executive Council Report
Post-War Planning	Resolutions
Committee on Post-War Planning	Resolutions
Post-War Problems	Resolutions
Domestic	Resolutions
Union Problems	Resolutions
International	Resolutions
Our Good Neighbor Policy	Resolutions
Labor Attaches	Resolutions
Post-War Housing	Resolutions
Metal Trades Department	Executive Council Report
Building and Construction Trades Department	Building Trades
Union Label Trades Department	Labels
Railway Employees Department	Executive Council Report
Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico	Resolutions
Alaska	Resolutions
Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor	Resolutions
Hawaiian Islands	Resolutions
Conclusion	Resolutions

Guest Speakers

Secretary of Labor Perkins will deliver an address to the officers and delegates tomorrow, as will Chairman Altmeyer of the Social Security Board and Acting Director of the International Labor Office, Edward J. Phelan. Please keep these announcements in mind and be at tomorrow's session. I know they will all deliver very interesting addresses.

Opportunity was given for announcements as to time and place of committee meetings.

President Green: It seems now we have concluded the work of the day's sessions, and if there are no objections the convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

At 4:25 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Tuesday morning, October 5, 1943.

RESOLUTIONS

Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, All resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, **EXCEPTING** resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30-day period, by a convention of a national or international union or of a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regular constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to constitutional requirements:

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organization of workers has proven to be the greatest single factor in the advancement of mankind, and

WHEREAS, The very life of the Organized Labor Movement is dependent upon the support and cooperation of the general public, and

WHEREAS, The enemies of Organized Labor, knowing this to be true, have carried on a vicious campaign to discredit and condemn their humane work, and

WHEREAS, They have been partially successful in their efforts to discredit the Organized Labor Movement by carrying on an organized campaign through the press of the nation, by radio, and by personal contact, and

WHEREAS, Labor has failed to carry out its responsibility in getting the truth to the people, and

WHEREAS, It becomes necessary for the forces of Organized Labor to enlarge the scope of their present activities in the interest of their membership and the future welfare of our country, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 63rd Annual Convention,

assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record in favor of the establishment of a Department of Public Relations within the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Craft Training for Veterans

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Frank Burch, Central Labor Union of Philadelphia & Vicinity, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through its affiliated organizations, has voluntarily, willingly and unstintingly aided the war effort by the purchase of War Bonds and Stamps; by all-out production of essential war materials; by contributing its man power to both the fighting and home fronts, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor realizes its obligation to these brave young men who are fighting the battle for democracy, and

WHEREAS, Many of these young men are suffering wounds in battle which render them unable to continue in actual combat and which necessitate hospitalization and rehabilitation, and

WHEREAS, These honorably discharged young men deserve the opportunity to find a place in industry which will enable them to earn a livelihood, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor as further testimony of its desire to give 100% all-out cooperation, believes that many of these young veterans possess the ability to become skilled craftsmen after a period of apprenticeship, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor supports the National Program of Apprenticeship which has for its aim and purpose the proper training of apprentices, therefore be it

RESOLVED That the American Federation of Labor initiate and develop a method and program among the skilled trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor whereby these young veterans will be afforded a deserving opportunity to become skilled craftsmen and to thus be able to find employment in industry so that a decent livelihood could be earned for them and their families, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the method and program be promptly initiated by this body and that this body work jointly with the skilled trades, with the representatives of the Veterans' organizations, the Veterans' Bureau, representative employers and representatives of the Apprentice-Training Service, in order to achieve through their mutual efforts the aims and purposes of this resolution, which aims and purposes are in line with the patriotic desire of the American Federation of Labor in support of the War Effort.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Blood Tests for Union Members

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Daniel P. Haggerty, San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco, California.

WHEREAS, Scientific investigations have shown that approximately one million persons in the United States contract syphilis each year and that, although a blood test will reveal the presence of the disease, half of the people who have syphilis do not know they are infected, and

WHEREAS, The net result of the majority of cases of undiscovered and untreated syphilis is insanity, blindness, heart disease, loss of hearing, paralysis or shortening of the span of life, and

WHEREAS, Undiscovered, untreated or inadequately treated syphilis strikes at the security of the individual by destroying his ability to earn a livelihood, endangers his fellow workers and is a drag upon the successful prosecution of the war as a cause of absenteeism, lost wages, decreased production, illness and accident, and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of every citizen to assist to the best of his ability the campaign to stamp out syphilis now being conducted by the United States Public Health Service, state and local public health departments, and

WHEREAS, Experience throughout the United States has demonstrated that labor unions can materially assist the public health campaigns to control syphilis by conducting educational programs among their members and in sponsoring the blood testing of union men and women, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of Boston, Massachusetts, beginning October 4, 1943, does hereby recommend to its affiliates that they require of their local unions a certification that each applicant for membership have a blood test made before admission into the union, the result of such a test to be a matter of strictest confidence between the examining physician and the applicant and under no circumstances to be revealed to the union or to the employer and to have no bearing upon the applicant's admission into the union, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor bring to the attention of affiliated unions the fact that local public health departments are prepared to give blood tests without charge to the individual or to the union, and that it recommends that unions make arrangements with local public health departments to make tests for applicants who do not wish to go to a physician in private practice, and be it further

RESOLVED, That as a corollary to a program of blood testing applicants for union membership, the assistance of the United States Department of Health Service, State departments of health, local public health departments and the American Social Hygiene

Association be secured in conducting an educational program among the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Representation of Labor in Solving Post War Problems

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The accumulation of wealth is the result of the hands and brain of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Realizing that Labor produces all wealth through its efforts, and

WHEREAS, Labor with all its contributions to the welfare of society has not been and up to this time is not represented adequately in the administrative, supervisory and productive capacities, and

WHEREAS, Labor many times is held accountable for blunders and mistakes of careless planning by so-called "experts" and politicians of which Labor has little or nothing to say in the selection thereof, and

WHEREAS, We are facing the most critical period in American and world history, and

WHEREAS, With a five hundred billion-dollar debt to face us at the war's end, and to provide employment for ten million members of the armed services, and the possibility of a serious unemployment situation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its 63rd Annual Convention, assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, endorse a program of full representation of Labor on all boards, panels and commissions, to the end that Labor may be fully represented in all deliberations pertaining to solving post-war problems.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 5—By Tulare County Central Labor Council, Visalia, California.

WHEREAS, During the period of the current war, the inter-relationship between government and labor has become greater than ever before in the history of the United States, and labor unions have been required to obtain approval from such government bodies as the National War Labor Board of changes in wages, hours, working conditions or union status, and from other governmental tribunals the necessary permission to undertake other functions, and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to create a proper understanding on the part of government officials of labor principles in their deliberations, which can be accomplished only by widespread sympathy and understanding of labor's views, and national publicity of labor's objectives and ends, and

WHEREAS, A hostile press and radio which is owned and operated by corporate anti-labor interests in the United States, has constantly attempted to create anti-labor sentiment in order to preserve their special privileges and vested corporate interests, and

WHEREAS, The machinations of this hostile press have confused the public and their representatives in Congress and encouraged other anti-labor members of that body, so that there has been enacted the infamous Smith-Connally Bill, and there has likewise been passed anti-labor legislation in such states as Kansas, Colorado, Utah, California, Minnesota and others, and

WHEREAS, The most effective counter-acting influence to these hostile and evil forces is an explanation to the public of the United States of the aims of organized labor through a Public Relations Department of the American Federation of Labor which can at once educate the public generally as to such ends and contact individually and personally the representatives in Congress, and

WHEREAS, A Public Relations Department of the American Federation of Labor operating as a central body may fulfill the above objectives as well as emphasize the great contribution American labor has made to the war effort by its unparalleled production of war materials, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby establish a Public Relations Department to be operated as a central body in the American Federation of Labor located in the City of Washington, D. C., for the purpose of:

1. Giving as wide publicity as possible to the purposes and objectives of the labor movement, as well as its great contribution to the war; and

2. Contacting and educating representatives of Congress to said aims and accomplishments of organized labor in order that such representatives will not be influenced to vote in favor of restrictive and indefensible labor legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That these directives be carried out through the establishment of a regular weekly Radio Program on a national hook-up and through widespread advertisement in the leading weekly magazines and daily papers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Participating in Post War Planning

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Ted Williams, Birmingham Trades Council, Birmingham, Alabama.

WHEREAS, The Post War World is of greatest concern to those who labor, and the plans which and must be made today to take care of Labor's welfare tomorrow naturally will be thrown upon the shoulders of Union Labor, and

WHEREAS, There has been a noticeable omission from various Post War Planning Committees and Commissions of men from Union Labor's ranks, when representation should have been given A. F. of L. unions, since this organization rates highly today as a factor in the economic life of many communities throughout the nation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention in Boston, Mass., go on record approving Labor's participation in post-war planning in every city by representatives of the Central Bodies, and urging that every City Central Body immediately become active in the post-war planning field by forming strong, intelligent committees with definite programs which will prevent unemployment after the war, create new projects and maintain the record memberships of various labor unions after war hostilities cease.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. Support in Distribution and Publicity of Book "Out of the Depths" Published by Denver Trades and Labor Assembly

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate R. L. Voorhees, Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colorado.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for many years maintained and carried on an Educational Program for the purpose of enlightening and educating its members on the history of the Labor Movement both present and past, and

WHEREAS, One of its chartered affiliates, namely, the Denver Trades & Labor Assembly has in the last five years made a great contribution to the Labor history and education of the Labor Movement by writing and publishing the true story of a great leader in a book called "Out of the Depths," and

WHEREAS, This book has been praised very highly by all who have read it including many high ranking officials of the American Federation of Labor, and because of the very far reaching value it will have on the American public, therefore be it.

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to give its full support to the Denver Trades & Labor Assembly in the distribution of this book, and be it further

RESOLVED, That they make every possible effort to get this book in every library in these United States and Canada and give it the widest publicity possible.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Anglo - American - Soviet Trade Union Unity

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Max Waxler, Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, As the Government of the United States of America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union have united, through agreements, on a program to win the War and win the Peace, and

WHEREAS, Labor in Great Britain and our United States have come to a better understanding through closer cooperation, and

WHEREAS, The incredible sacrifices of the Russian peoples who are defending their homeland and all decent humanity, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor ask the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to consider the possibilities of joining with the British and Russian Trade Unions in the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Beet Sugar Industry

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Department of Agriculture in Washington ordered that the 1944 best acreage be approximately the same as in 1943; namely 660,000 acres as compared with 1,050,000 acres in 1942, which is two-thirds of the crop of that year and is equivalent to a crop-freezing order, and

WHEREAS, The 1943 crop is the lowest it has been in many years, due to government conversion of beet land for other crops, such as hemp, and also due to the government regulations which held up contracts until the latter part of March, practically eliminating early plantings, and also due to unfavorable spring weather, and

WHEREAS, A reduced acreage will mean a great reduction in the output as well as a considerable shorter processing campaign, thereby seriously affecting the economy of beet producing states, and

WHEREAS, Sugar now rationed, presumably because of an existing shortage, and

WHEREAS, Additional decrease in acreage will necessarily drastically reduce the output of sugar, thereby causing an additional lowering of supply to the consumer, and

WHEREAS, Sugar being one of the most essential items in the life of every human being, and of great necessity to the civilian population as well as to the military forces, and

WHEREAS, It seems as if the greater output rather than reduced production should be the order of the day, and

WHEREAS, All of the employees in the five operating sugar factories in Montana are organized under the banner of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor and are in contractual relations with their employers, and

WHEREAS, The reduction in acreage as contemplated by the AAA would seriously affect these members of organized labor, the beet-raising farmers, the consumer, and it may lead to suspicion that this is a connivance between certain governmental officials and some manipulators and gamblers to corner the sugar market so as to make huge profits at the expense of and to the detriment of the entire nation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this convention authorizes the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to request the proper government authorities such as Mr. Marvin Jones, War Food Administrator, and Mr. Claude Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, to permit the sugar beet farmers and processors to produce at least as much as they did in 1942.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Jurisdictional Disputes

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes create chaos, and ill-will within the ranks of organized labor, likewise produces a feeling of resentment and disgust among employers who have agreed collectively with labor on wages and working conditions, thereby causing an unhealthy public opinion to be developed against labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes are heart-breaking to the workers not parties to the dispute who are usually innocent victims and kept out of work during the periods of the jurisdictional walkout, and

WHEREAS, The great advance in technical improvements have made trades interlocking, thereby making it almost impossible to decide where the jurisdiction of one craft ends and another begins, and

WHEREAS, Within the past two years, due to jurisdictional disputes one international union was suspended from the American Federation of Labor and another large international Union, with a long record of achievements, by an overwhelming vote of its entire membership deemed it necessary to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor, and still another union, a pioneer in the labor movement, by a referendum vote of its membership, refused to reaffiliate with the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs its Executive Council to select a commission of nine members, four of whom shall be international officers, not more than one member from any one international union, and five members from central bodies, state federations or federal trade and labor unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, that such commission shall hold all hearings and meetings necessary in order to be able to make a complete report to

the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all expenses including wages, travelling and per diem, and clerical expenses of the commission be paid out of the treasury of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Oppose and Resist Independence of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, In the year 1936 Senator Millard Tydings introduced a bill in the United States Senate intended to grant independence to the island of Puerto Rico, after this island having been a part of the United States of America since 1898, all its inhabitants being citizens of the United States since 1917, and

WHEREAS, This question of independence having been discussed by our Fifty-sixth Annual Convention held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, the Committee on State Organizations of our Convention recommended and our Convention unanimously approved the following report:

"The labor movement and a great majority of the people of Puerto Rico were greatly shocked by the introduction of a bill in Congress by Senator Tydings intended to provide for holding a plebiscite for independence of the island. The bill was introduced without consultation with citizens, or the legislature or any officials of the island.

"Through the establishment of American institutions in Puerto Rico and the aid of the American Federation of Labor, the workers of Puerto Rico were able to secure guarantee for public assembly, and the right to organize and exist. The workers firmly believe that under independence there is the possibility of reversion to old practices which would imply repression for labor unions and the masses of the people. Independence would spell economic ruin for the Puerto Ricans. The feeling for independence is confined to a very small group of people while the majority believe that the protection of and relationship with the United States have afforded the best opportunity for development and progress.

"The workmen of Puerto Rico, through the Free Federation of Workingmen, have always labored for a closer and permanent union with the aid of the American Federation of Labor. In the elections which will be held on November 3, 1936, the workers will go to the polls to elect not only men who have always defended our economic interests but also who firmly believe in Puerto Rico's permanent association with the United States.

"The Puerto Rican workers have expressed their gratitude to the American Federation of Labor for the assistance that it has given during the year. They have expressed the

hope for continuation of that assistance, especially with regard to the extension of federal legislation to Puerto Rico with the purpose of bettering economic and social conditions of the people, such as the Social Security Law, and the permanent establishment of a worker's education center.

"We have noted that considerable progress has been made in securing social and labor legislation in the Island of Puerto Rico and we desire to commend the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico for the splendid work they have done and recommend that the Executive Council continue to render assistance to them.

"We note with interest what the Free Federation of Workmen has to say about the move to give to Puerto Rico the status of an independent nation and the apprehension of the Puerto Rican workers as to their position if such independence is granted at this time.

"We would therefore recommend that the Executive Council watch the move in Congress instituted by Senator Millard Tydings to provide for a plebiscite for the independence of the Island, and that, until such time as there is every guarantee that any independent government set up in Puerto Rico will fully protect the rights of the Puerto Rican workers to organize and bargain collectively and to provide for the Puerto Rican people a truly democratic form of government, that such move for independence be resisted by the American Federation of Labor," and

WHEREAS, The Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, October 5 to 14, 1942, unanimously approved and ratified all the above quoted Resolutions in accordance with the desires of the overwhelming majority of the people of Puerto Rico, and

WHEREAS, In the year 1943, or that is, seven years after his first move for independence, Senator Tydings has again introduced a bill in the Senate to give Puerto Rico "complete and absolute independence," against the very well expressed will of the inhabitants of the Island who believe in the permanent association of Puerto Rico with the United States of America and who have been striving for a long time to become a State of the Union, and

WHEREAS, The attitude of Puerto Rican labor at the present is exactly the same as it has been during the last forty-five (45) years of struggle for better conditions, and toward the free institutions of the United States of America which have made possible for the workers to secure the necessary guarantees to exert their rights as free citizens, and

WHEREAS, We still believe that granting of independence to Puerto Rico will be ruinous and detrimental to the interests of labor, to education and to the people of the Island in general; and that our people have been greatly benefited by the influence of the free institutions of the United States and our association with the workers and the people of America; and that giving up our American

citizenship would be suicidal, be it made collectively or individually, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we strongly urge the American Federation of Labor that all provisions as approved by our several previous Conventions instructing and directing the Executive Council to oppose and resist independence for Puerto Rico, being as they are hereby ratified, be promptly complied with if Senator Tydings insists upon having Congress pass the above mentioned bill granting independence to Puerto Rico, and be it further

RESOLVED, That independence never having been a synonym of freedom as we have seen ourselves what independence has meant for the Philippine Islands and for many of the so-called independent small nations in Europe, and believing that each and every State of the Union is a free nation in itself in spite of being interdependent to each other, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be also instructed to see to it that the inhabitants of Puerto Rico be not deprived of their American citizenship and that all assistance necessary be rendered to make Puerto Rico a State of the Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Operation of National Labor Relations Act in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The Regional Office of the National Labor Relations Board in Puerto Rico has been served since its establishment by a man who has proved to be incompetent for the position because of his prejudices and hostility against the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The man who serves in that position, Mr. Melton Boyd, has done his best to injure the interests of our labor unions by being partial to political groups hostile to the American Federation of Labor and by trying to foment such groups where they never existed, and

WHEREAS, He has tried to discredit our organization and has endangered the prestige and good name of the American Federation of Labor by maliciously, arbitrarily and illegally involving our locals in his framed "unfair labor practices" charges with the sole purpose of destroying our unions, having the audacity of charging our bona fide wage earners' organizations as "successors to Company dominated Unions," and

WHEREAS, He has tried by different means to destroy our collective bargaining agreements, the most important of them the one entered into between our State Federation of Labor and the Sugar Producers Association, which comprises over 120,000 workers of the sugar industry—this contract establishing an Island-wide contracting Unit—an action which was conducted by Mr. Melton Boyd against

our organization at the request of the political hostile group he has served, encouraged and stimulated, he himself acting practically as the Counsel for such hostile group during the hearings lasting for six weeks, the National Labor Relations Board having finally decided the case in our favor in spite of the great efforts put forth by Mr. Melton Boyd to destroy our agreement, and

WHEREAS, In many other cases of the Distillery and Liquor Industry, namely: "The Ronrico Corporation," "The Carioeca Distillery Inc.," "The Puerto Rico Distilling Company," "The J. M. Portela Company," "The La Bodega," "The Destileria Serrallés," "The Central Rufina" and "The Puerto Rico Glass Corporation," Mr. Boyd has shown his partiality, and

WHEREAS, In cases where we have entered our protests against his partiality, he has used abusive and insulting language in writing his official letters to our officials, a situation that should not be tolerated by the National Labor Relations Board, and

WHEREAS, As an illustration of his lousy language in his official letters we may quote a part of his letter dated April 25, 1943, written to the President of our State Federation of Labor, when we protested against his biased and illegal procedure at a plant where an election was to be held and which he arbitrarily cancelled to favor his group, his language being as follows:

"I am both amazed and amused that you denounced my action in the press in this case as 'vicious, partial and arbitrary' when you were personally informed of the facts on which I acted. I am reminded of the Parable of the woman who was having a salacious affair in a dark room, and was so caught when the lights were turned on. She protested angrily, and denounced the lights for being at fault," and

WHEREAS, The existence of the Branch Office of the National Labor Relations Board in Puerto Rico under the Directorship of Mr. Melton Boyd is both a shame and a disgrace to bona fide organized labor and to the National Labor Relations Board itself, all these facts and the whole situation having been personally investigated by Counsel I. B. Padway of the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Some of these facts were made known to Mr. Oscar Smith, the immediate Chief of Mr. Melton Boyd, during his short visit to Puerto Rico very recently, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to demand from the National Labor Relations Board the removal of Mr. Melton Boyd as Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board in Puerto Rico if thirty days after the adjournment of this convention no action has been taken as yet by the National Labor Relations Board to remove from office this official.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Removal of R. C. Tugwell as Governor of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, last year unanimously approved a Resolution No. 36 which called for the removal of Rexford Guy Tugwell as Governor of Puerto Rico, and

WHEREAS, In compliance with the provisions thereof the President of the American Federation of Labor addressed a letter to His Excellency the President of the United States transmitting a copy of the above mentioned Resolution and requested an investigation of the situation in Puerto Rico as depicted in the Resolution just referred to, and

WHEREAS, We understand that the President of the American Federation of Labor also made representations before His Excellency the President of the United States in an effort that some official steps be taken to relieve Puerto Rico from the injurious administration of Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell, and

WHEREAS, In spite of the fact that a considerable amount of publicity in the American press followed the approval of Resolution No. 36 and strong attacks were directed against the National Administration for tolerating such conditions in Puerto Rico, no official action was ever taken by the Washington Administration to stop Tugwell's misgovernment, and

WHEREAS, Congressional Committees from the Senate and the House of Representatives have investigated social, economic and political conditions in Puerto Rico, but no report has been rendered as yet in reference to our Insular Administration which is creating unrest and doing its best to weaken the faith of our people in the free institutions of America, and

WHEREAS, Our people have been patient enough to wait for some remedy to this situation—one year having already elapsed since we presented our case to the Toronto Convention—and there seems not to be any hope for our people to have justice done by those in charge of our insular affairs, and

WHEREAS, Next year being our general election year in which we could use our ballot power to elect our Insular Legislature, if we only have at the Governorship of our Island an impartial man as Governor not sided with any group or political party, and

WHEREAS, We cannot expect to have impartial elections under Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell—who has repeatedly proved his hostility against our organized labor movement—neither under any local man acting as Governor, sided with some of the political groups in Puerto Rico; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed,

and he is hereby directed, to renew his efforts again before His Excellency the President of the United States, demanding the removal of Rexford Guy Tugwell as Governor of Puerto Rico, and insisting that a man fair to all classes be appointed as Governor to represent impartially the sovereignty of our nation in Puerto Rico and to prevent the prestige and good name of our nation being affected as it is now by the situation under the administration of Governor Tugwell, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be also requested, and it is hereby requested, to take all additional steps that the Council might deem proper to achieve the end sought for in this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Assistance to Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, The Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico has gone through the most crucial year suffering the vicious attacks of all official and private forces hostile to our movement, and

WHEREAS, Among those forces hostile to our movement is the Regional Representative of the National Labor Relations Board, who has attempted to destroy our organization and its collective bargaining agreements, and

WHEREAS, Due to his partiality and vicious official attacks on our Unions, the good name and prestige of the American Federation of Labor was endangered to such an extent that we saw ourselves obliged to request the assistance of President William Green and the services of the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, President William Green immediately attended to our request and the good name and prestige of our organization was duly protected through the efficient and competent services of Counsel I. B. Padway, and

WHEREAS, Our State Federation of Labor had to go to the limit in the defense of all the cases in which it was illegally involved, the actions of the Regional Representative of the National Labor Relations Board forcing us to incur extraordinary expenses to defend our organization, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico hereby expresses its appreciation and gratitude to President William Green, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and to Counsel I. B. Padway for their invaluable services to our cause, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor ratifies its pledge to continue to render all moral and financial support to the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico that would be necessary for the Puerto Rican work-

ers to establish an adequate standard of living and will continue to see to it that the federal laws applicable to the Island be properly and wisely administered.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

History of the American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates John P. Burke, Herbert W. Sullivan, James S. Killen, Samuel Ashton, Elmer P. Meinz, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, during the sixty-two years of its existence, has rendered unparalleled service to the working people of America, and

WHEREAS, A constant campaign of falsification is being carried on against the American Federation of Labor by rival unions that seek to supplant it in the minds and hearts of the American Workers, and

WHEREAS, The six million members of the American Federation of Labor who revere its traditions and are loyal to its principles and ideals need a ready reference manual, containing the historical highlights of the American Federation of Labor and its achievements, in order to be able to refute the lies and vicious propaganda circulated by those who would destroy this great movement of labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor engage the services of some outstanding labor historian to write a short history of the American Federation of Labor and its accomplishments, and that this history be made available for wide distribution among the workers of America at the lowest possible cost.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Anti-Labor Propaganda

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Wm. N. Gorgone, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the present time vicious anti-labor propaganda flows unabated through the press and radio, having as its purpose the unjust and unfounded discrediting of organized labor and labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, Such malicious and untrue propaganda is constantly distorted, emphasized and magnified throughout the length and breadth of the land, and

WHEREAS, The result of such untrue, false, and malicious propaganda is to place on both organized labor and labor organizations undeserved responsibility for whatever defects, deficiencies and inefficiencies there may be in our present war effort and in the state of our domestic economy, and

WHEREAS, In truth and in fact the real responsibility and liability for any such defects, deficiencies or inefficiencies can be traced directly to the influence of said propagandists, Fascist-inclined newspapers and employer associations, large corporations that have been derelict, negligent and deliberately dishonest in the fulfilling of Government contracts as evidenced by Congressional Committee Reports and the Records of the Federal Courts, and pressure groups representing powerful, private, money interests seeking further privilege and power, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record in favor of the following program:

1. That a Fact Finding Commission be established by the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of investigating and making report on the following:

A. War frauds committed against the United States Government and large corporations, such as the Anaconda Copper Company, the Curtiss-Wright Airplane Company, and other corporations that have been charged with manufacturing and preparing defective war materials, some of which corporations have acknowledged their liability for such fraud in open court;

B. Propaganda activities by the National Association of Manufacturers, various newspapers, columnists, radio commentators and other persons and organizations designed to unfairly criticize the smear organized labor and labor unions and thus divert the attention of the American people from the real malefactors in the war effort;

C. The activities of many small but powerful financial interests who are more concerned with the making of unconscionable profits out of the war and maintaining monopolies, than with making real contribution to the war effort or fighting the growing danger of inflation because of rapidly rising living costs resulting from their activities and attitude;

D. The fomenters and encouragers of racial and religious discrimination and prejudices, thus spreading the seed of Fascism and at the same time interfering with the effective prosecution of the war;

E. Such other persons, organizations and activities who or which are engaged in un-American activities to the detriment of the war effort and domestic economy.

2. To disseminate to Central Labor Organizations and the labor press the results of such investigation, together with whatever other pertinent material it may have or collect to the end that the workman may have a true, unbiased and straightforward picture of the real internal dangers confronting the country, be advised of the real enemies of the country, be able to recognize the native Fascists and form an enlightened intelligent opinion on such matters.

3. Use such material so collected for the purpose of combating and destroying the vicious anti-labor smoke screen which has been thrown up to hide the illegal, un-American and pro-Fascist activities of others and for the purpose of defending and demonstrat-

ing the integrity, loyalty and patriotism of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Separation Pay for Ex-Servicemen and War Workers

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Millions of men will be released by war industries and from the armed forces following peace, which will mean mass unemployment of greater magnitude than following the peace of 1918, and

WHEREAS, Such unemployment will cause untold suffering and will endanger the jobs of millions engaged in civilian production, and

WHEREAS, Such unemployment is unnecessary in a nation with resources as great as ours and can be avoided with timely planning, therefore be it.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record instructing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to do everything within its power to have a government board set up with labor fully represented to:

1. Cooperate with other government boards and agencies with respect to securing information as to contemplated curtailment of production in war industries or cancellation of war contracts, so as to be in a position to have advance information as to lay-offs of workers and that the said workers may be given this information so as to give them ample time to seek other employment and to see to it that such lay-offs are on a gradual scale.

2. Cooperate with all government agencies in promoting a long-range road program and other government work as may be in the best interest of the public, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor support legislation for separation pay for ex-servicemen and war workers until they find jobs.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Readjustment and Rehabilitation of Returning Servicemen

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The readjustments after victory in our war effort are going to be many and difficult and certainly one of the greatest will be the readjustment of returning servicemen to their peacetime pursuits and among these ex-servicemen will be many who will require special attention due to physical handicaps. Many of these returning servicemen will have to be trained for vocations that they are capable of performing and this

resolution presents a practical solution for aiding these men who are now serving their country to resume their place in society by supporting themselves through their own efforts without depending upon the charity of a grateful nation for which they rendered invaluable service, and

WHEREAS, The people of this country unanimously agreed that there shall be a comprehensive government program for aiding in the readjustment and rehabilitation of the returning servicemen after the war, and

WHEREAS, It is important to labor that these plans be drawn and made known immediately so that labor's post-war program can be coordinated and made cooperative with such government plans, and

WHEREAS, There is today considerable confusion in government circles on this subject due to the vast number of governmental agencies who are interested and are endeavoring to help solve the problem by formulating their own solutions and at the same time perpetuating their own existence, and

WHEREAS, We of labor believe it imperative in the interests of good government and to the morale of the servicemen and those at home that intelligent, organized, and non-partisan efforts be directed toward setting up this vital program, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to appoint a committee empowered to hold hearings, study, investigate, and assemble information from all necessary sources and make recommendations to the Congress of the United States for a comprehensive, practicable program for aiding in the readjustment and rehabilitation of returning servicemen during the post-war period, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee be composed of equal representation of labor, management, and the Congress of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and incoming Executive Council do everything within their power to effect the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National War Labor Board

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The President's general Wage Freeze Order has made it mandatory for War Labor Board approval of very nearly all wage increases, and

WHEREAS, The many thousands of cases that have been filed have caused a tremendous burden on the several Regional Boards situated throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, A majority of the cases filed are for wage increases among the low income brackets, and

WHEREAS, The W. P. A. subsistence survey released September 15, 1942, shows a figure of \$1,603.00 as a minimum amount of money required per year for bare maintenance of a family of four, and

WHEREAS, At the time the facts of this survey were released there was no Victory or Withholding Tax in effect which caused the further reduction of the amounts of money available for family maintenance, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That to facilitate the processing of Form 10 throughout the country, that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled adopt a program to endeavor to secure governmental approval of a negotiated or agreed upon wage up to the figure of \$1,600.00 per year without approval of the National War Labor Board, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and incoming Executive Council be instructed to use all means possible to bring about the intent of the resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Representation at the Peace Conference

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Wage earners in all industries in America and Allied Nations are doing everything in their power to help defeat the Axis countries, so that democracy shall be retained, and

WHEREAS, When and after victory is won, labor should be given the privilege to be represented at the Peace Conference and take part in forming the policies that may affect all nations, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, instruct the officers and incoming Executive Council to sponsor and promote labor representation and participation at the Peace Conferences.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Radio Commentator for Labor

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are a number of radio commentators who are making statements that are untrue, biased, unfair and very detrimental to labor, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor is presently powerless to answer these untruths and misrepresentations of facts, and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that organized labor should have a medium of making known to the public the true facts of and concerning labor disputes and its position concerning matters of public importance, and

WHEREAS, It is important to organized labor to build and keep the good will of the general public, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, go on record in favor of en-

gaging a radio commentator to present Labor's true viewpoint through its own spokesman.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Labor Union Membership in Metal Trades Councils

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Wm. Nagorske, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, As now constituted under the American Federation of Labor Metal Trades Department by-laws, federal labor unions and local trade unions, even though engaged in metal trades work, cannot obtain full-fledged membership in the American Federation of Labor metal trades councils, and

WHEREAS, This means that while they may be permitted to affiliate with a local council they cannot vote nor hold office in the council, and are only permitted to pay per capita tax and give cooperation, and

WHEREAS, This old rule of the Metal Trades Department not specifically adopted to far federal labor unions and local trade unions, nevertheless it affects them adversely and keeps out the potential backbone or nucleus for any metal trades council, and

WHEREAS, The skilled trades in the metal industry are more or less now organized in their own particular district councils, and

WHEREAS, A similar resolution had been introduced at the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Toronto in 1942 as Resolution No. 20 and was referred to the Committee on Resolutions and the Committee recommended the resolution be referred to the Metal Trades Department which recommendation was unanimously adopted and although the Metal Trades Department has had a year to act on this resolution without any known action having been taken on this resolution, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record urging the Metal Trades Department to amend its constitution and by-laws so as to permit full-fledged membership in metal trades councils to those federal labor unions and local trade unions engaged in the metal industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the international unions now affiliated or eligible to full-fledged membership in metal trades councils be requested to extend their aid and influence to the end that federal labor unions and local trade unions be granted full-fledged and bona fide membership in all metal trades councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Metal Trades Department be called upon to immediately make known to the state federations of labor and city central bodies their action on this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates E. J. Volz, Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of N. A.

WHEREAS, Anti-Labor legislation has been enacted into law in an increasing number of states, and Congress has been prompted to pass the Smith-Connally Bill over the veto of the President, and in complete disregard of the remarkable wartime production and service record of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, A spirit of opposition and of antagonism toward trade unionism is being systematically promoted among the armed services by those who would weaken, if not destroy, our trade unions, and

WHEREAS, To combat these alarming developments labor must launch an extensive educational and publicity program, first among its membership, and then the general public, to drive home the true state of affairs to the American people. While recognizing the value of the American Federationist, Labor's Monthly Survey, and the hundreds of good Labor Publications, nevertheless there remains the necessity of coordinating our present efforts, supplemented by a plan to reach the American public generally, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. consider the feasibility and advisability of setting aside an appropriate sum of money out of its General and Defense Funds or other means available for the purpose of placing before the American public through the press, radio and other forms of publicity, not only Labor's side of any pending controversial question but making more fully known the constructive contributions having been and being made by the workers and their trade unions in the carrying on of war production, of relief and government financing, to the securing of an equitable and lasting peace, to the maintenance and extension of democracy in all our varied relationships, to the improvement of the conditions and rewards of labor in all fields, to the educational development and social improvement of all our people, and in holding secure the principles and ideals that have made America a great nation, a great democracy of free men, of free enterprise and of free trade unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Commission on Race

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The fair name of America has been disgraced by recent riots in Detroit, Beaumont, Texas, Mobile, Alabama, Los Angeles, California, and New York City, in which the world and liberal, decent law-abiding white and colored Americans were shocked

by the exhibition of savagery which was representative of the ruthless terrorism of the Axis powers and the Master Race theory, and

WHEREAS, These social explosions in the form of racial conflicts constitute dangerous dynamite to the social peace and the progress of our country, national unity and the victory over the totalitarian tyranny of Hitler, Hirohito, and Badoglio, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in its sixty-third convention in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record as condemning these outbursts of violence, bloodshed and social barbarism as a threat and challenge to our democratic way of life and the free voluntary trade union movement of the United States of America, as represented by the A. F. of L., and herewith calls upon the President of the United States and the Congress to set up a national commission on race for the purpose of exploring the basic causes of these racial conflicts by a thorough-going and scientific investigation of social, political, and economic conditions, including housing, educational opportunities, health; recreational facilities, and law enforcement agencies in the interest of better racial relations and that the President either supply money out of his contingent fund or call upon the Congress to appropriate funds that will provide for an adequate research and administrative staff to carry out the program which may be formulated by the said commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That on this commission be represented labor, minority groups, including Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Chinese, Filipinos, church business and government, and that this commission go to work forthwith in the employment of social prophylactics with a view to avoidance of recurrent racial outbursts that engender hatred, rancor, and ill will, that render the claims of democracy a hollow mockery and a sham, and that this commission make recommendations to the President and the Congress from time to time, and that the life of this commission extend into the post-war period to continue its social planning in the interests of peace and cooperation among the racial, religious and nationality groups in our national community.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor's Exercise of the Right of Franchise

Resolution No. 25.—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, Joseph Levitsky, International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The workers have learned through bitter experience that the political phase is just as important to the welfare of the workers as the economic phase and that by neglecting to use our rights as citizens to vote in elections for public office we are playing into the hands of our enemies, and

WHEREAS, It has been particularly demonstrated in the last two years that because of the negligence of trade unionists to vote in

the election many reactionary anti-labor congressmen and legislators have been elected, resulting in the adoption of reactionary anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, In order to be able to carry out fully the policy of the American Federation of Labor of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies, the workers must be conscious of their political power on election day and make full use of it, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, goes on record calling upon all international unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions, and federal locals immediately to start a campaign to make their membership "vote conscious" by electing special "Get Out the Vote" committees and seeing to it that each member of their organization is registered and votes on election day, and be it further

RESOLVED, That these special committees be requested to make a thorough check-up as to whether their members registered and voted and have that stamped upon their union books and that special recognition should be given to those local unions that will turn out a 100 per cent vote of their membership. Only in that manner will the organized labor movement be in a position to secure and protect its present standards of living and improve upon them where they still fall below a decent American standard.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The Little Steel Formula

Resolution No. 26.—By Delegate Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, Joseph Levitsky, International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The Little Steel Formula adopted by the War Labor Board to the effect that no increases shall be given to the workers above 15 per cent on the wages prevailing in January, 1941, and

WHEREAS, This so-called Little Steel Formula has become contrary to the real situation regarding wages and prices, and

WHEREAS, The Little Steel Formula has actually reduced the standard of living of the workers by forcing them to pay much higher prices while at the same time freezing their wages, and

WHEREAS, While wages have been frozen, profits were constantly increasing, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, demands the abolition of the Little Steel Formula and that the National War Labor Board should recognize and approve negotiated increases agreed upon between labor unions and employers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That if the National War Labor Board will refuse to abolish the Little Steel Formula in its entirety it shall at least modify it to an extent that the wage increases permitted to the workers above the wages

prevailing in January, 1941, shall be increased from 15 per cent to 25 per cent.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

O.P.A.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, Joseph Levitsky, International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, It is of general knowledge that the so-called ceiling prices established by the O.P.A. are constantly violated, and

WHEREAS, It is also generally known that in violation of the O.P.A., black markets are flourishing in various communities, and

WHEREAS, These violations are due to the lack of personnel of the O.P.A. caused by the cut in appropriation by Congress for the O.P.A., and

WHEREAS, Because of this lack of personnel, the consumers in general and the workers in particular are at a great disadvantage, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled demands that the Government and the Appropriation Committee of Congress appropriate the necessary sum for the O.P.A. to enable it to have a sufficiently large personnel for the purpose of enforcing its ceiling prices, abolishing the black market and in general policing in every community and bring about the immediate punishment for all violators of the O.P.A. price ceilings and those running the black markets.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Auxiliary Unions

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Auxiliary unions do not provide full-fledged trade union membership privileges and rights for its members since they are not permitted to attend the convention of the international where policies governing the union and its members are made and taxes levied, and since the members of the auxiliary unions have no voice in the designation and selection or election of the officials of the international union that direct the affairs of the union, and since the auxiliary form of organization constitutes taxation without representation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record as condemning the auxiliary union and calls upon the international organizations that have set them up to disestablish them in their next convention in the interest of justice and fair play to the workers who are now included in them, and that the said members of these

auxiliary unions be admitted as full-fledged members of the international union which claims jurisdiction over them, since this will make for greater national unity and the victory of the United Nations over the Axis powers, and also conform to sound trade union principles.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Fair Employment Practice Committee

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Fair Employment Practice Committee which was set up under Executive Order 8802, issued by President Roosevelt, has been reconstituted under the chairmanship of Monseigneur Francis J. Haas, and developing and executing constructive programs against discrimination on account of race, creed, color, or national origin in defense industries and the Government, and since the A. F. of L. has direct representation on this Committee, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the A. F. of L. assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record as endorsing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice and pledges its support and cooperation in its efforts to eliminate discrimination on account of race, creed, color, or national origin in defense industries and the Government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Honorable Service Discharge in Lieu of Initiation Fee

Resolution No. 30—By Central Labor Union, Santa Cruz, California.

WHEREAS, Men of the armed forces of the United States, particularly those serving on foreign soil, have been flooded with strongly anti-union propaganda advising them that Organized Labor is holding up production of materials vital to the prosecution of the war, and

WHEREAS, This fact will tend to turn many of these fighting men, who have never before had occasion to seek employment and become familiar with the principles of Organized Labor, against any form of unionism, and

WHEREAS, High initiation fees for entrance into unions to secure future employment may tend to crystallize this anti-union feeling among war veterans upon their return, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled hereby go on record as fostering a movement for all unions to accept an honorable discharge from the armed forces as full initiation fee for any union governing

work for which the applicant is competently fitted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

India

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, India is needed as an ally in the fight of the United Nations for Victory over the Axis powers, and since India is a symbol of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of color for freedom and independence, and since the oppression and subjugation of India by Great Britain is inconsistent with the professed claims of the United Nations that this is a war for a free world and free men, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-third convention of the A. F. of L. assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record for the freedom and independence of India now, and the releasing of its national leaders, Ghandi and Nehru, as an effective step toward the unity of the darker races back of the fight of the United Nations against the totalitarian slavery of Hitler, Hirohito, and Badoglio.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Trade Union Committee to Abolish Discrimination on Account of Race, Color, Religion or National Origin

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, It is necessary that the full manpower of the nation be mobilized in the armed forces, and defense industries for the victory of the United Nations, and since discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin is a bar to this effort and because the flames of racial hatred have burned with disaster and destruction only recently in Beaumont, Texas, Mobile, Alabama, Detroit, Michigan and New York City, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this sixty-third convention, in cooperation with the Executive Council, to set up a minorities committee on discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, composed of representatives of the various minority groups in the A. F. of L., such as Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and others, for the purpose of thoroughly exploring the question of discrimination practiced against minority groups by unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. in various industries, with a view to mapping out plans and making recommendations to the Executive Council and subsequent conventions to abolish these forms of discrimination as being against sound trade

union principles, and giving aid and comfort to Fascism in America, which if permitted to grow and develop will destroy our free voluntary trade union movement, and to investigate various cases of discrimination that may be presented to it, or that may come to its attention in any way, and that adequate funds be provided to pay a full time secretary with office staff and to meet other incidental expenses that may be necessary in the carrying out of the purposes of this resolution for the complete abolition of discrimination in unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee on race plan a systematic educational program among the members and officials of the A. F. of L. for the enlightenment of the workers on the necessity and value of unity in the labor movement, and that discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin is an enemy of the workers, and the labor movement, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. in cooperation with the Executive Council call a national labor conference on racial relations for the purpose of exploring the resources of labor to combat the spread of Fascism expressed through discriminations on account of race, and intolerance on account of religion, and prejudice on account of nationality, and to present labor's plan to the country in order to bring about better relations among religious, racial and nationality groups.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Harry W. Acreman, Texas, State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Public opinion is the controlling factor in all human relations, and we believe that it is impossible to have an enlightened public opinion on any question unless the facts are presented without prejudice to the people, and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor in America is without an adequate public relation program or medium whereby the facts regarding Labor, its acts, aims, object and aspirations may be presented to the public in a fair and impartial manner, without which it is impossible for Labor to have its just share of public approval of its acts, and

WHEREAS, The prejudicial press and radio, biased individuals and selfish, vacillating politicians have not overlooked the opportunity to magnify Labor's mistakes and blunders—often to a degree of utter falsehood—and almost never has it praised Labor or given it credit for the magnificent acts and record it has made in bringing happiness and comfort to the toiling masses of millions of men and women, boys and girls of America over a period of more than 50 years, and the 99 per cent of the loyal patriotic union men and women now engaged in war production, whose record of production is almost mirac-

ulous, while the unapproved, unauthorized and unpatriotic acts of the 1 per cent have been publicized to an alarming and unreasonable degree, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates, in convention assembled, that we hereby call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take such action as in their judgment best to create a fund to support an adequate public relations program, to be created by the Executive Council, and have same submitted to the coming AFOL convention which convenes in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4, 1943, for approval.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

National Labor Relations Board

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Daniel J. Goggin, Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The constructive purposes and actual intent of the National Labor Relations Act have been and are being set aside by the National Labor Relations Board, and

WHEREAS, The majority of the present Commission are controlled and influenced by employees and regional officials who without experience in industrial affairs, either as workers or employers, and, with preconceived and impractical ideas, over a period of years, have continually acted as "stooges" for those who, unable to control or dominate American Federation of Labor national and international unions seek their destruction, and

WHEREAS, On numerous occasions these officials and employees of the National Labor Relations Board, through their alliances with and subservency to alleged labor officials, not affiliated with American Federation of Labor unions, have consciously or otherwise served the purposes of unscrupulous exploiters of workers, and through their juggling and misuse of the powers entrusted to them have deprived millions of workers of substantial benefits which these workers would otherwise have secured through their membership in national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This same group of officials and employees of the National Labor Relations Board are apparently more interested in implanting in our country foreign policies and philosophies and certain foreign "isms" and, in reality are sympathetic with and subservient to those who either openly or covertly seek the overthrow of our American form of government, and

WHEREAS, The appointment of new members of the Commission who are free from these destructive influences has failed to correct the abuses herein referred to, and

WHEREAS, The monies appropriated by the Congress for the continuance of this governmental agency are for the most part wasted, misused and handled in such a manner as to be destructive to the continued solidarity of our American form of government, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the administration and the destructive and un-American policies of the National Labor Relations Board and its officials and employees, and we appeal to the Congress to refuse to appropriate any more monies for the use of this agency until the present personnel, officials and policy-making employees, are replaced with persons having had actual experience in industrial affairs and which persons are known to be honestly loyal to our American form of government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

N. Y. A.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate D. E. Nickerson, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration was created to provide employment for worthy young persons to enable them to continue their school work when there was little employment, and the National Youth Administration was not intended to be a system of vocational training, and

WHEREAS, The condition for which the agency was created has disappeared, but an attempt was made to perpetuate it as a vocational training agency which would duplicate other and better programs and which might well conflict with apprentice and vocational training programs sponsored and conducted by the joint efforts of labor and management, and

WHEREAS, It may be anticipated that the persons and interests which sought to convert it into a vocational training program and perpetuate it as a bureau of the Federal Government will renew their efforts to revive and reestablish the National Youth Administration, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we disapprove of the National Youth Administration as a vocational training agency and state our emphatic opposition to its revival or to the creation of any similar agency designed to supplant the system of vocational training that is operated jointly by employers and labor organizations, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we are apprehensive of the trend toward governmental control or operation of agencies that may eliminate or restrict activities which should be conducted jointly by the two elements of industry—labor and management.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Trade Union Unity

Resolution No. 36—By Two Rivers Central Trades and Labor Council, Two Rivers, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, The American Labor movement is today still divided, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of Central Labor Unions realize that at present the reactionary

Senators and Congressmen are gunning for the scalp of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, All affiliated organizations are today hoping and praying for unity among the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., so as to hold what labor has gained, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record without fail, for unity and harmony for the American Labor movement and for the more effective prosecution of the war effort and for the protection of organized labor war workers who are fulfilling their duties.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

United Mine Workers' Application for Re-affiliation

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate John J. Hurst, Central Labor Union, Cincinnati, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The United Mine Workers have requested re-affiliation in the American Federation of Labor, and it has been the desire of the American Federation of Labor to welcome back to the house of labor those groups that seceded from us several years ago, and

WHEREAS, Since the United Mine Workers seceded that organization has done two things that concern the workers within our fold. First, it has caused much resentment among the citizens and the armed forces of our country by withdrawing its members from the mines of our country while our nation is at war; and second, it has created a dual union as auxiliary to itself and has accepted into its charter thousands of workers that come within the jurisdiction of many of our National and International Unions; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the United Mine Workers adjust their present difficulty with the government and agree to conform with the no-strike for the war duration policy of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That satisfactory understandings be reached with National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor regarding any associated union under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers, whose workers cross jurisdictional lines established and recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

United Mine Workers' Application for Re-affiliation

Resolution No. 38—By Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois.

WHEREAS, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, is seeking readmittance to the American Fed-

eration of Labor, which proposition will be considered at the Boston A. F. of L. Convention, and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion of this body in regular assembly that John L. Lewis has been one of the worst enemies of organized labor; that because of him and his actions, anti-labor laws, both nationally and in states throughout the nation have been passed, and these laws are restrictions on labor and have taken away the rights labor has cherished for years, and

WHEREAS, The Constitution and By-Laws of the American Federation of Labor definitely and clearly states that no charter will be granted to any group which would conflict or interfere with the field of endeavor or jurisdiction of a previously affiliated union, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this body duly assembled in regular session go on record opposing the readmittance and the rechartering of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers of America, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to enforce its constitution and by-laws in this respect.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

United Mine Workers' Application for Re-affiliation

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Robert E. Woodmansee, Federation of Labor, Springfield, Illinois.

WHEREAS, S. John Lewis, seeks readmittance to the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned John L. Lewis has conclusively demonstrated himself to be the great disorganizer, the direct cause of the enactment into law of the Smith-Connelly Bill, and a renegade whose actions have blackened the whole cause of organized labor in the eyes of the public, and

WHEREAS, The Progressive Mine Workers of America has been and is duly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and has always conformed to the rules, regulations and by-laws of the Federation, thereby earning the good will and fullest consideration of the parent body and its entire membership, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the good and loyal service of the Progressive Mine Workers of America, its officers and its membership at large entitles it to due and proper consideration as the only legally constituted miners' affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, and that the readmittance of John L. Lewis into the American Federation of Labor under any terms whatsoever would be counter to the best interests of organized labor, and of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

United Mine Workers' Application for Re-affiliation

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Ted Williams, Birmingham Trades Council, Birmingham, Alabama.

WHEREAS, John L. Lewis has applied to the American Federation of Labor for affiliation of United Mine Workers, and

WHEREAS, John L. Lewis has violated Labor's "no-strike" pledge to the nation in time of war and has utilized his position as head of UMWA to interrupt production of coal and other vital war materials, and

WHEREAS, Lewis is carrying on an unprincipled campaign against our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, which is helpful to the enemies of our country and harmful to the war effort, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we deem his application to be a political move, in which he seeks to secure the support of 6,000,000 A. F. of L. members for his rebellious attitude toward the Government, President Roosevelt and the Government's anti-inflation machinery; and to bolster his weak position, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we consider Lewis' recent actions as directly responsible for the development of much anti-labor sentiment among the people, resulting in enactment of the Smith-Connally Act in Washington, and anti-labor legislation in Montgomery, Alabama and elsewhere, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we recognize the necessity of a united labor movement and welcome every step toward genuine unity, provided it is unity behind our President for victory over the Axis; and under normal circumstances we would welcome the coal miners into the A. F. of L., feeling a deep sympathy for their situation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention in Boston, Massachusetts in October, 1943, reject the UMWA application for affiliation until such time as John L. Lewis is not its leader.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Living Wage for Textile Workers

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Francis J. Gorman, Lloyd Klenert, William E. G. Batty, Joseph Sylvia, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The southern textile workers are receiving sub-standard wages with a differential of twenty to forty per cent less in identical mills in other parts of the textile industry, and

WHEREAS, The "Little Steel" formula has not and cannot meet the problem of the textile workers, the majority of whom are still receiving sub-standard wages, and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America has served a group of employers

with a demand for a fifteen cents per hour increase, and five and ten cents increase in the rates for the second and third shifts respectively, and

WHEREAS, An attempt is being made to localize this wage issue resulting in confusion, delay, and non-compliance, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby declare its support to the textile workers in their efforts to get the textile situation before the War Labor Board, and secure for the workers in this war industry a living wage in accordance with the wage stability program, and as a vital necessity in the war effort.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchartt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into the advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working condi-

tions of many hundred of thousands of federal government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States, including the administration of the United States Civil Service Retirement Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to request of the President that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchartt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering gov-

ernment employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects, and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal Workmen's Compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal Workmen's Compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to request that the U. S. Employees Compensation Commission, its records, and functions, be returned to the national capital at the earliest practicable date, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organizational Assistance in Peninsula of Upper Michigan

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Dexter D. Clark, Central Labor Union, Marquette, Michigan.

WHEREAS, There are many small local unions in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan that have been chartered by American Federation of Labor Internationals for many years, and

WHEREAS, Due to many natural obstacles such as great distances and small membership they have been unable to bring many of the large industrial plants in the district into the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Rival labor organizations have in the past year been able to organize better than three thousand miners and hundreds of woodworkers and chemical employees through having several active representatives in the area, and

WHEREAS, We of the American Federation of Labor are fast losing our power to demand the necessary representation in government and civil affairs, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send a qualified representative into the area to assist in organizing an Upper Peninsula Federation of Labor so we may in the near future be in a position to protect our position.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

International Charter for Office Workers

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many resolutions were introduced into the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Tampa, Florida in 1936, proposing that an International Union of Office Employees be formed, and

WHEREAS, While the 1937 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Denver, Colorado, did take the preliminary steps toward the formation of this International; however, nothing was done to promote the progress, and

WHEREAS, The 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Seattle, Washington, insisted that steps be taken immediately to form this International Union of Office Employees, and as a result of the action of this Convention a meeting was called in Chicago in August of last year, and permanent officers were elected, and a Constitution and working rules and regulations were set up, and

WHEREAS, We find as many as eight international unions chartering office employees, some internationals having withdrawn from the American Federation of Labor taking these people with them, other international unions contemplating withdrawing from the American Federation of Labor and intending to take still larger numbers of office employees with them; in other instances dual charters being issued by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Since the formation of the international council in August, 1942, the membership on the Pacific Coast alone has practically doubled and are working under contract, and

WHEREAS, In every instance where contracts have been secured, such contracts have provided for substantial increases in pay and improved working conditions for office workers and these gains were accomplished in the most part by local organizations acting locally and by themselves, and have proved by their actions that they are capable of having an International Union of Office Employees, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, go on record in favor of such a charter being granted to the office employees.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

State Organizer for West Virginia

Resolution No. 46—By Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly, Wheeling, West Virginia.

WHEREAS, The State of West Virginia has been neglected as to the efforts put forth by the American Federation of Labor to organize the unorganized laboring people within the State, and

WHEREAS, By reason of this State being neglected, the CIO and District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America have commercialized within the State and have been successful in organizing large numbers of the unorganized classes, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assign a State Organizer from the American Federation of Labor to organize the unorganized in the State of West Virginia under the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Organization of Government Employees

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Relly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchart, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The sixty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the organizing department to inaugurate a campaign of organization among Government employees, and

WHEREAS, Many City Central Bodies have rendered valuable cooperation to affiliated organizations of Government employees, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, October

4-15, 1943, commend the organizing department and the City Central Bodies for their efforts and urge that the campaign of organization among Government employees be continued and enlarged.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Liberalization of Local System of Government in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, His Excellency the President of the United States recommended to the United States Congress in the month of March of this year to liberalize the local system of government of Puerto Rico, and to the effect appointed a Committee composed of Puerto Ricans and Continental Americans to make recommendations to him on changes of our Organic Act, a Committee on which no representation was given to the organized workers of the Island, and

WHEREAS, We understand that recommendations (which are unknown to the people) were made already to the President, and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement in Puerto Rico and in Continental United States has been always on the watch when liberty and freedom of our people are involved, the American Federation of Labor having cooperated to a large extent to the establishment of the rights and liberty we enjoy at the present, and being responsible for these achievements under our Organic Act as may be seen by the following:

1.—The first Civil Government established in Puerto Rico on May 1st, 1900, was through an Act of Congress known as the Foraker's Act. There was not much that labor could do 43 years ago to have a more liberal Government established in our Island, because of our limited influence, but thanks to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor we were fortunate at least in incorporating in the Foraker's Act a "Bill of Rights" which did guarantee the free exercise of our economic and social rights, freedom of speech and the enjoyment of other constitutional rights and guarantees which enabled us to fight for better conditions for our people in general.

2.—Changes were effected by Congress on March 2nd, 1917, when a new Organic Act became operative in our Island, known as the Jones Act. This new Act was more liberal inasmuch as it did separate the functions of the three branches of Government, the executive, the legislative and the judiciary, and in some other respects. But the reason why this new Organic Act was made more liberal, was not because of the intentions of those originating it. Those originating the changes would have deprived nearly 250,000 workers of their voting franchise, a privilege that they were enjoying since the year 1900. The "literacy test", the "poll tax", "property tax" and other qualifications and restrictions would have placed—if not fought by the American Fed-

eration of Labor—practically all the power in the hands of a group of the so-called chosen few. The same people sponsoring the changes also intended that people to be eligible to our Insular Legislature should own property and pay taxes, and in that way workers could not be expected to be elected to our Legislature. No provision has been made for free and compulsory education; no limitation had been established as to the age of children to be employed; nothing to prohibit compulsory servitude.

3.—We had to keep in Washington for a long period of time the founder of this organization, our late brother Santiago Iglesias to be on the watch and to enlist the effective support of the American Federation of Labor, so that a more liberal Act could be passed by Congress for our people. Our late President Gompers, realizing the danger threatening our rights (since he knew very well the tendency and medieval education of our latin political bosses); the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor under his instructions, and many other officials of the American Federation of Labor willing to assist, "took up the cudgels" and all reactionary measures intended to be put in the Jones Act were defeated.

4.—And again, thanks to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor the Organic Act of Puerto Rico effective March the 2nd, 1917, was in reality more liberal than the Foraker's Act, and the rights and protection for labor and for all the people in general were greatly improved, and

WHEREAS, It is under this Act that we have been developing our activities for the last 26 years, and it is to this very Act that changes will be made by Congress according to the recommendations of the Committee appointed by the President if the President sees fit to accept such recommendations and have them transmitted to Congress as his own, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor having been instrumental to such an extent in the framing of our previous Organic Acts, it is our duty to continue to render these services so that the proposed liberalization of the Organic Act of the Island be a reality and to prevent that under a disguised so-called liberalization plan the people might be deprived of the true liberal measures now enjoyed and of all those rights now in existence and consecrated under the Jones Act, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in harmony with the policy and traditions of the American Federation of Labor, and the mission of this progressive institution during the past toward Puerto Rico, be, and it is hereby instructed, to watch all movements intended to make changes in the Organic Act of Puerto Rico and to take any steps deemed to be necessary to secure for the Island those measures that would effectively assist in the normal development and free exercise of all rights accorded to labor by democracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be also instructed to watch the situation and

to appear before the Committees of both the House and the Senate, of competent jurisdiction, to present the views of organized labor on amendments presented to the Organic Law of Puerto Rico, in case bills to the effect are presented in either of the Houses.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Overtime Payment for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Time and one half for overtime has been an established rate for overtime in most trades in organized labor for many years, and

WHEREAS, Time and one half for overtime is within the Little Steel Formula, and

WHEREAS, Postal employees are now paid a scale for overtime figured on the basis of straight time for a 306 day year, while the basic year under present law is only 260 days, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor place itself on record as favoring legislation which will establish an overtime rate of pay for Postal Employees at time and one half based on a 260 day year.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Increase in Retirement Pay for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under war conditions and the high cost of living the present retirement pay of \$100 a month for Postal Employees is insufficient to provide the necessities of life, therefore be it

RESOLVED, The American Federation of Labor place itself on record as favoring legislation that will provide an increase of \$15 a month for retired Postal Employees for the duration of the war and six months thereafter.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Bonus for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A Salary readjustment for Postal Employees has been a major objective of the National Association of Letter Carriers for several years and even under the stress of the present extraordinary advance in the cost of living the only relief to date has been the enactment of a \$300 a year war bonus, and

WHEREAS, Past experience shows that following the end of hostilities we have no

reason to expect an immediate reduction in the cost of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, place itself on record as favoring legislation that will make permanent the present \$300 per year war bonus for Postal Employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Amendment to Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present plan of financing unemployment compensation is not actuarially sound and is bound to end in insolvency of the fund when an acute period of unemployment occurs, neither is it economically sound, as it places a tax on the payroll of the employer, which in turn creates an inducement for the employer to reduce his working force to the minimum, thereby reducing the tax on the payroll and penalizes the employer by raising his payroll tax by every addition made to the working force, and

WHEREAS, The payroll tax places the burden on the common shareholder of corporation stock and exempts the preferred shareholder and bond holder from the liability of taxation to provide a fund for unemployment compensation while said preferred shareholder and bond holder are being paid dividends and interests from the profits of industry, and

WHEREAS, A tax on the wages of the worker is unjust as such a tax reduces his wages, thereby creating a tendency toward a lower standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The Senate Bill No. 1161, known as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security Bill increases the tax on the employers' payroll about one hundred per cent and the tax on the employee's pay check, five hundred per cent thereby giving the employee less actual wages and forcing the workers to a lower standard of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we favor an amendment to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill to strike out all references to a tax on employers' payroll and a tax on employee's pay check and that the said bill be further amended to provide that Congress shall budget annually sufficient money from the Treasury of the United States to meet the monthly Social Security payments.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Legislative Program American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program:

1. Computation of overtime pay at time and a half on 1/2080th of annual compensation as in industry.
2. Base pay increase of not less than 15 per cent.
3. Automatic within grade promotions of one step for employees with efficiency ratings of Good or better every 9 months.
4. Preservation of the present civil service retirement system.
5. Payment at the end of each year for accrued annual leave in excess of the maximum accumulation authorized by law. Payment to dependents of deceased employees for all accrued annual leave at date of death. Payment to employees separated from the service for all accrued annual leave.
6. Immediate extension of the Classification Act to the field service.
7. Amendment to the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof when appeals for reallocation are pending; to afford employees unrestricted opportunity so to discuss their positions with a designated representative of the Civil Service Commission as will apprise him fully of their duties and related circumstances; and to guarantee prompt consideration of all appeals.
8. Continued extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules to cover the entire Civil Service.
9. Establishment of a Board of Appeals with employee representation to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees with authority to enforce its decisions so as to protect fully the rights of employees.
10. Greater participation in personnel matters by employees and employee organizations.
11. Promotion from within the service wherever practicable with seniority as the basis where other factors are equal.
12. Improvement and standardization of efficiency rating system and provisions of adequate appropriation to accomplish this purpose. Establishment of local efficiency rating committees with employee representation throughout the field and departmental service.
13. Equitable application of the night differential to all positions in all agencies where night shifts are required.
14. Uniform application to all government positions of the longevity pay principle whereby an employee who has reached the top of his grade may, after a prescribed period of time, receive an additional pay increase.
15. Provide for pay and grade commensurate with duties performed for all employees with special reference to general revision upward of salary rates for all positions under the Classification Act.
16. Payment of compensation on duly authorized pay days, not on later dates, expeditious payment of expense accounts, and prompt issuance of bonds.
17. Amendment of the Hatch Act to permit the Civil Service Commission to fix penalties for violations of the Act commensurate with the gravity of such violations.
18. Creation by law of a wage board for per diem employees of the Government of the District of Columbia, with adequate employee representation thereon, such Board to meet at designated times at least twice a year.
19. Shorter hours, adequate compensation and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans Administration facilities, Federal penal institutions and the Public Health Service.
20. Optional quarters subsistence and laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such services, and employees to be charged for only such meals as they actually receive.
21. Defraying by the Government of the cost of traveling by employees and their dependents and all other costs, including the transportation of household effects incidental to the transfer of employees from one duty station to another for the convenience of the Government.
22. Providing all employees of the Government with uniforms and necessary equipment in those cases where the wearing of uniforms and use of special equipment are compulsory.
23. Compensation during required training and study courses when conducted on other than Government time.
24. Straight eight-hour shifts for all nurses working in Government hospitals.
25. Legislation making it possible for Government employees engaged in hazardous work to obtain insurance at normal rates.
26. To materially reduce absenteeism and improve efficiency, provide for emergency medical attention for civilian Government employees where dispensaries are available or may be made available.
27. Establishment of the United States Employment Service as a permanent Federal agency and the continuance of efforts to bring the salaries and working conditions of the employees of this agency on a par with other classified services.
28. Inclusion in the Postal Service of Post Office Custodial Employees and extension to them of Postal Service rights and privileges.

Post War Objectives

29. Permanent overtime pay plan for Government employees.
30. 5-day 35-hour week with no decrease in pay.
31. Minimum compensation of \$1,500 a year for all full-time employees.
32. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service. Unqualified disability retirement regardless of age and continuance on the annuity rolls until reinstated, of persons who have recovered from disability. Elimination of the tontine charge.
33. Full protection of the rights of all members of this Federation who are War Service

employees and their retention in the service after the emergency where such action does not conflict with existing law covering restoration of veterans and the provisions of the Executive Order under which employees transferred into war jobs are entitled to reemployment; such protection to include the establishment of a reemployment list for these employees upon separation in order to give them maximum opportunity for reemployment in the Government service wherever their skills may be best utilized.

34. Establishment of adequate transfer facilities offering employees opportunity to seek positions for which they are best suited and at locations where they can render the most efficient service, these facilities to be made available to War Service employees in offices where separations are imminent by reason of reorganization or curtailment of activities.

35. Dismissal wage equal to half pay for six months for employees with five years of service who have been dismissed without prejudice.

36. Protection to the fullest degree of the rights of all members of this Federation who transferred to war jobs, with respect to return to their former positions, salary advancements to which they would have been entitled, and opportunities for promotion they would have had, to insure that employees shall in no way be penalized for patriotic endeavor; reinstatement in the most nearly comparable positions if original positions are abolished.

Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, endorse aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Temporary Increase in Annuities Under Civil Service Retirement Law

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engi-

neers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchartt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Retired employees are subject to increase cost of living and to increased taxes and other obligations in the present emergency, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, endorse legislation to provide that annuities payable under the U. S. Civil Service Retirement law shall be increased at least fifteen per centum for the duration of the war and for six months thereafter.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Political Rights

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchartt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Laws have been enacted and regulations promulgated to protect the integrity of public elections and to prevent the use of public office to influence elections by coercion of public employees either by threat of retributive action or promise of reward, and

WHEREAS, Such laws have imposed undue restrictions upon the free exercise by Government employees to freely express opinions, and to participate in political campaigns, and

WHEREAS, Recent laws have provided unwarrantedly severe penalties for the slightest violation, either intentional or inadvertent, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, instruct the Executive Council to initiate legislation to amend existing statutes in such manner as to restore to public employees the right to full and free exercise of citizenship rights and to insure their protection against compulsion or coercion from superiors in employment or office or from persons in position to influence either their tenure of employment or opportunity for advancement.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Salary Increase for Government Employees

Resolution No. 56--By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchartt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Government employees have had no permanent increase in compensation in many years, and

WHEREAS, Temporary increases granted by the 78th Congress to Postal and other Government employees are inadequate to meet the increased cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Temporary increases granted by the 78th Congress to Postal and other Government employees are inadequate to meet the increased cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Organizations of Postal and other Government employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are endeavoring to secure permanent upward revisions of salary, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations of Government employees in securing an equitable upward revision

of salaries commensurate with service rendered and instruct the Executive Council to support legislation for that purpose to the fullest possible extent.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Overtime Pay for Government Employees

Resolution No. 57--By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchartt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Government employees, and particularly postal employees, are required to work in excess of regularly scheduled hours of duty when conditions warrant, and

WHEREAS, Present conditions compel overtime service regularly, and

WHEREAS, Time and one-half for overtime is the generally accepted practice and recognized as the standard in federal legislation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, go on record as endorsing the demands of Government employees for legislation providing that all overtime be compensated for at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular hourly rate of pay, computed on the basis of actual working hours.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

U. S. Civil Service Retirement System

Resolution No. 58--By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence

McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Retirement System was established through the efforts of organized Federal Government employees, and

WHEREAS, Its scope has been extended to embrace all employees of the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, All employees make contributions of five per centum of their basic pay to the U. S. Civil Service Retirement fund, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, go on record in favor of maintaining the U. S. Civil Service Retirement system as a separate and independent retirement system for employees of the United States Government.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engi-

neers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor now embrace employees in all branches of Federal Government service, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at successive conventions, has adopted resolutions endorsing the efforts of Government employees to secure improved working conditions, relating particularly to:

The establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent tribunal for review of disciplinary charges, with employee representation thereon.

Employee representation on all personnel boards.

Establishment of satisfactory observance of seniority in promotions and assignments. Extension of the classified civil service to all positions except those that are policy-making in fact.

Liberalization of sick leave and vacation laws.

Reduction of night work and establishment of adequate differential for night work.

Elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices.

Extension of the shorter workweek principle without reduction in pay.

Equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees.

Extension of the classification principle to those groups that would be benefited thereby and who desire it.

Improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions.

Prompt payment of salaries. Elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems.

Higher rates of compensation for overtime and for night work, and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and objectives of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for private employers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Retirement Benefits of Government Employees in Armed Forces

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers; Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewke, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Government employees inducted into the armed forces of the United States are on leave of absence, without pay, from their civilian positions, and

WHEREAS, In order to receive full credit for such service in computing benefits under the Civil Service Retirement law, they must make contributions to the retirement fund in amounts equal to five per centum of their base pay while in the armed service, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, record itself in favor of legislation to provide that Government employees who are inducted into the armed forces during war time shall be credited with all time served in such armed service in community benefits under the U. S. Civil Service Retirement Act and the District of Columbia Firemen's and Teachers' retirement acts.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Salaries of School Teachers in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, The School Teachers of Puerto Rico have ever been the poorest paid employees of the Government, receiving in the rural zone salaries as low as sixty-six dollars (\$66.00) a month after deductions made by

the Government to collect the 5 per cent as victory tax and the 6 per cent for the saving and pension funds, and

WHEREAS, It has become impossible for the teachers to live on such ridiculous income under present war conditions, the cost of living being such that it would not permit them to keep a half decent standard even in normal times, and

WHEREAS, After careful consideration the Teachers' Association has submitted demands to the Government of Puerto Rico for a minimum salary of one hundred dollars (\$100.00) a month for those teachers comprised in the lowest brackets; a 20 per cent increase for the Special, High School teachers and other classes; the construction of more school buildings; a substantial increase in the appropriation for free text books for the poor children and the appointment of the necessary number of School Teachers to provide educational facilities for those children who, while willing to attend school, no school facilities are provided for them at the present, and

WHEREAS, During the last two (2) years a great number of school teachers have given up school teaching to accept different federal government positions where they can get better pay, the possibilities being that others will do the same, and

WHEREAS, The Teachers Association, conscious of the law, has also requested from the Governor of Puerto Rico and from the leaders of all the political parties represented in the Insular Legislature that a Short Special Session of the Legislature be called to tackle this problem, and

WHEREAS, While twenty (20) out of the thirty-nine (39) Representatives constituting the House (which is in the majority) and nine (9) out of the nineteen (19) Members constituting the Senate, have willingly accepted that it is most necessary to call this Special Session of the Insular Legislature, because this is the only body legally empowered and authorized to meet the demands and they, these Members of both Houses, have also requested the Governor to call the Special Session, the Governor has decided to recommend some administrative measures granting increases to the teachers of as low as three (3) dollars and six (6) dollars per month—these measures being considered as illegal by those well versed in the interpretation of our local laws and of our Organic Act—and has also absolutely refused to call the Insular Legislature to a Special Session, which is the proper action to take under the circumstances, and

WHEREAS, The School Teachers' Association in Special Convention assembled in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on the 4th of Sept., 1943, decided (a) to stand for their demands; (b) to wait until the 11th of September as the dead line for the Governor to call the Special Session of the Legislature; (c) to stop all educational activities, walking out of school for 24 hours if no Special Session has been called, and (d) then meet again to take a definite action that may result in the declara-

tion of a strike by all the teachers, an action which will adversely affect education and threatens to endanger our whole educational program, if immediate steps are not taken by the Insular Legislature which, as already stated, is the only body legally authorized to confront this problem, and

WHEREAS, If the Teachers' Association carry out its threat of a general strike, paralyzing all educational activities more than five thousand (5,000) teachers would be affected and more than three hundred thousand (300,000) children now attending school would be deprived of educational facilities, which would bring the figure of the people of school age lacking school facilities and school accommodation to more than one-half of a million (500,000) people, since there are already over two hundred thousand (200,000) people of school age in the Island without school accommodation, and

WHEREAS, Official figures show that Puerto Rico had receipts for the year ending last July amounting to more than ninety-one millions of dollars (\$91,000,000) and there is at the present a net surplus in our Treasury of more than six millions of dollars (\$6,000,000), which is more than sufficient to remedy conditions and meet the just demands of the teachers, and

WHEREAS, The demands of the School Teachers of Puerto Rico are supported by all the parents' associations and by all classes in Puerto Rico who realize the very delicate mission of the teachers, while the Governor of the Island, emulating the Governor of the English Crown during the old times of the oppressed thirteen American Colonies, has insistently and absolutely refused to call a Special Session of the Insular Legislature to deal with this problem which is so vital to the very life of our country, be it

RESOLVED, By this Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

If by the time this Convention adjourns, the Governor of Puerto Rico still insists in refusing to call a Special Session of the Insular Legislature of Puerto Rico to meet the demands of the Puerto Rican teachers and to provide adequate legislative means to properly attend to the whole school problem affecting the childhood of the Island, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed—and it is hereby instructed—to present this whole problem to His Excellency the President of the United States—who appoints the Governor of Puerto Rico—and to demand from the President that either the Governor of the Island be instructed and directed to call a Special Session of the Insular Legislature, as requested by the Teachers' Association and by the members constituting the majority of the Legislature, to adopt adequate remedies, or that steps be immediately taken by the United States Congress to remedy this situation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Junior Colleges

Resolution No. 62—By Trades and Labor Assembly, Sioux City, Iowa.

WHEREAS, Organized Labor has always advocated education among the masses of working people in order that they be better prepared for the battle of livelihood and fulfill their respective places within the movement and in society in general, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through persistent and proper activities, was instrumental in instituting the program of free education for the children of this Nation, including high school training, and

WHEREAS, It is universally recognized that the individual who is properly educated and trained finds suitable employment more readily than one who possesses only a limited amount of schooling, and

WHEREAS, Because of tuition costs, together with the need for subsistence, the average person is unable to acquire any desired schooling above the regular high school courses, and

WHEREAS, At the present time, in certain localities throughout the nation, there are certain schools known as Junior Colleges, where regular university studies are offered, tuition free upon certain minor requirements, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of the Junior College as a means of offering opportunity for a higher education to all young people of this nation with limited resources, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor promote suitable activities tending to encourage the establishment of such educational facilities throughout the entire nation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Support of the Public Schools in the Present Emergency

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has taken the position throughout its entire history that adequate public education is indispensable to a successful democratic society, and

WHEREAS, The 1941 and 1942 conventions of the American Federation of Labor declared that widespread public education is essential to victory over the Axis dictators and to the success of the post-war democracy, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of classrooms of the public schools did not open this year because of a shortage of teachers resulting from the failure of many boards of education to pay a living wage to teachers, and

WHEREAS, More than half of the teachers in the United States receive less than \$1500 in wages and thousands receive less than one-half that amount, and

WHEREAS, Past experience both in England and the United States indicates that the costs of crime and juvenile delinquency resulting from the closing of the schools are far greater than the costs of maintaining adequate educational facilities, and

WHEREAS, The closing or curtailment of the public schools and the wreckage of human lives resulting therefrom undermines the very foundation of our democratic government, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, in October, 1943, urge all affiliated organizations to make a careful study of the school systems in their respective states and communities and to make every effort to see that adequate educational facilities are provided for every child and that sufficient wage scales are paid to teachers so they will not be compelled to leave the teaching profession to secure living wages, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated organizations be urged to cooperate in organizing teachers in the American Federation of Labor in order to assist them in providing better educational facilities for children and better working conditions for teachers.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Child Labor in the Present Emergency

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The 1942 convention of the American Federation of Labor took an emphatic stand against the use of child labor in industry until all other sources of man power and woman power have been completely exhausted, and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Paul McNutt, Chief of the War Manpower Commission, has stated that the best place for children under eighteen years of age during the present emergency is in the public schools, and

WHEREAS, An alarming number of young people of school age have left the schools to take advantage of high wages in war industries, and

WHEREAS, Many children who have left the schools will never return and will be seriously handicapped in life because they have sacrificed their schooling for a few months of high wages incident to war, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of children of school age are working part time or even full time and attempting to carry a full load of school work without definite planning or supervision, and

WHEREAS, Such practices are damaging to the lives of school children, to the school system, and to the welfare of American democracy, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October, 1943, urge all affiliated organizations:

(1) To cooperate with local and state man power authorities in securing sufficient man and woman power so that it will be unnecessary to take the children from the schools:

(2) To cooperate with the schools and interested organizations in a movement to keep the children in the schools, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the Permanent Committee on Education that the Committee study carefully a system of carefully planned and supervised part time work for high school students subject to the general standards built up over the years by the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Office of Education.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Education and Post-war Reconstruction

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its 1942 convention in Toronto, Canada, adopted a statement on education and the post-war world declaring in part, "The new world order can be achieved only if there is added to all those other aims the last and most important aim: a new and better education for all. Reconstruction will mean essentially re-education," and

WHEREAS, There is an immediate need for formulating definite plans for educational procedures both in the allied nations and in the nations freed from the Axis dictators, and

WHEREAS, Educational problems are entirely separate and distinct from other problems involved in reconstruction and require separate organization and machinery, and

WHEREAS, There are many educational problems related to reconstruction in addition to formal education in the public schools and universities, and

WHEREAS, Every nation has its own culture and traditions which constitute an important part of the educational scheme of the nation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston Mass., in October, 1943, reaffirm its stand in favor of adequate educational facilities in the reconstruction program and recommend to all governmental authorities charged with the responsibilities of reconstruction that separate educational agencies, under the direction of trained and experienced educational experts, be established to counsel and guide in the field of education, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to educational authorities in the reconstruction program that in all

nations the cultures and traditions which are consistent with human welfare be respected and that educational facilities be extended wherever possible to adults as well as to children in the public schools for the purpose of promoting goodwill and understanding among the nations in the post-war world.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Public School History Textbooks

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Dexter D. Clark, Central Labor Union, Marquette, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The progress of the working men and women of the United States of America rests wholly upon the education the masses receive, and

WHEREAS, The public schools are the main source of education for the majority of Americans, and

WHEREAS, Few schools ever make any attempt to enlighten the pupils as to Labor's part in the founding and maintenance of the United States of America, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as demanding that all branches of organized labor bring pressure to bear on their respective State Legislatures to make it mandatory that Public Schools History textbooks contain the true story as to who made the Declaration of Independence, who staged the Boston Tea Party and the true facts as to the origin and progress of the American Labor Movement.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Federal Committee on Apprenticeship

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, An effective working relationship has been developed between the field representatives of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship and the Apprenticeship Division of the Industrial Commission, which is resulting in a rapid expansion of apprenticeship under the Wisconsin Apprenticeship Law, and

WHEREAS, This relationship should be made more effective through additional personnel in order that all plants, shops, shipyards, etc., who employ skilled men may be induced to train their own future skilled mechanics through cooperation with the individual state apprenticeship laws, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, use its best efforts to have the activities of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship implemented by increasing its personnel, and that the appropriation of funds for the same be increased accordingly.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Labor Education

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, Joseph Levitsky, International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, One of the important functions of the trade union movement is to educate the trade unionists in order to understand the problems confronting the labor movement and the best policies and methods to be adopted in order to solve these problems, and

WHEREAS, Labor education is necessary in order to combat anti-union propaganda which is carried on continuously by enemies of labor through the press, radio, movies and textbooks, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations be and are hereby requested to enlarge and extend their educational activities, making use of the press, special pamphlets, radio and the movies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we use our influence in order to bring about the establishment of trade union courses in high schools and extension courses giving the history, structure, policies and accomplishments of the trade union movement so that the boys and girls that will enter industry after graduating from these schools will take along with them some basic knowledge of the true facts of the trade union movement.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Federal Aid to Education

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The war has brought into glaring relief the inequities in educational opportunity which exist in our nation, and

WHEREAS, The United States Army has rejected an alarmingly large number of selectees for illiteracy, and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice in some states to discriminate against Negroes and other groups in the provision of educational opportunities, and

WHEREAS, The financing of an equalized program of education on a national basis is impossible by local and state governments alone, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the Congress to enact legislation which will provide:

1. Federal aid to the States to enable the States to maintain their schools
2. That the program granting aid provision for permanent aid be in a bill separate from the bill granting emergency aid
3. That the fund be distributed among the several States on the basis of an objective

standard which will be predicated upon the recognition of the relative need among the several States for such aid

4. That the funds for the benefit of the schools be distributed within the States in keeping with the State law

5. That funds be made available to the States to enable them to care for the well-being of all the children in every State

6. That the following minimum essentials be written into federal law as a condition for granting such aid to the States:

- A. All funds be distributed in such a manner as to prevent discrimination against minority groups or minority races
- B. The plan of distribution adopted within each State be made public before the funds are actually disbursed
- C. Each State be asked to work toward a minimum entrance salary of \$1,500 per year for every professionally trained, properly certified teacher in that State
- D. Minimum length of school year
- E. Statutory protection of tenure of employment for teachers

7. The introduction and extension of a sound program of adult education in all states. Referred to Committee on Education.

Yellow Dog Contract in Oklahoma City

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The Board of Education in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, has offered to the teachers of the city a "yellow dog" contract providing that no teacher shall be employed who is a member of the American Federation of Teachers or any other labor organization of teachers, and

WHEREAS, Such a contract is a distinct violation of the fundamental principles of democratic government for which the American Federation of Labor has battled over the years and for which we are now waging global war, and

WHEREAS, The right of public employees—local, state, and national—to affiliate with organized labor is generally recognized throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, The resurrection of the out-moded yellow dog contract in Oklahoma City in an alarming example of the attempt to use the war effort for the purpose of crushing organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The danger of the spread of the yellow dog contract to other unions is a serious threat to all organized labor in the nation, and

WHEREAS, The Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools in Oklahoma City are hampering the war effort by compelling organized labor to battle against totalitarian practices on the home front at a time when undivided effort should be used

in waging war against the enemies of democracy on the battle front, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has stated that the American Federation of Teachers can contribute much to winning the war and establishing a lasting peace, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, in October, 1943, condemn the Board of Education of Oklahoma City and the Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Herbert Bruner, for attempting to enforce a contract which conforms to the principles of the Axis dictatorship rather than to the philosophy of American democracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor congratulate the Central Labor Union of Oklahoma City and the Oklahoma Federation of Labor for the courageous battle against this outrageous violation of the principles of American democracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions render all possible assistance to the International Union of the American Federation of Teachers and to organized labor in Oklahoma in this battle to eliminate the vicious yellow dog clause from the contracts of the teachers of the city.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Amendment to Article XIV of A. F. of L. Constitution

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Frank W. Brewster, Robert Lester, John O'Rourke, H. E. Wood, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

RESOLVED, That ARTICLE XIV of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended by the addition of a section, to be known as Section 7, which shall read as follows:

State Federations of Labor shall make no law that will conflict with the laws or procedure of the American Federation of Labor.

State Federations of Labor shall hold their elections of officers at their regular conventions, with only duly elected delegates to the conventions being permitted to vote.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Amendment to Article X of A. F. of L. Constitution

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Frank W. Brewster, Robert Lester, John O'Rourke, H. E. Wood, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

RESOLVED, That ARTICLE X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended by the addition of a section, to be known as Section 4, which shall read as follows:

The President or Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall be empowered to look into the books of National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of determining whether or not they are complying with the Constitution relative to their per capita tax and the number of members in good standing within each respective organization, or

The Executive Council shall be empowered to order the President or Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor to have audits made of such books whenever in the judgment of the Executive Council it is necessary.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Protesting Nazi Extermination of Jews in Europe and Proposing Measures for Rescue of Survivors

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Max Zarkitsky, Michael F. Greene, Max Finger, Nellie H. Gallagher, I. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, Newspaper dispatches from Europe, and the documented reports of the State Department tell a horrible story of the atrocities to which the conquered peoples of Europe have been subjected. In Czechoslovakia the destruction of Lidice was but a symbol of the calculated plans of the Nazis to break the spirit of an entire nation. In Poland the best minds of the country, the leading spirits of all classes, the leaders of the labor movement, have been executed as part of the planned Nazi policy to leave the Poles a people without leadership and without direction. In Holland the Nazis looted their bombs on Rotterdam after the city had surrendered, and thousands of women and children were butchered to strike fear into the hearts of their fighting men. Today Nazi soldiers are bayoneting Italian civilians on the streets of Italian cities to satisfy their lust for revenge against their former ally, and

WHEREAS, Horror piles upon horror. Terror is the lot of all, and

WHEREAS, It has been reserved for the Jewish population of occupied Europe to be marked for mass extermination. History knows no parallel to bestial cruelties by which the Nazis are carrying out their resolve to destroy an entire people. Herded into walled ghettos, they are denied food and drink until life departs from their bodies. Crowded into specially constructed gas cham-

bers, they are asphyxiated to death by their Nazi executioners. Hunted like animals through the streets, they are shot down or clubbed to death when their torturers have tired of their sport, and

WHEREAS, The world has seen more than 3,000,000 Jews in occupied Europe starved, hunted, gassed, clubbed and machine-gunned. Today there remains but a tiny remnant of an ancient people in lands where their fathers and forefathers have lived for centuries, and

WHEREAS, The conscience of the civilized world recoils with horror at the fiendish crimes perpetrated by the Nazis on a defenseless people, and

WHEREAS, Civilized humanity owes it to its own conscience to undo, so far as can be undone, the inhumane plans of the Nazi barbarians and to save those who can still be saved from the fate that has been suffered by 3,000,000 of their people, and

WHEREAS, To this end, the American Federation of Labor calls upon the United Nations to take immediate steps to rescue the remaining Jews of occupied Europe. We call upon the United Nations, and our own country, to provide for them temporary havens in their territories. We urge that where immigration restrictions impede the work of rescue they be temporarily lifted, and that in our own country quotas be enlarged where necessary so that those Jews who can still be snatched from the bloody hands of the Nazis may find a temporary resting place until the war is over, when they may once more take up their abode in their native lands, and

WHEREAS, We urge that our Government in the meanwhile, together with the governments of our Allies, warn the men by whose orders these inhuman deeds have been perpetrated that they will be treated as outlaws from humanity, and outcasts from the world; and that they will be punished for their crimes against the helpless and the down-trodden, and

WHEREAS, The Nazis, as part of their plan for world domination, have introduced into Europe a calculated chaos. They have uprooted millions of Frenchmen, Norwegians, Hollanders, Belgians, Russians and Poles from their homelands. They have looted everything movable in every land where they have set their heel. Victory will not be complete until the monstrous skein of planned chaos is unraveled. The United Nations, as the trustees for the conscience of civilization, must resolve that these millions shall return to their homes, shall recover their property, shall be able once more as free men to live on the fruits of their toil. And precisely because the Nazis spent their greatest efforts on the uprooting and extermination of the Jews above all other peoples, the United Nations must make a special effort to foil the Nazi plans, and enable the Jews, who suffered most at the hands of the Nazis, to return to their former residences and occupations, with all their political, economic, and civil rights restored, and

WHEREAS, When all this has been done, when charity and kindness and human decency have bound up the wounds left by our enemies, there will still be those among the Jews who will have no home, no nation, to which they can return. The American Federation of Labor has in the past expressed its profound sympathy with the national aspirations of the Jewish people. And today, more than ever, the American Federation of Labor calls upon the world to fulfill its long-standing pledge to the Jewish people by enabling them to build up their own homeland, and by opening wide the doors of Palestine to the victims of the Nazi terror, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has observed with admiration the reconstruction of the Jewish homeland since the Balfour declaration recognizing the special claim of the Jewish people to the soil of Palestine. It has watched with pride the great role played in the upbuilding of Palestine by the forces of organized labor there, and

WHEREAS, The world is fortunate that there exists a Jewish homeland, whose sons stood at the gateway of the East and held it against the Nazi war machine until the full forces of the United Nations could be brought to bear to expel the Germans from Asia and Africa. It is fortunate that there will exist tomorrow a Jewish commonwealth to which may turn those victims of Nazi oppression who have no other homeland, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges upon our Government and upon the Government of Great Britain, which has a special responsibility in the matter, that the Balfour Declaration be fully implemented, that the right of the Jewish people to a national home in Palestine be reaffirmed, and that every aid and encouragement be given to enable the victims of Nazi persecution to settle upon their ancient soil and make it bloom once more as it did in the days of the prophets.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor's Rights

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor has continuously demonstrated that they were willing to sacrifice equally with employers and business interests by their often reiterated "no strike" pledge, which has been recognized by increased production records, the execution of which is noted by numerous "E" awards by the Army and Navy in organized plants throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, After the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the slogan was "Free Labor Will Win," but since the inception of the War Manpower Commission Stabilization Program, there has been a concerted effort on the part of the War Manpower Commission to curtail the activities of labor and their representatives to an alarming extent, and

WHEREAS, Since the establishment of Labor Stabilization Program of War Manpower

Commission, there have been more man hours of work lost, and of which there has been no press notice given, by reason of their requirements of a Statement of Availability, than has been lost by strikes and absenteeism for the duration, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record as instructing its officers to make every effort to protect and safeguard by every means possible, the rights and benefits guaranteed to every individual under the Bill of Rights, by protesting against actions of the War Manpower Stabilization Program, the much-talked-about conscription of labor, any anti-labor measures that might be detrimental to the working people, whether it be by Executive Order, anti-labor congressional action, or by Bureau set up by Executive Order or congressional action, or any such action that would be deemed for the purpose of hampering the free rights of collective bargaining.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

United Mine Workers Application for Re-affiliation

Resolution No. 75—By Pekin Trades and Labor Assembly, Pekin, Illinois.

WHEREAS, John L. Lewis seeks readmittance to the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned John L. Lewis has conclusively demonstrated himself to be the great disorganizer, the direct cause of the enactment into law of the Smith-Connelly Bill, and a renegade whose actions have blackened the whole cause of organized labor in the eyes of the general public, and

WHEREAS, The Progressive Mine Workers of America has been and is duly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and has always conformed to the rules, regulations and By-laws of the Federation, thereby earning the goodwill and fullest consideration of the parent body and its entire membership, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the good and loyal service of the Progressive Mine Workers of America, its officers and its membership at large, entitles it to due and proper consideration as the only legally constituted miners' affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, and that the readmittance of John L. Lewis into the American Federation of Labor—under any terms whatsoever—would be counter to the best interests of organized labor, and of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Minnesota State Federation of Labor at its 1943 Convention voted to estab-

lish a Public Relations Bureau for the purpose of carrying on educational activities to acquaint the public of the vital facts and truth about economic, social and legislative actions, and

WHEREAS, The attack on the labor movement through propaganda and by legislation is a national program, and

WHEREAS, The activities of the State Federations of Labor cannot, to any extent extend beyond their own borders, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor establish a Public Relations Department for the purpose of counteracting the vicious propaganda that is now being used against Labor as well as the legislative measures that are being promoted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Post-war Public Works Program

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the end of the present war this country will be faced with the serious problem of changing back to peace-time production, and

WHEREAS, It is very probable that widespread unemployment will result, and

WHEREAS, Millions of men and women now in our Armed Forces will be anxious to return to civilian life with an income to provide them with a decent standard of living and our public officials, federal, state and local, charged with responsibility for the advancement of a plan to the end that these persons returning to civilian life can with the least possible delay adjust themselves to civilian life, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of labor call upon the Congress of the United States, the State and Local officials, to plan a public works program under the Federal Works Administration with an appropriation sufficient to provide jobs at union wages and standards of employment so that our citizens will not again have to go through the humiliation of being compelled to accept WPA relief or sub-standards of living.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Post-war Planning Committee

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Next to winning the war and establishing peace throughout the world the most serious problem confronting our country is the conversion from production for destruction to production for consumption, and

WHEREAS, Under the most favorable conditions there will be wide spread unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Unless serious and extensive thought is given to the problem immediately we may find ourselves at the cessation of hostilities without a well thought-out plan of making such conversions, and

WHEREAS, Labor will be compelled to carry the largest burden unless a plan which

can be applied with the least possible delay is drafted; therefore, labor should be the most concerned in reference to this question, and

WHEREAS, Labor alone is powerless to marshal and put into operation any plan to alleviate the suffering that may result, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we call upon our governmental agencies, Federal, State and Local, to immediately take the necessary action to form such a committee with equal representation on the part of management, labor and government, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request this committee to make a study of the industries in their localities which in all likelihood will cease all operation, those that will be greatly curtailed; and on the other hand make a study of industries which have been curtailed because of the war activities, so that knowledge will be had where certain groups of individuals in the war industries can be fitted into consumer goods industries, that can be expected to increase operations; and further that said committee should have recommendations as to how government can assist these industries to immediately commence operations and that said committee should also assist war time industry in converting to peace time industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Racial Discrimination on Manpower

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt hit at the heart of the Manpower problem when he testified before the Senate Military Affairs Committee that the chief question is proper utilization of our manpower resources, rather than a shortage of labor supply, and

WHEREAS, One major hindrance to proper labor utilization is discrimination against Negroes, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its traditional policy of opposition to all discrimination, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it put itself on record to vigorously fight for the right of Negroes to work on any job; and calls upon its affiliated locals to do all in their power to put the aim of this resolution into effect, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention brands as thoroughly un-American and in violation of the Constitution of the United States the policy adopted in numerous industries, particularly those engaged in production for the war, of barring Negroes from employment solely on account of their race and color, and expresses its emphatic opposition to the segregation of Negroes in certain Army Camps.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Prevailing Wages on Public Construction

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Workers, members of the A. F. of L., have been indispensable in the construction of plants for the manufacture of implements of war absolutely necessary for the successful prosecution of the war for the preservation of our democratic institutions for this and future generations, and

WHEREAS, Upon the completion of these plants, when production and assembly lines are in operation, the management of said plants refuse to pay the prevailing rate of wages to Building Trades Mechanics for work vitally necessary in the operation of said plants, and

WHEREAS, The prevailing rate of wages is usually recognized as the basic wage scale by private enterprise, the war production plants, mostly under government supervision ought to do likewise, and

WHEREAS, The continuation of payment of wages below the prevailing wage scale tends to tear down conditions obtained through years of bitter struggle and to lower the American standard of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert its influence in an endeavor to have all plants operating under government contract recognize the prevailing rate of wages for the Building Trades Mechanics.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Six-Hour Day

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Post War Problems of production and employment foreshadow the difficulty, if not distress, of millions of young workers being demobilized from the armed forces and of additional millions being discharged from manufacture and transportation of war materials, and

WHEREAS, During the war period technological advance, particularly expressed in terms of labor-saving machinery, has made enormous strides thus rendering more acute the task of finding jobs for all in a peace-time economy who are willing and able to work, and

WHEREAS, This technical development, constantly enriched by the discoveries of science, has already laid a foundation on which the needs of the population, including the needs for exports to other parts of the world, in a normal peace-time economy can be provided for abundantly in much less time than what now constitutes the generally accepted workday, and

WHEREAS, The problem of maintaining the American standard of living when the emergency of war production ceases is intimately bound up with the task of finding jobs

for all who are willing and able to work, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give, as a part of post-war plans now being considered and as a means of helping spread available jobs in that period to the greatest number of people, serious attention to the establishment universally of the six-hour work-day for all workers in industry and trade.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Extension of Voting Hours

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The reactionary and anti-labor forces are conducting a nation-wide campaign, through their kept press and radio and through their powerful lobbies in Congress to discredit labor unions, defeat through legislation, Acts favorable to labor and enact in their place restrictive laws unfavorable to labor, and

WHEREAS, In our last Congressional Election, great numbers of workers were unable to vote on account of their working long hours and far from their homes, making it difficult to get to the polls in time, and finding the polls crowded, and

WHEREAS, The most critical time in our Nation's history is before us, with the interest of the common man at stake, we must see that all who want to vote shall have that opportunity, and that all organized labor work collectively to elect our friends and defeat our enemies, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor petition Congress to pass a law making it mandatory to keep the polls open between the hours of 5 A.M. and 10 P.M. at election in November 1944, and be it further

RESOLVED, Should Congress fail to enact such a law organized labor should declare a nation-wide labor voting holiday for its members.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Labor Representation at the Peace Conference

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Atlantic Charter gives the general basis for a just and abiding peace, and

WHEREAS, The workers, who in the main, fight and pay for the wars in blood, sweat and tears, have an abiding interest in the terms of the peace and the construction of the post-war world, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all it can to demand that organized labor be represented at the peace conference, so the peoples of the world can live in peace and harmony.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Permanent Food and Milk Program for School Children

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States enacted Public Law No. 320 on August 25, 1935, section 32 of which law makes available annually to the Department of Agriculture 30% of all monies collected as import duties to be used by the Department of Agriculture for relief of farm food surpluses and said Department did, as one method of using up farm surpluses, sponsor a nationwide school lunch and school milk program, and

WHEREAS, The 78th Congress did on July 5, 1943, pass the Annual Appropriation Bill for the Department of Agriculture which included a provision that, notwithstanding the fact that farm surpluses no longer exist, a sum not to exceed \$50,000,000.00 could be spent during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, for the continuance of the school lunch and school milk program. At that time Congress made it plain that the provision was for one year only and that worthy as the school lunch program is, some other means should be developed rather than to charge it to section 32, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of the school lunch and school milk program is of benefit to the health and welfare of the child, which was brought to light during the induction of selectees for the armed forces of the United States when large numbers of men were shown to have suffered from malnutrition and poor teeth as a result of inadequate food. Encouraging better nutrition is basically an educational function and school lunch rooms offer an ideal place for teaching this subject, and furthermore, despite vastly increased industrial activity, there is still a considerable percentage of families in need of some assistance to provide nutritive foods in adequate quantities for their children, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of this program will permit more than 6,000,000 school children of the nation, to have available daily, a complete dietetically well balanced school lunch at very low cost, now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record recommending to the Congress of the United States that the school lunch and school milk program be perpetuated, and that Congress enact suitable legislation to effect this purpose, beginning July 1, 1944, and to appropriate sufficient monies, to finance it from any unencumbered funds in the United States Treasury. These funds to be made available in direct grants to local School Boards or Districts until such time as this obligation can be absorbed by the local communities.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Piece-Work Incentive Plans

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Industry has for some years initiated, promoted and developed the "piece-work" plan of compensation to workers in various kinds of process and production, and

WHEREAS, In recent years this previously bad and uncertain plan of compensation to workers has been further exploited by so-called "efficiency experts", and originators of "trick count systems" and "unit mark systems", of crediting the work of piece workers, to the extent that workers only get paid for portions of the work that they are forced to produce at break-neck speed, and

WHEREAS, The nerve-wracking and undermining of health of these piece-workers makes those workers old and broken down in health long before their time in years of life, and later renders them useless for other means of livelihood, while at the same time retting them the most meager kind of earnings, and

WHEREAS, The changing of patterns and designs and quality of merchandise worked on, renders piece-workers constantly unable to plan on any reasonable average of earnings, or to plan any stable scheme of social or family life, and

WHEREAS, The piece-work plan of compensation has provided a wide avenue of exploitation for "unscrupulous, cheap, and chiseling employers", who would perpetuate the old sweat-shop methods that we have so long fought to eliminate, and

WHEREAS, These same "unscrupulous employers" have shown definite tendencies to further their interests in this respect by hiding behind the war effort, and at the same time throwing patriotic gestures at employees to get them to accept their plans, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor seek the elimination of piece-work and piece-work methods of compensation, and the ramifications of "unit counts" and uncertainties of earnings, and seek by every legitimate means at hand to discourage, supplant and eliminate the piece-work plan of compensation from all process, fabrication and production plants, in favor of a reasonable and dependable plan of earnings for the workers on a basis of hourly, daily, weekly or monthly wages.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Apprenticeship Section of U. S. Department of Labor

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and various affiliated International Unions were largely responsible for the enactment of the Fitzgerald Act which established the Apprenticeship Section in the United States Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This Agency has been of great service to International and Local Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the development and establishment of apprenticeship and other types of training programs, and

WHEREAS, This Agency has made a tremendous contribution to the war production program in assisting with training of war workers and other matters pertaining to the successful prosecution of the war, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Order transferring the apprenticeship section from the United States Department of Labor to the War Manpower Commission specifically stated that the Apprenticeship Section should maintain its organizational entity, and

WHEREAS, The program of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship has received the unqualified endorsement of all organized labor and they are vitally interested in seeing its perpetuation as a permanent activity of the Federal Government, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its endorsement of the Federal Committee program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor insists that the Executive Order transferring the apprenticeship activities to the War Manpower Commission be for the duration of the war only, and that the organizational entity of the Apprenticeship Section be held inviolate, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the post-war period the apprenticeship activities of the Federal Government be transferred back to the United States Department of Labor, and a division of the Department of Labor be established known as the Apprentice and Training Service and all apprenticeship activities of the Federal Government be lodged therein.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Application of United Mine Workers for Re-affiliation

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor at its 61st annual convention held in Springfield, Illinois, September 20-25, 1943, adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in its efforts to promote a full degree of desirable harmony in the organized labor movement of the United States, has, through its representatives, discussed the subject with representatives of the C.I.O.

and the U.M.W. of A., and, according to public reports, will probably give attention at its forthcoming convention to the announced application of the U.M.W. of A. for re-affiliation, and

"WHEREAS, During the trying times of division in the American labor movement, the Progressive Mine Workers of America became a part of and, under most difficult circumstances, has remained loyal to the American Federation of Labor and to its principles and policies, and to the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and

"WHEREAS, It appears to the Illinois State Federation of Labor that in any arrangement made for the re-affiliation of the United Mine Workers all concerned are morally bound to give due respect to the constitutional rights of the Progressive Mine Workers, therefore be it

"RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor (the official State branch of the American Federation of Labor) assembled in its sixty-first annual Convention, in the city of Springfield, Illinois, after careful deliberation, that it does hereby respectfully urge upon the American Federation of Labor that, before any arrangements are made to readmit the U.M.W. of A., provisions must be made whereby the integrity of the organization of the Progressive Mine Workers shall be fully safeguarded until such time as the mine workers themselves may decide their own future relationships by mutually satisfactory agreement, and be it further

"RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, as aforesaid, that due care must also be exercised to avoid complications that may arise because of the peculiar character of the so-called District No. 50 of the U.M.W. of A., as relating to the rights of various affiliated unions, and further

"RESOLVED, That the views herein expressed be transmitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor by the delegate representing the Illinois State Federation of Labor at that convention", therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the convention of the American Federation of Labor that the views set forth by the Illinois State Federation of Labor as aforesaid be given fullest consideration with a view to safeguarding the interests of the Progressive Miners organization in connection with any arrangements that may be made for the re-affiliation of the United Mine Workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SECOND DAY — TUESDAY MORNING SESSION**Boston, Massachusetts, October 5, 1943**

The Convention was called to order at 10:05 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: Dr. Frank Jennings, the Executive Secretary of the Massachusetts Council of Churches will pronounce the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Frank Jennings, Executive Secretary of the Massachusetts Council of Churches)

Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations before the mountains were brought forth or before ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even to everlasting and to everlasting Thou art.

We wait before Thee now in reverence and humility; we thank Thee for the abundance of this world's goods, for all of its beauty and its truth and for the magnificence of its provisions for all of our needs.

We wait before Thee in humility that in any need, in any way we have been a party to the despoliation of these good things of this world and we pray that Thou wilt forgive us that we have allowed a dark day to come upon us wherein man's inhumanity to man is traversing the earth. Our prayers arise on behalf of all of those who suffer, for all of those who, this day, are in need—tragic and desperate need.

We recognize that we are brothers of men of every nation and kind, the world around, and pray that Thou wilt give us wisdom here and in the days to come, whereby we may make the plans that will enable us to dwell together in peace, in justice and in goodwill.

Strengthen, we pray Thee, this body of men that in all of its work here and through the years that are to come, that it may have for its highest purpose the well-being of every people of all of the earth.

These things we ask humbly, but in a great faith in the spirit of Jesus. Amen.

President Green: Secretary of Labor Perkins is in the city and will address the Convention about a quarter to eleven or eleven o'clock today.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT MR. H. J. ALTMAYER

President Green: Chairman Altmeyer of the Social Security Board will address the Convention this afternoon. I will appoint Brother Lindelof, President of the Painters and Decorators International Union; Brother Flore, President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union; and Brother George Lynch of the Pattern Makers Organization to meet and escort Mr. Altmeyer to the hall for the afternoon address.

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Rules and Order Committee. Is he present?

Delegate Brooks: Mr. Chairman, W. R. Brooks, United Garment Workers, substituting for Delegate Sullivan, Chairman of the Rules Committee. It will be necessary to hold a short meeting of this Committee, and we will ask all of the delegates on this Committee to meet in the rear of the hall immediately.

President Green: The members of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business will meet with the Chairman in the rear of the hall immediately.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Scholtz of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Scholtz, Secretary of the Committee submitted the following report:

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined credentials and recommend the seating of the following:

Stephen J. Dunleavy, Jr., representing Federal Labor Union No. 22619, Braintree, Mass., with two votes.

Committee Secretary Scholtz: That concludes the report for today.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Brooks: The report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business will be submitted by Delegate Robinson.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Robinson on behalf of the committee submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4, 1943, beg leave to make the following report for your consideration.

Rules

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and remain in session until 12:30 p.m., reconvene at 2:30 p.m. and remain in session until 5:30 p.m. on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday of this week. The convention next week will be in session—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; and will meet on Saturday if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. A roll call on any motion shall be called at the request of 10 per cent of the delegates present.

Rule 11. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 12. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 13. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 14. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 15. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization, he represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 16. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 17. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 18. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time to divide or amend, which motions shall have preference in the order named.

Rule 19. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of Officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.

10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

H. W. Sullivan, Chairman
 John B. Robinson, Secretary
 W. R. Brooks
 J. A. Evenson
 R. G. Powell
 John C. MacDonald
 Max Finger
 John Marciando
 Charles Aquadro
 Charles Hardy
 Harry J. Steeper
 John Surman
 H. E. Greenwald
 Joseph Lehan
 William L. Robinson
 Sadie Reich
 Joseph P. Clark
 Pauline Newman
 Robert F. Hart
 Joseph E. Mayeur
 Robert Soule
 Thomas Crowe
 Al J. Cleland
 William A. Taylor

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Delegate Robinson: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Committee's Report.

Delegate Brooks, Garment Workers. I second the motion.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Meany, who will read the names of the Convention Committees.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Harry C. Bates, Robert Byron, F. A. Fitzgerald, Henry F. Schmal, Leo J. Buckley, George Q. Lynch, Charles M. Rau, William Campbell, Frank J. Coleman, Irvin Barney, Arthur Huggins, A. C. D'Andrea, John J. Regan, John M. Fewkes, M. J. Sexton, Luigi Antonini, Thomas Martin, Lloyd A. Thrush, E. E. Longley, John J. Walsh, William J. Reynolds, Paul Fournier, G. Leo Abernathy, William Burke,

RESOLUTIONS

Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, J. A. Franklin, John M. Gillespie, William E. Maloney, P. J. Moran, David Dubinsky, John B. Haggerty, L. P. Lindelof, R. G. Soderstrom,

Thomas H. O'Donnell, John J. Mara, Fred Baer, J. L. Reilly, M. A. Hutcheson, Arnold S. Zander, John E. Rooney, Joseph P. Ryan, Frank Kasten, Richard F. Walsh, Harold D. Ulrich, Max Zaritsky, Hugo Ernst.

LAWS

Daniel J. Tobin, Joseph N. Weber, Patrick E. Gorman, William J. McLaughlin, J. J. Farnan, Charles Jordan, James Killen, William Tracy, William J. Gorman, Edward J. Volz, James J. Murphy, A. E. McCormick, Herbert Rivers, William J. Buckley, George C. Slater, John J. Egan, James L. Kelley, Sol Cilento, Francis J. Gorman, John P. Redmond, Sam J. Byers, F. C. Allen, John Blackburn.

ORGANIZATION

Wm. C. Doherty, Frank Duffy, V. O. Gardner, John P. Burke, Paul Dullzell, Patrick H. Reagan, Jess Fletcher, Vincent Castrovovo, William J. Richl, Edward I. Hannah, Leon Williams, John B. Prewitt, Earl W. Jimereson, A. Philip Randolph, William F. Schnitzler, J. W. Buzzell, John J. Griffin, John F. Towie, Stephen W. Fardy, Ray Nickelson, Jerry Aldred, Vincent J. Kane, John J. Scully.

LABELS

Edward Flore, Charles Hanson, Anthony Merlino, M. S. Maxwell, Michael F. Greene, Anne Peterson, Toney Gallo, Joseph Addy, James A. Taylor, Anthony J. DeAndrade, James T. Slaven, John Zitello, Mary G. Morley, George Baxter, R. E. Van Horn, Charles Sinnigan, Max Bluestein, Robert Lester, W. G. Desepte, Joseph Sylvia, Gust Ladik, Daniel J. Goggin, Joseph Levitsky.

ADJUSTMENT

Felix H. Knight, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Arthur Seward, W. Jewkes, Frank Brewster, Ed. J. Brown, E. J. Manion, Alfred Yoder, George W. Lawson, George Bradley, L. M. Raftery, Harry Nacey, Joseph J. Delaney, John M. Christenson, Joseph O'Neill, Joseph P. McCurdy, Samuel R. Diskan, Louis Krouse, Philip Salem, J. Raymond Britton.

LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

W. C. Birthright, C. C. Coulter, Joseph Marshall, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, R. E. Woodmansee, Bertram W. Kohl, Wm. J. Moran, Alfred Rota, Wm. McGuern, J. W. Van Hook, Lloyd Klenert, John Lundergan, Arthur J. Strunk, Israel H. Goldberg, Frank P. Converse, Thomas A. Lenehan, Nathan Solomon,

Michael J. Mungovan, Patrick McHugh, Edward W. Kaiser, Richard B. Erwin, John E. Briedenbach.

EDUCATION

George M. Harrison, E. E. Milliman, Carl H. Mullen, Edward J. Hillock, Louis Horbeck, William I. Horner, Thomas E. Wilkinson, James Pettillo, Andrew Wigstrom, Leslie L. Myers, William L. McFetridge, Harry H. Cook, Isidore Nagler, Irvin Kuenzli, Harry Lundeborg, Robert Bruck, William Schoenberg, James J. Doyle, Charles J. MacGowan, W. L. Allen, Irvan Cary, Joseph Belsky, A. P. Bower, Charles A. Coombes.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

G. M. Bugniazet, William E. Walter, Walter F. McLoughlin, Joseph A. Mullaney, John Clinton, Rudolph Heini, Berniece B. Heffner, Phil Hannah, Charles T. Crane, C. J. Haggerty, W. S. Gross, Thomas A. Murray, Phil E. Ziegler, Gust Anderson, G. F. Williams, Louis Koenig, E. J. Shave, Bernard Quinn, James D. Graham, Claude O'Reilly, John J. Hauck, Harry W. Acreman, Frank Clark Ellis, Walter Collins.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Wm. L. Hutcheson, Gordon Chapman, Joseph P. Considine, Joseph S. Fay, Walter Matthews, John Proctor, John O'Rourke, Joseph J. Kehoe, Charles N. Paulsen, John R. Owens, Thomas Cairns, Samuel Reinlib, George L. Warfel, E. J. Brock, James W. Close, George Wright, John Mogan, Arthur Markel, M. D. Cox, George H. Davis, George Meyers, A. J. Eberhardy, Robert Lynch.

BUILDING TRADES

Richard J. Gray, William J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, F. B. Comfort, Oliver W. Carter, John H. Lyons, Martin P. Durkin, Wm. J. Bowen, C. W. Sickles, Pete Yablonski, Charles Stenger, J. M. Gavlak, M. J. McDonough, John J. Conway, John O'Brien, James L. McDevitt, D. E. Nickerson, C. A. Fink, I. E. Lane, Laurence Foley, James J. Ryan, Paul A. Givens.

SHORTER WORKDAY

Harry Stevenson, Henry Valliancourt, James P. Meehan, Chris Lane, William G. Batty, Marshall W. Martin, William Cooper, Louis P. Marciano, Sal B. Hoffmann, Gay Borrelli, Milton P. Webster, Harry J. Hazen, Samuel Ashton, Joseph P. McCoy, Walter Lenox, Isidore Frankel, William Van Heuten, William Nagorsne, George W. Brayfield, Ray Kelsay, Robert Arnott, John B. Murray, Philip Kramer.

LEGISLATION

I. M. Ornburn, Leo E. George, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, Foster J. Pratt, James M. Duffy, James T. Moriarty, Francis O'Toole, James B. Burns, Thomas V. Green, Joseph F. Landis, L. V. McGuigan, Nellie H. Gallagher, Christian Madsen, Henry Rosendale, James Mowatt, Samuel Laderman, Frank B. Field, Clifton Vogt, Frank X. Martel, John J. Falvey, Patrick Leonard.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Wm. J. McSorley, Matthew Woll, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Wm. J. Bowen, Albert Adamski, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Milliman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Edward Flore, Henry F. Schmal, W. C. Birthright, John B. Haggerty, P. J. Morrin, Felix H. Knight, James Maloney, Isidore Nagler, Harold D. Ulrich.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman, I move that the name of William Green, President of the Federation, be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chairmen of the different committees just read to the Convention will please take note and arrange to call meetings of their committees at their convenience and their earliest opportunity.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Woll of the Committee on Resolutions.

Announcement

Vice President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions will meet immediately in Parlor B. The Committee will have hearings today and tomorrow. Any delegate interested in any resolution or any subject matter contained in the Executive Council's Report referred to the Committee on Resolutions will please arrange to appear before the committee as soon as possible. Hearings will close by tomorrow night. The committee has considerable work before it and it is essential that those desiring to be heard arrange to do so immediately.

Members of the committee will please assemble in Parlor B immediately.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE

President Green: In the discharge of my personal and official duties I extended a cordial invitation to the President of the United States to attend and address this Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I not only submitted the invitation in writing but I submitted it personally when I called upon him at the White House. He expressed deep regret because he found it impossible, owing to the pressure of war work, to leave Washington and come to Boston for the purpose of addressing the officers and delegates in attendance at this Convention. He expressed a deep interest in the deliberations of this Convention, in all its work and also in the American Federation of Labor. He very graciously agreed to transmit a message to this Convention.

I will call upon Secretary-Treasurer Meany to read the message of the President of the United States to the officers and delegates in attendance at this Convention—Secretary Meany.

Secretary Meany read the following message:

The White House,
Washington.

September 29, 1943.

My dear Mr. Green:

Please accept my sincere thanks for your invitation to attend and address the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston on October fourth. I am sure you will understand that the heavy duties of the present moment make it impossible for me to accept this invitation.

I desire, however, to take this opportunity to extend to the officers and members of the Federation my cordial greetings on the occasion of the convention. Please assure those in attendance and all of the constituent membership of my gratification at the splendid task that has been done by American wage earners in turning out the munitions and implements of war. The battle of production is being won in every shipyard, machine shop, factory and construction outfit in this country, and the skill, speed and adaptability of American working men and women have made possible the outfitting and equipment of our military forces in record time. The participation of the wage earners of this country not

only in the production drive, but in the support of the war effort by the purchase of war bonds, both out of union treasuries and out of personal subscriptions, is one of the items of American life of which we are very proud. In this free country we are proving ourselves able to do voluntarily all that is necessary for the support of the great war effort and to stand back of the brave men who go into combat.

And while I express my gratification for what you have done in the past, I know that you will share with me the expectation and the challenge that American labor will do more and more until every necessity is met, until every battle is fought, until the victory is won and the peace established. Increasing efforts to maintain present production levels and to increase them in some instances are necessary. The working people will be asked to continue to support the war effort by lending their money and by making sacrifices and modifying their personal habits. These sacrifices all groups in the community are making.

Many of the members of your unions have gone into the armed services. Many of your sons and brothers are taking their places in the combat lines. Some of your daughters and sisters are exposed to new and strange dangers in the Nursing Corps and in the Auxiliary Services. The war is very real to you. The cooperation of American labor in a no-strike policy and in the stabilization of wages to steady our economy are expressions of this realization.

I ask your continued help in all aspects of the war effort and in the effort to stabilize the domestic economy. We anticipate a good deal of success in the rollback of prices which will stabilize and reduce the cost of living in essentials. For this the informed cooperation of all your members is needed.

With best wishes for your successful Convention, I am

Very sincerely yours,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

President Green: I am sure we very, very deeply appreciate this cordial and inspiring message sent to us by the President of the United States. You will please note that he emphasized the fact that, in his opinion, labor would do voluntarily—I repeat, voluntarily—all that is necessary through the soldiers of production in order to promote the war effort. That to me is a strong, outstanding note

in this splendid message sent to us by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.

In addition he dwelt on another very important subject in which we are tremendously interested, and that is the rolling back of the constantly increasing prices for food and the cost of living generally. You will recall that the Congress of the United States passed a law in which it directed that stabilization of wages and stabilization of prices should run parallel; that each should be stabilized by the Administration. The facts are that while the War Labor Board has endeavored to do this and has been directing its effort toward the stabilization of wages, those in control of the Price Administration have failed to control prices. Labor knows that prices have been soaring out of all proportion to the standard rates of wages.

We are happy indeed in that the President has assured us that it is his firm and determined purpose to see to it that these high prices are rolled back. We will stand with him.

I have another message here that I should like the Secretary to read at this time. It comes from a young man who attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor and served as a messenger at a large number of our conventions. But, when the call for service to our country came he responded and he is now with the American Forces in North Africa. You will remember him. He is the son of the Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, Brother I. M. Ornburn. I refer to Paul Ornburn, whom you all know as the son of Dick Ornburn. He has sent us a very splendid message and I want it read to you at this time for insertion in the proceedings.

Communications

Secretary Meany read the following communication:

V Mail Letter

President William Green
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Statler
Boston, Mass.

Still in North Africa.

Dear President Green:

I felt I should write you at this time to tell you and all the delegates attending the convention how much I and all the boys appreci-

ate what the labor movement is doing to bring this War to an end. As you all have read in the newspapers we are doing our part and will continue to do so till our enemies have been beaten.

Personally, I hope you will tell all the delegates and my friends that I miss very much not being with you all. I hope and pray it may be possible for me to be at the convention next year.

To you, President Green, I regret that this is the second convention I have been unable to assist you. In a way, though, I know you and all the officers are doing a fine job, so I will try my very best to do all I can to bring this war to an end and then return home and to the labor movement.

In passing, I have two suggestions to make. One, that new motion pictures be sent over here for the boys; most of them are three to five years old. Second, that since many thousands of boys in the service have been members of organized labor, that the A. F. of L. and affiliated unions have their publications printed in miniature form and send them overseas to their former members so that they might know the true picture of just what labor is doing towards defeating the enemy.

I will close for now. Again, let me say, give my very best regards to all my friends and take care of yourself—United States needs a leader like you.

Sincerely,

(s) Paul Ornburn, Pfc—33068939
56 QM Sales Co.
c/o Postmaster
APO 600 New York, N. Y.

Secretary Meany read the following telegram:

New York, New York
October 4, 1943

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Statler Hotel
Boston, Massachusetts.

My greetings to the Sixty-third Annual Convention. As a mighty organized force your deliberations and actions will necessarily have a profound influence not only on the well being of millions of wage earners whom you represent but also on the welfare of the nation at large. Labor's intense devotion and contribution to a speedy victory must be matched by its constructive proposals for a post-war society dedicated to freedom and the dignity as well as security of man.

Louis Waldman.

President Green: Secretary Meany will present to you the requests by the authors of two resolutions for unanimous consent to have these resolutions considered by the convention.

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

Secretary Meany: The first resolution is on enlargement of the Labor Department's facilities, introduced by the delegates representing the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and the Building Trades Department.

The other resolution, asking for centralization of governmental labor policy, was introduced by the same delegates representing the Metal Trades and the Building Trades Departments.

Enlargement of Labor Department's Facilities

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department, and John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Building and Construction Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor recognize a solemn responsibility for the attainment of maximum production for the war effort and for the attainment of proper working conditions to achieve that end, and

WHEREAS, The United States Department of Labor through the Division of Labor Standards has always diligently attempted to improve the working conditions of all classes of workers and has provided helpful guidance to both management and labor to this end, and

WHEREAS, Sufficient funds have not been provided to the Division of Labor Standards to enable it to carry out these functions adequately in the emergency now confronting the Nation, and

WHEREAS, The present critical labor shortage makes it imperative that greater production be obtained by improving working conditions to insure the most efficient use of available manpower, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends to the Secretary of Labor and to the Congress that steps be taken to secure adequate funds to enlarge the Department's facilities for improving working conditions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the President of the Senate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Centralization of Governmental Labor Policy

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department, and John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor was created "to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States" and

WHEREAS, The Building and Construction Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor have always taken an active interest in the work of the United States Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, During the present emergency there has been a wide dispersion of government activity in the labor field among various agencies, mostly of temporary character, which has resulted in overlapping and duplication of effort with consequent confusion among labor and management in obtaining solution of their problems, and

WHEREAS, It is believed that greater efficiency both from the standpoint of labor and management can be obtained by the reestablishment of the Department of Labor to its traditional and legal position as the Department in charge of all the government labor policy making and operating functions, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Building and Construction Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor go on record as strongly recommending to the President of the United States that action be taken to centralize responsibility for the making of government policy dealing with labor within the Department of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That studies be made immediately to determine which operating activities should, in the interest of the welfare of labor, be transferred to and merged with the activities of the United States Department of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Labor, the Speaker of the House and to the President of the Senate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: Are there objections to the introduction and consideration of these resolutions? Hearing none, they will be introduced and referred to the appropriate committees, as indicated, for consideration and action.

The Secretary of Labor is coming forward and we will hear from her now. Will the delegates in the rear of the hall—visitors and delegates—please be seated.

I know all of you in attendance at this convention have been anticipating the pleasure of listening to the instructive and inspiring address which I know the Secretary of Labor will deliver to you this morning ever since I announced that she would be here to attend this convention and address the officers and delegates.

She is here this morning. We are deeply appreciative of the visit of the Secretary of Labor to this convention, particularly so because the American Federation of Labor is tremendously interested in the work of the Department of Labor. We feel that that Department is very, very close to labor and to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

You will recall that the Secretary of Labor attended the convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Toronto, Canada, last October, and that she has attended many, many conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

We were always helped by the educational and inspiring messages that she brought to us. I know she will measure up to the high standard we have set for her this morning. So, right now I am pleased to present to you Secretary of Labor Perkins from Washington.

HONORABLE FRANCES PERKINS (Secretary of Labor)

Mr. President of the Convention, visiting guests and all my friends who are delegates and guests of the American Federation of Labor:

I think it goes without saying that you know I am delighted to be here and to have the opportunity to spend a day, or possibly two days, in discussing with you individually and in groups some of the hopes and plans which you are making for the further advancement of the labor movement in the United States, and in summing up and appraising some of the gains which you have made in the past, and some of the standards which you are setting for yourselves and for your colleagues at this time.

The Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, falling as it does in the midst of a World War so startling both in its scope and in its technique, puts upon every speaker and participant the duty of trying to measure the progress and importance of this organization in the war effort and in the activities which it is carrying on, in terms of positive support of the war effort of the nation, so I shall talk about that kind

of thing, not that the other things that you do are not equally important, but that in time of war it is upon those items that each one of us challenges our system: What do I do? What does my organization do? How successful are we in doing it to further the war effort of the nation at a time so critical as this?

I know that you realize how glad I am to be here and to have the opportunity of meeting so many of you once more, and of discussing with you in a sober and responsible way the progress you have made and the problems which you see looming before your organization and before the American working people. As one who was born and brought up in this section and whose forebears lived here since Colonial days, I feel that I ought to be on the welcoming committee rather than among the speakers, but I know that the State and city officials have already given you a warm welcome and that you will enjoy old-fashioned New England hospitality for the days that you are here. And since codfish and clams are not rationed, we can offer you the best food New England can provide at any time.

As one looks at the labor movement today, one realizes that it has had a startling increase in membership. That same thing happened during the last war and it is happening today. There has been a great increase in the membership of organized labor and this has been a part of the response of the working people of the United States to the leadership of those who have been long in the labor movement—that they have joined in the effort to improve and maintain the standards which you have set up.

I went the other day to see the great show in Washington called, "Back the Attack," which I hope many of you had an opportunity to see. It was a tremendous exhibition of munitions and material, practically all of it produced by organized labor.

There has never been a period of greater productivity of labor than the period covered by this war effort, and organized labor in the United States can take great pride in what its members have done in adapting its skills and techniques to the speed and expansion required by the war effort. They have demonstrated their enormous skill, speed and endurance in work which had to be done under conditions which required drastic changes in their habits of work, and often their habits of life. Whole industries were converted to the making of new products. New methods of working were introduced and in every case with the full cooperation of labor. Labor-saving devices were introduced on a grand scale; devices which in some of the years past, labor has vigorously opposed. Skilled labor was diluted with unskilled labor and skilled men taught unskilled men how to do a part of the work which they had learned through painful years of apprenticeship. This was a great contribution to the war effort.

Time was the most important item in getting our production program geared to the war effort when war suddenly fell upon us, and the American people and American labor are to be congratulated upon the adaptability and patriotism which was shown in this

participation in the conversion of peace-time industry to war-time industry. Great sacrifices were made and the Union's rules, which had been built up through the years to protect the members, were laid aside in the interests of the war production program for the whole country. They were laid aside, but only after understandings and agreements between employers and labor, and with Government sanction, that there would be no exploitation of those who had made this sacrifice.

So, in measuring the contribution of labor to the war effort one puts down, first, the hearty cooperation in speeding up production and in setting aside rules that would interfere with speed in production. And second, one puts among the outstanding contributions of labor in this period the pledge, and the prompt pledge of the leaders of labor, that there would be no interruption of the war production program by strikes, but that labor would rely upon fair methods of adjustment and grievance machinery set up by the Government for the settlement of industrial disputes. And I want to congratulate the labor movement at this point for the fact that even after the passage of the Smith-Connally Bill, which was so repugnant to labor, the leaders of labor immediately reiterated the no-strike pledge and said that their promise to the President not to strike stood in spite of the passage of a bill which they detested and which the President vetoed.

Only recently I read a statement from Mr. Green, your President, in which he said something like this: "If we should fail to carry it out, if we commit the folly of interrupting production, we may pave the way for defeat which would destroy our liberties along with our precious freedom. Only by not engaging in strikes now can we preserve the right to strike." I quote this from an article in a recent issue of the American Federationist. And, by the way, I want to take this opportunity to compliment the Federation upon a very fine and interesting monthly magazine which you get out and which I read pretty regularly, and I hope you all do.

And third among labor's contribution to the war has been an enormous enlistment of union members in the armed forces themselves. Two million members of organized labor are in the armed forces, and in addition, of course, their sons and brothers are serving in the armed forces, and today, for the first time in the history of this country, we are finding the women of your families, your sisters and your daughters—standing under great exposure and great hazards. There is hardly one of us today who is not thinking of some young man or some young woman who represents our part in the terrible combat and struggle which is going on.

Now, of course, one knows that the workers of the country are not only making these sacrifices, but they have made the finest organized contribution to the financial support of the war effort. The Treasury tells me that the working people of this country are buying 300 millions of dollars' worth of bonds each month out of union treasuries and by individual subscription; three hundred millions a month worth of bonds being bought by the

union members and the union treasuries—enough, the Treasury tells me, to produce a thousand Flying Fortresses each month. They are also making additional savings to ward off inflation and thus spare themselves and their country from the confusions of an economy in chaos. And they are giving their sons and daughters to the armed forces and they are giving up their American habits and their high standard of living. I hear no kick from the working people about the sacrifices of labor; the kick that I hear about that kind of sacrifice comes from other quarters. They have a better spirit than any other one group of people.

You will often hear that labor's no-strike pledge meant nothing, that it was just an empty gesture. I think I ought to tell you what the record is, just to remind you that it hasn't been an empty gesture, but it has been well kept.

Ninety-nine per cent at least of the full performance has been achieved. That is a very high record in any field that affects human affairs and human relations, because there is always somebody who won't stand by somebody else's promise on his behalf. Such strikes as we have had have been of short duration, because responsible leadership has promptly ordered those men back to work and because the Government has provided the machinery by which industrial disputes can be adjusted and the leaders of the labor movement have taken part in and cooperated with the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor and the War Labor Board in bringing about a settlement of these differences.

The Conciliation Service records of my department show that since Pearl Harbor until last June, that service settled over fourteen thousand disputes which did not come to a stoppage of work—fourteen thousand disputes which required the services of a conciliator, but in which there was practically no stoppage of work.

Both management and labor are deserving of thanks for that kind of a record, and this preventive work by organized labor in keeping its no-strike pledge has been somewhat overlooked, perhaps, by the excess of emphasis put upon such work stoppages as we have had.

Yesterday afternoon I was talking with Mr. Steelman, who is head of the Conciliation Service, and I said to him, "See here, I just read an article in the paper by some columnist saying that labor was striking. What about it, John? Am I fooling myself or are there too many strikes?" And he said, "How many times have you been called to the telephone in the middle of the night in the last year?" And then he said, "I haven't been called once, and I don't believe you have." And I haven't, and we know what that means, because in the old days when there were a lot of strikes I always used to say they reached a crisis at 1 a.m. It was like crying babies, they always cry more between one and three a.m. than at any other time. And so there was always a crisis in the strike that had to reach Washington or the Conciliation Service between the hours of one and three, and neither of us has had a night call in a whole year. That

is some measure of the way in which the no-strike pledge is being kept.

Yesterday I said to Mr. Steelman, "Are there any strikes?" And he said, "In the whole United States today we have two strikes. One involves 20 people and the other involves 43. I guess they will be over tomorrow morning, from what I hear."

That is really a true and fair picture of the strike situation. There may be a walkout here and there; it is small, it is wild-cattling, and it is over as soon as the labor people and the government get to work on it.

However, let me make this perfectly plain. When men are fighting and suffering and dying that we may have peace and well-being, and when there exists, as at present, fair and proper machinery for settlement of disputes, no strike is justified. There are today ample Government facilities for adjustment and settlement of industrial disputes, and where we do have fair and proper machinery—and we do have it—then no strike is justified, and such strikes as do occur ought to be treated by both labor leaders and the government as breaches of the promise made, and they are so treated.

In saying to you that have such a good record of 99 per cent accomplishment in this field, I want to quote for you—not from the Department of Labor, because I know it is commonly thought that we are prejudiced in favor of labor and that we will always put a good face on anything labor does, there is that belief in some quarters that we do—from a report of James P. Mitchell, Labor Relations Director of the War Department citing achievements on the army construction program which, during the year, employed 11 million men:

"The total number of man-days lost on this program from labor causes, all of which were of a minor nature, represented but two-hundredths of 1 per cent of the number worked, a figure so small as to be negligible," Mr. Mitchell said and he added that:

"A better record than that in any human activity of such magnitude can hardly be imagined. It is well for the public to know this, because it presents a picture drastically at variance with that held by the average newspaper reader."

That speaks for itself.

The ratio of man-days lost through strikes for all industry since Pearl Harbor has been only sixteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent of the number worked. This figure is from the official records of the Labor Department.

And that speaks for itself.

I want you to underscore the fact that this testimony comes from the War Department, not from the Labor Department, and that speaks for itself.

Yes, American labor is cooperating wholeheartedly in the war effort just as management is and as Americans in all walks

of life. The American people are fully aware of the need for putting things first.

Labor and management are cooperating with the Department of Labor in a great many ways, and none more effectively than in the efforts and plans to make the most efficient use of the labor force by making working conditions conducive to efficient, sustained output. You who are in close touch with the problems of workers know the ever-present problems of lost time, lost efficiency through illness, accidents, fatigue, high turnover and preventable absence. Often we talk about figures instead of a program of prevention and control, but what we need in this country is realistic action in individual plants to remove the causes of such problems as these. They are removable for the most part and the results of such action in increased output are impressive. I want to thank you for your cooperation and that of your members, but I want to point out to you that there are increasing demands for speed and expanded output and that this increases the human problems connected with efficient production. We are coming, too, to the point where we are employing larger and larger proportions of inexperienced people, older men and women, handicapped people, and with the introduction of large groups of such people we have, of course, an increase in the accident rate, an increase in inefficiency due to discomforts or mal-adjustments, due to the working conditions.

Government now accepts some responsibility for helping industry and workers solve these problems and we in the United States Department of Labor are planning to provide increased assistance with accident prevention, good lighting, good ventilation, sanitation, facilities for rest, proper seating, convenient work machine arrangements, and to cooperate in efforts to improve eating facilities, and to solve community housing, transportation, shopping and child-care problems in the interest of the war effort. Lack of grievance procedure and inconvenient shift arrangements are some of the problems contributing to inefficiency.

We expect to develop further in the United States Department of Labor our program of assistance to war plants so that, in individual plants, management and labor can solve their specific problems and meet output schedules with a fully productive work force. I have only this week asked for more funds for this particular kind of work and for the establishment of a working conditions service inside of the Division of Labor Standards in the Department. We had a hearing before the Deficiency Appropriations Committee yesterday, and I am very hopeful that funds will be forthcoming immediately to put that kind of work upon a sound basis.

And by the way, I was very happy to receive word that the Metal Trades Department and the Building Trades Department have both gone on record as suggesting that they desire this kind of service in the Department of Labor and recommending appropriations in this field. We also have quantities of letters from manufacturers who are

asking us to give them this kind of service in establishing better working conditions, so that laboring people may not only be comfortable but productive in the work they are doing.

These matters become of vital importance to the war effort because of the effect on production, and it is reassuring that there will be full cooperation by labor, management and Government in their handling. Already there is a better and a more sympathetic understanding between labor and management in many fields than there has been in this country for a long time, and one of the things that I think ought to be pointed out is that extension of the area of good will has been greatly increased during the war period. In the midst of hate and violence the area of good will between labor and management in this country has been very much extended.

American workers are concerned with these matters at present and they are concerned, too, with the inevitable period when, after we have won the war, new and unique problems will arise, the solution of which will be of the utmost importance. Individuals will solve some of them for themselves; others require cooperation of many elements in the country. Labor has shown a fine spirit in working with management and other groups in solving war problems. It will continue to do so in the post-war field.

These problems are now being studied by the Government. There is a very large project going on in the Department of Labor, with the expert assistance of outside persons who have knowledge in the field, and these studies are being made with a view to taking the necessary action to prevent any widespread unemployment, with all its accompanying ills, including business depression. In the after-war period public construction can play a vital role in providing the employment and business stimulant that may be needed for a sound economy. General prosperity in the United States has coincided with activity in the construction industry. We know now that, much as was accomplished for the relief of people during the last depression, more might have been done in hastening recovery if plans for public construction had been prepared well in advance of the depression and put into operation promptly at the beginning of the depression. This ought to be a lesson to us and we ought to bring about legal and prompt authorization now for construction work on the nearly \$2,000,000,000 worth of work which is already projected and has been laid aside for the duration. There ought to be legal authorization by Congress for the beginning of such work and appropriations for the beginning of such work where the plans and specifications have been drawn, so that men laid off in the demobilization period and men returning from the armed forces may be employed quickly.

The United States Employment Service will be of prime importance in the post-war period as an agency to bring workers and jobs together. As you know, it is absolutely essential in the war effort during the shortage of workers and it will continue to be

essential when peace comes, and the important job is faced of distributing manpower effectively and fairly over a diminished number of jobs.

I want to point out to you that we have a good many things today in our pack to use as a protection of human needs and human standards in the post-war period. Not only have we a fully developed United States Employment Service, functioning all over the country, which would have been a tremendous help at the beginning of the last depression, **but we have in addition a Fair Labor Standards Act**, which we did not have then. We have a floor under wages and a ceiling over hours. We haven't thought much about that during the war period when everything has been booming from the point of view of employment and wages. We shall be grateful that we have that floor under wages so that wages cannot sink to the depths they did during the last depression. We shall likewise be grateful that we have this ceiling over hours and that we have the ready technique at our hands for spreading work over millions of people when the demobilization period begins.

One of the first things to be done would be to put everything back on the forty-hour basis and so spread the work all over the country. That is one of the tools which we have at hand and which we ought to have had before.

Then we have already the basis of a Social Security program, something which we never had in a depression in this country before. We developed our Social Security program during the last depression, and it went into operation just as the depression began to clear and things were getting a little better. But now we have it and we have a large fund already built up for orderly legal distribution through Social Security benefits in the post-war period. We must expand this program. The proposed expanded Social Security program should be set up now, so that its benefits can play a dual role in the economic readjustment and reconstruction that will be necessary at the end of the war. The American Federation of Labor has taken a sound position on this subject, and I agree with it. My experience as Chairman of the President's Committee, which made the original recommendations upon which the Social Security Act was based, confirms that position.

Leaders of organized labor, representatives of management and government experts all cooperated with the committee of which I was Chairman on that task, and I am sure you will agree that it stands as a monument of sound achievement in the economic interest of the American people. It can be expanded in the light of experience and need, and it will be a further and more effective bulwark against individual want and preventive against community depression.

On the other hand, from the standpoint of the economic system as a whole, social insurance can aid in maintaining consumer purchasing power when national income exhibits a tendency to shrink and thus can assist in maintaining employment and business at higher levels.

If such extension is undertaken now by contributions of management—and for the present it does not need to be over five per cent—then we can provide for disability benefits, unemployment benefits, retirement benefits, re-training benefits, specialized work benefits from public works operations, and a strong and well developed employment placement service for use in a period of demobilization and it can be of inestimable value.

I see no reason why the coverage of the Social Security system cannot be extended to men and women returning from service in the armed forces. Contributions can be made on their behalf for the period they have been in the Army and not industrially employed, and they can have part and claim upon the benefits which will be for all of the people of the United States.

We must plan also the coverage of the Social Security scheme for all of the working people of the United States, farmers, farm laborers and domestic workers, and we can, by very slight adjustments, provide that self-employed people, professional people, doctors, lawyers, schoolteachers and others who work on their own, free farmers who operate their own farms can buy into the Social Security system and can be eligible for all of its benefits except unemployment benefits.

The sense of security which returning soldiers and sailors will have because their families are protected as well as themselves, if such a system is put into its beginning operations now, will do much to stabilize our political and social development in the future. The demobilization of those now employed in war-time industry and their reassignment to peace-time production would be cushioned against doubt and dread, fear and uncertainty. Our fighting men need assurance that they are not to lose the benefit rights that they have already accumulated.

Under an expanded program, larger benefits would be available to support the temporarily unemployed and their dependents until they can get located in peace-time production. Larger annuities would be paid to the aged workers who have remained at work during the war period, although they would have normally retired in 1940. Permanently disabled persons, cripples, chronically sick, injured (non-industrial) too young to be eligible for old age benefits, would for the first time be able to obtain similar benefits. Workers who are temporarily disabled by illness would be eligible for weekly benefits. When sickness entails hospitalization, payments would be available to ease the heavy burden of the cost. Finally, the widows, orphans and other survivors of workers who die could receive benefits which would to some extent replace their loss of support.

There is no question of our ability to pay for an adequate system of Social Security at this time. Indeed, we can hardly think of an equally propitious time to introduce postponed spending. The funds paid into Social Security contributions flow back to those who pay and to the improvement of the social fabric. This is a period when for reasons of preventing inflation it is desirable to withdraw purchasing power from the market.

The post-war period will be a time when we want to release purchasing power promptly, to prevent too severe deflation. The income of workers and the income of employers can today bear the cost of the increased contribution.

American workers, much as they are concerned with the Social Security program expansion, are concerned, too, with post-war world unity and the part labor will play in it. The International Labor Organization, which was born after the first World War, in the aspirations and the experience of the organized workers of all nations, is today of increasing importance as an effective international body in the field of labor and social advance. All the United Nations have been members of it and bona fide representatives of labor, management and government of each country are regularly seated in the policy-making conference and in the Governing Body.

It is now recognized that the I.L.O. will play an important role in establishing and administering labor standards in the post-war world. Moreover, with workers' representatives from all the United Nations as members and with long experience in world problems, it is admirably adapted to being a practical medium of expression for world labor in the deliberations of the Peace Conference.

No one can doubt that a better standard of living for the millions of the depressed populations of the world and the maintenance of reasonable and expanding standards of living for those who already have subsistence; a free opportunity for each man to achieve a fully satisfying standard by work and intelligent foresight—are all essential both for an economy of comfort, out of which a long peace may come, and for sustaining such a world economy by a consumer and exchange capacity complementary to the enormous productive power which the organization of world industry for War has shown to be inherent in the machine system of production.

Every country at war knows that unemployment is man-made and can be unmade by man. Faced with the necessity of mobilizing all of our resources for purposes of war and destruction, we have realized that manpower is among the scarcest of our resources. Man, not the machine, is the key to our material life, and man has the intelligence and the power and the right of choice and the opportunity to make the machine and the machine system a good influence. That is perhaps the destiny which God has prepared for the people of this generation.

Certain problems that must be resolved are already obvious. To build a new and better world, we must build upon the foundations which already exist. The major task of the post-war world will be the reconstruction throughout the world of free labor unions where they have existed in the past, the setting up again of labor standards which have been destroyed by the incidence of war, and we know that in many cases those labor standards were not good enough and high enough. They must be revived, they must be improved and set up on human terms.

While there are certain forms of public activity which can be greatly extended, we in

the United States shall continue to rely upon private enterprise to supply us with the vast bulk of those goods and services which are essential to the well being of our people. The ordinary man in a free world wants to have the opportunity to earn his livelihood in useful pursuits. He wants to live in a world which makes provision for the disadvantaged groups of the community—the young, the old, the sick, those without adequate bargaining power and those whose family resources make it impossible for them to develop fully their innate capacities. A free world needs to be a world designed to produce security and comfort for the ordinary man—the wage-earner, the farmer, the merchant, the teacher.

This is the sort of a world for which we and our Allies are fighting today all over the globe, and over and over again one realizes that not only do the soldiers and sailors of the Allied Nations know this but that the working people, the plain people of all the countries of the world are making sacrifices to preserve freedom and to gain those advantages which machinery can bring into the lives of the common people, the peoples of all the world.

I thank you for your cooperation and participation in all the plans of the Government in this field.

President Green: I thank the Secretary of Labor for her visit to this convention this morning and for the most interesting and illuminating address which she delivered. I know you share with me my deep feeling of appreciation of her attendance and of the address which she delivered.

The Chair desires to announce a meeting of the members of the Executive Council this afternoon immediately upon the adjournment of the afternoon session. Perhaps you will recall that I announced yesterday that there would be a meeting of the Executive Council at the conclusion of this morning's session. I find I must now change that and hold the special meeting of the Executive Council at the Executive Council room on the mezzanine floor immediately after this afternoon's session.

Chairman Altmeyer, of the Social Security Board, will speak to the delegates this afternoon on the subject of social security, one in which we are all deeply interested, and particularly at this time. So I ask you all to come back promptly at 2:30 o'clock. You will be greatly benefited by listening to the address which Chairman Altmeyer will deliver.

It now appears that we have completed the work of this morning's session. The Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn until 2:30 o'clock.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I offer such a motion.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 11:40 o'clock a. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

October 5, 1943

The convention was called to order at 2:50 o'clock by President Green.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Scholtz, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend that the following delegates be seated:

Jack Cadden, representing Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 21142, Rochester, N. Y., with 1 vote.

Benjamin J. Dorsky, representing the Maine State Federation of Labor, with 1 vote.

Thomas J. Moriarty, representing Rubber Workers' Union No. 22763, Malden, Mass., 7 votes.

Richard Rogers, representing the Stamford, Conn., Central Labor Union, 1 vote.

Kenneth J. Kelley, representing the Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union 1 vote.

John P. Holmes, representing Federal Labor Union No. 20121, 4 votes.

Florence Feinstone, representing American Federation of Office Employees Union No. 23076, Greater New York, N. Y., 8 votes.

Benj. Hurwitz, representing Wool Sorters and Strippers' Union No. 22114, Chelsea, Mass., 1 vote.

On motion of Delegate Scholtz, duly seconded, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted and the delegates seated.

President Green: Secretary Meany has some announcements to make.

Announcements

Secretary Meany: I make this special announcement at the request of the representatives of the War Department.

Tonight at 8.15 in this ballroom, the United States Army will sponsor a special program starting with a concert by the All-Women band from the 3rd WAC Training Center at Daytona Beach, Florida.

Following the concert a special detail of war wounded combat officers and men, fresh from the battlefields of Africa and Europe, plus captured German films, will present a fast, hard-hitting story of the war today.

I am advised by Major Smith that this concert, the talks by these combat officers and the presentation of this film will take about an hour and twenty minutes.

At the request of the O.P.A., I wish to announce that a special table has been set up in the ballroom assembly, at the rear of the hall, for the Home Front Pledge, which is a part of the O.P.A. campaign against the Black Market. They ask that each Delegate and visitor here stop at that table and take this pledge and receive information as to how they can cooperate in the elimination of the Black Market.

President Green: Just before we hear the address of Chairman Altmeyer of the Social Security Board, I want to pause for a moment while I extend to Secretary Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and perhaps some representatives of the Brotherhood of Street and Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees, a question of personal privilege.

The Chair is pleased to recognize Brother Duffy, Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, on a matter of special privilege. Brother Duffy.

FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE — WILLIAM D. MAHON

Delegate Duffy: Mr. Chairman, I want you and this Convention to give me ten minutes, at least, to explain fifty years' service of a member of the American Federation of Labor.

It is seldom an officer of an International Union serves continuously in that office for fifty years. We have an officer of an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who, this week, is completing his fifty years of service as International President of that organization. I refer to my old friend, William D. Mahon, the President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

I feel that a matter of this kind should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It has not occurred in the past and I don't know whether it will ever occur in the future. Such events seldom happen, and when they do we should recognize them.

When the street car men met in Indianapolis on September 12, 1892, at the call of President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, by orders of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Birmingham, Alabama, in December 1891, Bill Mahon was a delegate to that convention. His main objective was to have an International organization formed. He was not looking for office of any kind; he wasn't a candidate for office in 1892.

There were two factions in that convention: one in favor of the Knights of Labor, and the other in favor of the American Federation of Labor, and this was the stumbling block to the formation of an International Union. A compromise was reached by agreeing that if an International Union of the street car men was formed it would not affiliate with the Knights of Labor, nor would it affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. And it was on these conditions that the International Union was organized.

The second convention of that organization was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on October 9, 1893—fifty years next Saturday. Again Bill Mahon was a delegate from his Local Union in Columbus, Ohio, to that convention, and there he was elected for the first time as the International President of the street car men; and he has been elected as such ever since.

He was an American Federation of Labor man from the start and was instrumental in 1893 in having the Amalgamated Association of Street Car Men decide to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. He was their delegate that year to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Chicago, Ill., and almost ever since he has been a delegate to the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

I feel that he must have been possessed of some great and good qualifications to hold the office of International President for so long a time. I have known him for over forty years. He is a good, straightforward, up-to-date trade unionist of the old school. The longer I know him, the better I like him.

He is a fluent talker. Do you remember in the last Convention when he took the platform in defense of his organization on a jurisdictional dispute? he said, "I am not an orator," and he said that in a very unassuming manner. I got the surprise of my life by that expression. I have heard Bill Mahon often and I know that he is an able, logical, interesting and convincing speaker. Without fear of contradiction, I can honestly say of him:

He'll talk you down on tariff,
'Er he'll talk you down on tax,
And prove the pore man pays 'em all—
And them's about the fac's!

Business, law, Trade Unions,
Prize fightin' or baseball—
Jes' tetch Bill up a little and
He'll post you 'bout 'em all.

Don't matter what his views is,
When he states the same to you,
They allus coincide with yourn,
The same as two and two.

You can't take issue with him—
'Er, at least, they hain't no sense
In startin' in to down him,
So you better not commence.

The best way's jes' to listen,
Like your humble servant does,
And jes' concede that Bill is
The best man ever wuz!

He is eighty-two years of age. I am the same. He joined the Street Car Men's Union in Columbus, Ohio, in 1889. I joined the Carpenters' Union in New York City in 1889. We have been delegates from our respective organizations to the conventions of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor for over forty years. We were at the Boston convention in 1930. I am sorry that he is not at this convention.

We were Vice-Presidents of the American Federation of Labor in our time. We worked together in a common cause, so we should know and understand each other now.

I take this occasion to publicly express my profound respect, regard, esteem and admiration for my old friend, William D. Mahon, who has stood the brunt of battle in the labor movement for over half a century. I want to give him credit for bringing the street car men into the American Federation of Labor in 1893—just fifty years ago this week. They are celebrating that great event now. He led them then—he leads them now.

In those early days he became the associate of the pioneers of the American Federation of Labor. Just let me mention a few: Sam Gompers of the Cigar Makers, P. J. McGuire of the Carpenters, John B. Lennon of the Tailors, Andy Furuseth of the Seamen, Jim Duncan of the Granite Cutters, H. J. Skeffington of the Boot and Shoe Workers, Martin Fox of the Iron Molders, Rody Kenehan of the Horseshoers, Dan Keefe of the Longshoremen and last, but not least, George E. McNeil of Boston, the great advocate of the eight-hour day at that time.

Later he was associated with Jim O'Connell of the Machinists, Barney Larger of the United Garment Workers, W. E. Klapetzky of the Barbers, John Moffitt of the Hatters, John Mitchell of the Coal Miners, Dennis Hayes of the Green Glass Bottle Blowers, Owen Miller of the Musicians, and Max Morris of the Retail Clerks.

Now he is our associate, our friend, our co-worker and, Street Carmen's delegates sitting down there, he belongs to us as well as to you.

Bill Mahon! No answer! Absent, on account of sickness! I am speaking to you through space. I would like to speak for every delegate and visitor attending this convention, but I can't very well do that; I haven't got that authority. But I can do this: I can ask the six hundred delegates attending this convention, I can ask the thousand visitors along with them in attendance at the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—in the famous, old historic City of Boston, the Cradle of Liberty

—the Hub of the Universe, to send you their kind regards, their best wishes, their congratulations and their love on this, the jubilee of your holding the position of International President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America for half a century. May you be spared to them and to us for many years to come. It is such men as you that uphold the standing, the integrity, and the dignity of the labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Now the Chair recognizes Acting-President McMorrow of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, who will supplement by a brief statement what Secretary Duffy has stated to this convention.

Delegate McMorrow, Street Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I don't know how to thank Brother Duffy for his kind expressions concerning the President of our organization. It has been my privilege to be closely associated with President Mahon for more than forty years, and all that I can say to this Federation is that I hope to carry on in the spirit of Bill Mahon, in his loyalty to this Federation, as long as McMorrow is alive. I know that those who come after me will do likewise.

Mr. Chairman and delegates, I deeply appreciate this tribute that you have paid to the President of our organization, and I shall cherish it as one of the finest memories of my life.

President Green: I know we were all deeply touched by the presentation of this matter to this convention by our beloved brother, a venerated member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Frank Duffy, and by Brother McMorrow, Acting President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. Most all of the delegates, in fact, all of them who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor over a long period of time knew and now know President Mahon, who for half a century has served the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. The younger ones who have come along later will know of him by reputation. He has been and is now held in high regard and high esteem by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

The trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor was a religion to W. D. Mahon. At all times he staunchly advocated the principles and the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. He was an adviser to President Gompers for many years. He has served on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for many years and he is still a member of that administrative body.

We are all sorry that it is impossible for him to attend this convention because of illness. Those of you who attended the Toronto convention one year ago will recall that he delivered an address to the officers and delegates in attendance at that convention which impressed them very, very deeply. We all feel we are sustaining a very great loss because he is unable to be present with us at this convention.

The Chair will gladly refer the remarks of Secretary Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and of Brother McMorrow, of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, to the Resolutions Committee, with the request that an appropriate declaration be prepared to be transmitted to President Mahon at his home in Florida, expressing the admiration of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, and our sympathy to him in his illness.

It is but fitting and appropriate that we should pause for just a moment this afternoon to pay our tribute of respect to a great leader, a noble man, and a loyal and devoted member of the American Federation of Labor.

Unanimous Consent Resolution

President Green: We have a resolution that the Secretary will bring to the attention of the delegates.

Secretary Meany read the following resolution:

Patronization of Union Barber Shops in Toronto, Canada

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates W. C. Birthright, P. H. Reagan, A. Merlino, C. T. Crane, J. B. Robinson, Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union of America has for many years maintained a local union in the City of Toronto, Ont., Canada, and

WHEREAS, The International Union has from time to time endeavored to build a stronger and more militant union by sending representatives of the organizing department into that city, who appealed to the members of organized labor in Toronto, where there are approximately forty thousand workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which appeal fell on deaf ears, with the result that our local union in Toronto is still in a very weak condition, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Unions represented in this convention be appealed to, and the Card and Label Department of the American Federation of Labor make an appeal to the various local unions in the city of Toronto, together with the Central Labor Union and the Card and Label League of Toronto to look for the Union Shop Card of the Journeymen Barbers and Cosmetologists International Union of America when they or the members of their families patronize barber shops.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

President Green: If there is no objection to the introduction and consideration of this resolution, it will be received and referred to the appropriate committee for consideration and action. Hearing none, the resolution will be received and referred to the committee as indicated.

Now we will be privileged to listen to an interesting and instructive address from one whom I regard as an expert upon social security and social justice legislation. Mr. Altmeyer has been serving in a most commendable way as Chairman of the National Social Security Board. Along with his colleagues, he has been administering the Act and he has done it in a way that is pleasing indeed to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

May I add this fact, that he is standing with us, as an expert authority on social security legislation, in support of our social security measure now pending in the Congress of the United States. There is no need of our discussing freedom from want in an abstract way. It must be made more than a mere statement. We must make it a reality, and if we are to deal with that subject—freedom from want—we must supplement our efforts to provide work opportunities for all who are willing to work by the enactment of social security legislation that will take care of

those who are incapacitated and who need the support of our social order.

I know of no subject that is more important at this time, particularly when we are considering post-war problems, than this question of social security, and I am therefore pleased to have with us this afternoon an authority and an expert on that subject who will talk to us in an illuminating and educational way.

I present to you Mr. Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, for an address.

MR. ARTHUR J. ALTMAYER (Chairman, Social Security Board)

Mr. President, officers of the American Federation of Labor, and delegates to this convention: I really feel as though I have three strikes on me already. A previous speaker has referred to Boston as the Hub of the Universe. Some people have referred to the city of Washington as the Hub-bub of the Universe. That is Strike One.

I belong to that group known as government officials, better known today as bureaucrats. That is Strike Two.

I cannot claim to be an orator such as the speaker who made the moving tribute to your fellow leader. That is Strike Three.

But in spite of the three strikes I do feel that I am with friends and that you will bear with me while I discuss for about twenty minutes the subject of Social Security. You have been kind enough to invite me to your conventions for eight years consecutively. That in itself is some indication of your deep and abiding interest in Social Security.

However, far greater evidence of your interest in Social Security is your general endorsement of the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill now pending in Congress. Undoubtedly, as the authors of this bill have indicated, there will be changes and improvements made in it as a result of full Congressional consideration, and the opportunity for interested individuals and groups to be heard. However, I think we are all in agreement as regards its main objectives.

What we all hope for in new legislation is a well-rounded system of social insurance—contributory social insurance—which can be achieved by unifying and expanding the programs we already have. The foundation was laid in the Social Security Act in 1935. It

was enlarged and strengthened by amendments to the Act in 1939. We now have insurance protection for millions of wage earners against loss or interruption of their earning power if caused by unemployment, old age, or death.

Let me pause a moment to remind you that today there is in existence fifty billion dollars of life insurance, under the present federal old age and survivors insurance system. I think many of the workers of this country do not realize the great advantage that they have achieved in 1939 by the addition of survivor's insurance in the Social Security Act. When you add that fifty billion dollars to the eighty billion dollars that the men and women in the armed forces have purchased through their government, you realize that we already have achieved a great deal by way of Social Security through government action. To round out those provisions we need insurance protection against loss or interruption of earning power for all the other millions that are not now covered—for everybody in the United States who is dependent upon his earnings—everybody and his family. And we need more protection than the law now provides, particularly against the hazards of ill health. We need insurance payments to bridge the gap when workers are too sick to work, as well as when they are out of a job. If they are permanently disabled—at any time of life—they should receive the same insurance payments as if they retired because of old age, because permanent total disability after all can be considered as premature old age so far as the effect upon the wage earning ability of the worker is concerned.

There should also be insurance to cover the costs of hospital and medical care for the wife and children as well as for the head of the family.

In short, we should have a social insurance system which will provide regular payments to tide over the periods when wages stop from any of the major common causes beyond the control of the worker, and which will assure more adequate medical and hospital care by distributing the cost more evenly and more equitably.

We need all these things for every working man and working woman in this country, and we should provide them now—to be ready for those now in the fighting forces when they come back home. We need this same kind of protection for the workers on the home front—the "soldiers of production."

All of us are in thorough agreement with those who say that Social Security in the sense of protection against the hazards that I have just mentioned is not enough. Whoever said it was enough? We all agree that real Social Security must mean, above all, full employment and full production. The workers of this country want the opportunity to make their full contribution to the sum total of goods and services necessary to maintain a desirable and ever-improving standard of living for themselves and their families. However, it would be tragic if we did not recognize that even though we achieve the goal of full employment and full production it will

still be necessary to provide a system designed to eliminate want, because working people will still be confronted with the great economic hazards of sickness, physical disability, old age, and death as well as intermittent unemployment. All of these great hazards mean interruption of earnings, and loss of earnings will still spell want even in a land of plenty.

When we advocate a social security system designed to eliminate want, we are not striving for strange and new ideals; nor is it even necessary for us to depend upon strange and new methods. We have a world history and world experience upon which to base our planning and our action. Indeed, more than a third of a century ago your President, William Green, and a few others took the lead in promoting and establishing the first form of social insurance in this country; namely, workmen's compensation. In the Legislature of Ohio your President was chiefly responsible for the enactment of one of the most progressive Workmen's Compensation acts in this country today. I am sorry to say that in the third of a century that has elapsed since Workmen's Compensation first became effective in this country there has not been the progress that there should have been. I am not saying anything new to you men and women when I say that, because I see all about me men and women who have spent literally all their lives in attempting to secure more adequate workmen's compensation laws. Today not even half of the people in this country had the benefit of workmen's compensation. There are only eight or nine states that provide full protection against occupational diseases, and there are more than twenty odd states that provide no protection whatsoever against occupational diseases. So when we embark upon the road toward Social Security we are not embarking upon an easy road. It is a hard road and a long road, as you men and women well know. I see in this audience men and women who took active part in the development of our present Social Security Act which contains the fundamental elements of a program of social security designed to eliminate one. These men and women realize that it is only necessary for us to extend, expand and improve upon our present Social Security Act—and this is important—in the light of experience and thinking that has developed since that Act was passed in 1937. We have learned a great deal since 1935 about how Social Security operates, or rather fails to operate in many circumstances.

I think we are all in agreement that the focal point of our efforts should be to provide reasonable protection against interruption of income due to sickness, accidents, old age, death, and unemployment. We know that what we need is an effective contributory social insurance system which will spread income over periods of nonearning as well as over periods of earning.

There is no logical reason why we cannot convert our present Social insurances into a single, unified, comprehensive system of social insurance in which there would be no gaps, no overlaps and no discrepancies in the protection afforded. Such a system could operate

with a maximum degree of simplicity and efficiency since there would need to be only one contribution, one report, one record, and one local office to which employers and employees alike could go to ascertain their rights and duties.

I believe that it is sound public policy, as well as in the interests of the insured workers, that workers share with employers the combined costs of all of the benefits included, instead of the employer bearing the entire cost of certain benefits and the workers bearing the entire cost of other benefits. Workers, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, have time and again indicated that they are prepared to pay their fair share of the costs.

A year ago President Green addressed a letter to the chairmen of the appropriate Congressional committees in which he stated:

"... As the Federation's primary proposal for the protection of workers in the war and post-war periods, we have urged that the social security program be strengthened and the coverage extended, and that this increased security be financed by increased contributions. The American Federation of Labor is not asking to escape sacrifices and taxes during this war, but we do ask that our contributions and sacrifices be made in the most useful and constructive way possible.

"We, therefore, respectfully urge that instead of the compulsory 5 per cent savings, which your Committee has been considering, you substitute an extended social security program financed by equal contributions of at least 5 per cent of payrolls by both employers and employees."

As regards unemployment insurance, there is no question in my mind but that combining the 51 separate State unemployment insurance systems into a unified, comprehensive contributory social insurance system would result in far simpler, more effective, and more economical administration. But of still greater importance than the administrative advantages is the fact that a truly national system of unemployment insurance would be much safer and sounder because of the wider spreading of the unemployment risk and the more effective utilization of reserves. A Federal unemployment insurance system could also provide much more adequate benefits because of this wider spreading of the risk and more effective utilization of reserves.

One of the chief reasons that State unemployment insurance laws cannot be depended upon to provide adequate benefits is because of the operation of so-called employer experience rating. The original theory was that requiring an employer to pay a rate depending upon his experience with unemployment would induce him to keep his working force fully employed. However, it should be clear by

this time that mass unemployment is beyond the control of individual employers and that most unemployment is due to factors beyond the control of individual employers. Certainly, during this wartime period employers who have seen their businesses decline and in some cases disappear entirely because of the requirements of the war cannot be said to have had much control over unemployment. Neither can the mushroom expansion of war industries be said to be due to the efforts of individual employers. Of course, we all recognize that the war period is an abnormal period but after the war, too, the amount of unemployment is likely to depend more largely upon general economic conditions and governmental policies than upon the actions of individual employers or even of individual States.

There is absolutely no statistical evidence that the introduction of the so-called employer experience rating has resulted in any general stabilization of employment. Aside from the basic question of whether individual employers can exercise much influence on the volume of unemployment is the fact that the employer experience rating formulas inserted in the various State laws, for the most part, do not use any of the recognized criteria to measure employment stabilization, but are dependent upon how little is paid out in benefits. Therefore, every State is under pressure not to increase benefits any more rapidly than neighboring States do, and every employer has a strong inducement to contest every claim for benefits.

A striking feature of the amendments to State laws that have taken place is the insertion of more stringent disqualification provisions. Back in 1938 there were only eight States which, with respect to disqualification provisions went as far as to cancel all or part of a worker's past wage credits or reduce the maximum benefits to which he was entitled. Now there are 34 States in which some or all of a worker's wage credits can be canceled if the State decided, for instance, that the worker left his last job for a better one or refused to take a job that the worker felt was unsuitable.

There are plenty of cases where a man has quit a job for the entirely natural and commendable purpose of taking a better one, many times at the urging of his Government. Nevertheless, he may be penalized by having all of his wage credits taken away and his unemployment insurance rights destroyed. There are also State laws which provide a double disqualification. For example, a worker may quit his job voluntarily and be required to wait eight weeks, in addition to his ordinary waiting period, before drawing benefits. If at the end of the eight weeks the same employer offers him the very same job which he quit because it was unsatisfactory, he will be disqualified for benefits all over again if he refuses to take it.

Worst of all, perhaps, is this sort of a case: A person does not quit but is laid off, fired, and finds work in a war plant. If later on he is offered his old job back and he refuses to take it he will lose all of the unemployment benefit rights he accumulated in that old

job. Still worse than that, if the worker did leave his job in the war plant and went back to his old job, he would lose all of the benefit rights which he had accumulated while working in the war plant. So either way he stands to lose.

Another serious result of employer experience rating is that it slows down the accumulation of reserves by reducing contribution rates during a period of full employment, which is the very time they should be increased. What is even worse, employer experience rating will require the raising of the contribution rates during a period of unemployment when employers and the country can least afford to pay an increase. This is particularly serious for States that have a great many mushroom war plants, since these plants will have their contribution rates reduced during the war period but will cause the greatest drain upon State funds when the war is over and their employees are laid off.

It is a matter of record that the Federal Government in the past has been obliged to assume primary responsibility for coping with the problem of mass unemployment, and is there any question that it will have to assume that responsibility in the future. It is vital that there be no division of that responsibility, in order that the related approaches toward a solution may be completely integrated. Government stimulation of private enterprise, public works, and unemployment compensation are all necessary to cope with the problem of unemployment. What is done or not done in one respect has a profound effect on what can or must be done in the others. During the post-war period the policies followed in the demobilization of the armed forces, in the termination of war contracts, and in the disposition that is made of Government financed plants will vitally affect the volume of unemployment. On the other hand, the adequacy or inadequacy, rather, of unemployment compensation benefits must be taken into account in determining the policies to be followed by the Federal Government. Under such circumstances, division of responsibility may well mean the failure to act consistently and effectively, because of the well-known device of passing the buck.

But whether or not we expand our social security system to include protection against hazards not now covered, it is necessary to make changes in the present law if men and women in military service and working in Government establishments are not to lose the benefit rights they have already accumulated. As the law now reads, persons in military service stand to lose wage credits under our old-age and survivors insurance system and under the unemployment insurance laws of some States. Persons working in Government establishments stand to lose their wage credits under our old-age and sur-

vivors insurance system and under all State unemployment insurance laws. This is because they are no longer in what is termed "insured employment." In other words, continued insurance protection under the Social Security Act depends upon continuing to be employed in private business or industry.

For the comprehensive insurance protection proposed workers will expect to pay their fair share of the cost—along with employers—because what we are talking about is not a dole but insurance. This means the costs are spread over the millions who will benefit, including employers as well as workers. Right now workers do pay, as you know, 1 per cent of their wages for their old-age and survivors insurance protection, and also be under some State Unemployment Laws. They will be paying 2 per cent for that next year, and eventually 3 per cent, even if the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill does not pass—for these automatic increases are called for in existing law. But the all-around insurance protection proposed will cost probably as much as 6 per cent from you and the same from your employers—which means 12 per cent of the Nation's payrolls for social insurance. That's a sizable deduction from any man's pay check. However, it is by no means an extra cost, in the true sense of the word, because insurance is only a method for spreading and making more bearable already existing costs.

Without any social insurance you are already paying 6 per cent of your earnings or more, for less of a return than you can get through social insurance. Just figure it up: You know what it is to be out of work with no pay coming in; you know what it is to be too sick to work for weeks and months on end, and nothing coming in but medical bills. Moreover, sickness in the family can cost a lot more than your social insurance contributions would come to. Then some day you will be old, and sometime you will die. The old-age and survivors' insurance protection alone may be worth more than 6 per cent, according to the actuaries.

The obvious question which will occur to many who may agree with the inherent desirability of having a comprehensive social security system available at the end of the war is whether the present is a practical and appropriate time for action. The enormous outlays and the vast administrative undertakings now necessary for the prosecution of the war may appear to suggest that action be deferred until after the war is won. The answer is that unless action is taken now there is grave danger that the post-war period will arrive before a well-rounded social security system can be put into successful operation. A successful social security system cannot be improvised overnight.

As a matter of fact, the extension of social security now would not only not inter-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

fere with but would greatly aid in the successful prosecution of the war. Entirely apart from the increased well-being that would result, the fact is that immediate expansion of the social security system is highly desirable from the standpoint of the Nation's economic and fiscal circumstances. Two of the major economic problems of the war effort are to control inflation and to obtain revenues through taxation or borrowing, or both.

As President Roosevelt has said, "This is one case in which social and fiscal objectives, war and post-war aims are in full accord. Expanded social security, together with other fiscal measures would set up a bulwark of economic security for the people now and after the war and at the same time would provide anti-inflationary sources for financing the war."

Let us also not forget, let me repeat, that under a contributory social insurance system the workers of this country and their employers would pay for the benefits that are received. It is not a plan for giving everybody something for nothing but a plan for organized thrift. As Prime Minister Churchill has said, the essence of social insurance is "bringing the magic of averages to the rescue of the millions."

In closing, let me make it clear that I do not pretend that the program I have outlined will usher in Utopia; I do not even contend that it will eliminate poverty in this country; but I do believe and contend that it will abolish want. Is this too ambitious a goal for a great and powerful nation? I do not believe that it is and I know that you will agree.

This Nation should emerge from this war a richer nation not only materially but spiritually. We have learned how to provide full employment. We have learned how to increase our production tremendously. We have learned lessons of cooperation the hard way. Our future problem is not a problem of resources but of unity of purpose. I am confident that with unity of purpose we have demonstrated that we have the ability to accomplish our purpose. Certainly there can be no higher purpose than to promote the welfare of human beings.

President Green: You can readily see by the manner in which Chairman Altmeyer presented his subject that he dealt with a question that is of vital interest to the working men and women of our country.

I am pleased to advise you that this address will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's Convention and in the permanent records of the Federation. It will help all of you to understand the problem of social insurance and social security and enable you to present the subject whenever you may be called upon to do so in a convincing and intelligent way.

I thank Chairman Altmeyer for his attendance at our Convention this afternoon and for the splendid address which he delivered.

Now, may I announce that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will meet in the Executive Council Room on the mezzanine floor immediately after the adjournment of this session this afternoon.

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: The delegates representing organizations of Civil Service employees will meet immediately after adjournment of this session in Room 419.

President Green: If there are no further announcements the Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn.

Delegate Madsen, Painters. I so move.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at four o'clock p. m the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 6th.

THIRD DAY — WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

Boston, Massachusetts, October 6, 1943

The Convention was called to order at ten o'clock by President Green.

President Green: Dr. Joshua Loth Liebman, of Temple Israel, of this city, is here and will pronounce the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Dr. Joshua Loth Liebman,
Temple Israel, Boston, Massachusetts)

O Thou Eternal Spirit and Supreme Worker of the Universe, revealing Thyself in the eyes of day and night, we are grateful to Thee for this great gathering of workers in this free land now devoted to the freedom of men and freedom from evil.

We think of all the things You have given to man—the free earth and the powers of men and we are ashamed that century after century men have abused these gifts. We think of all the pages of history of persecution and slavery and we think of all of the sorrows and all of the injustices through which men have used other men as means to their ends; rungs on the ladder to their own paradise.

We are grateful this morning for the courage of these leaders of labor who have dared to work and to dream and to build a better world in this century and in these decades of our day. We are grateful, O God, for all of the statesmen of labor working together with the prophets of religion to build a better and freer humanity here and elsewhere. We are aware also, God, that with every new achievement there comes new responsibilities. May the leaders of labor never be carried away by false pride or power, but use that power for the ending of oppression, exploitation and injustice whenever they may arise.

We are thankful, O God, Eternal Worker of the universe; we are thankful at this moment in this free America for all the institutions of labor; thankful also that men are determined to build an economic democracy and in that new democracy may every man, every worker with brain or hand, possess not only economic security but the sense of value of status and function.

May our wants be so big as to cover everybody and not so small as to cover only ourselves.

May there come a day when every man will feel he is not only a cog in a machine—a meaningless atom—but whether he be white,

yellow or black, Catholic, Protestant, Jew, Buddhist, Mohammedan, feel he is valuable in the eyes of men and God.

We pray too, then, that we may be able in this century to build a cooperative society in place of a competitive anarchy; to create a world where men will have security in place of insecurity, a sense of status and value; a world that will rise out of the ashes of this war evil, so that all men, Thy children, may feel themselves co-workers with Thee, the Supreme Worker for good. Amen.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Scholtz of the Committee on Credentials, for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Committee Secretary Scholtz read the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend the seating of the following:

David L. Behneke, representing the Air Line Pilots' Association, 17 votes.

Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union, Thomas Yoczik, 1 vote.

Designers' Union No. 22280, Boston, Mass., Robert Klamann, 1 vote.

New London, Conn., Central Labor Union, Edwin Rice, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Lev. G. Loring, 1 vote.

The committee moves the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

COMMITTEES TO ESCORT SPEAKERS

President Green: The acting Director of the International Labor Office is here and is prepared to come in and address the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention and I will appoint on the committee to escort to the platform Acting Director Phelan, Brother Harry Bates, Brother John Mara and Brother Charles MacGowan.

We will have another speaker at eleven o'clock, Captain Perry, of the Navy, and I will appoint as a committee to escort Captain Perry to the convention hall Brother Leslie Myers, Brother Charles Paulson, and Brother Robert Byron.

Father Haas will address the convention at 11:30 and the Chair desires to appoint as a committee to escort Father Haas to the hall Brother Frank Duffy, Brother John M. Gillespie, and Brother John B. Murray.

Secretary Meany is recognized for messages.

ternational problems without making immediate and effective efforts toward putting its own economic house in order, and assuring that high level of free enterprise, full employment, and individual security which are the ultimate tests of democracy's survival.

Be assured of my fullest cooperation in pressing ceaselessly for immediate action on the Social Security bill which I introduced with your great cooperation and support, as well as constructive measures for housing and other forms of post-war enterprise to the fullest extent possible.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT F. WAGNER.

Washington, D. C.
October 4, 1943.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

New York, N. Y.
October 5, 1943.

American Federation of Labor Convention
William Green, President
Hotel Statler
Boston, Mass.

In behalf of the underground movement of tortured Jewish workers of Poland now waging armed resistance against Nazi hangmen we extend best wishes and greetings to delegates assembled at Sixty-third Annual Convention of AFL. We are deeply convinced that American labor will find ways and means not only of speeding ultimate victory over evil forces of the Axis but of establishing lasting peace based on principles of Democracy, Equality and Social Justice which will enable Jews throughout the world to remain in their native countries with the same status as Non-Jews.

American Representation of General
Jewish Workers Union of Poland
EMANUEL NOWOGRODSKY.

UNITED STATES SENATE

October 5, 1943.

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Statler
Boston, Mass.

Dear Bill:

I send warmest personal greetings to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor assembled in your Sixty-third Annual Convention. I congratulate you upon taking national leadership in focusing attention on concrete proposals for employment and security of all American servicemen and workers after military victory is won. To delay action, to wait and see, is to invite economic disaster. The United States cannot assume leadership in adjusting post-war in-

William Green, President
George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Statler
Boston, Mass.

Regret inability arrive for opening of 63rd annual convention. Congratulations to you and delegates and through you to millions of workers of unprecedented production record. Will arrive within few days.

J. R. STEELMAN, Director
U. S. Conciliation Service

Boston, Massachusetts
October 5, 1943.

Wm. Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Statler Hotel
Boston, Mass.

On behalf of the National Trade Union Committee for the support of the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, the Board of Directors and the patients, I extend profound gratitude and appreciation to you as President of the A. F. of L., George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer, and all Vice-Presidents and Officers of Internationals, Locals, State Federations and City Central Bodies. The special pamphlet distributed to the delegates assembled at this convention expresses precisely our gratitude and appreciation.

The moral and financial support extended to our institution by all of you is most praiseworthy as it has helped to alleviate pain, prolong lives, nourish the sick back to health and rehabilitate them as helpful and useful men and women. The life-saving work administered for the last 35 years by our national, free, non-sectarian tubercular institution was made possible through your generosity. Confident that all your undertakings and deliberations for a powerful and solidified American Federation of Labor will be crowned a success.

R. SCHWARTZ, National Supervisor,
Ex-Patients Tubercular Home of Denver, Colo.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Del Monte of the Local Committee on Arrangements for an announcement.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Committee Chairman Del Monte: Immediately upon adjournment of the morning session, over in the park, the official photograph of the convention will be taken. If you will line up your wives and guests and get yourselves all prettied up, as far as you can, after the adjournment we will have our picture taken.

For the ladies we have secured tickets for a matinee this afternoon at the Shubert Theatre, and these tickets are available either from myself or the gentleman out in the lobby who is registering the attendance.

I also wish to announce to the Teamsters that are here from throughout the United States that if they will register with the gentleman in the lobby there is something going on for them on Thursday evening. Thank you.

President Green: Acting Director Phelan, of the International Labor Organization is here and prepared to transmit his message to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. I know that most of you know something about the work of the International Labor Organization, and because of the tragic situation which prevails throughout the world we appreciate more the importance of the International Labor Organization, perhaps, than ever before.

The headquarters of this organization were located in Geneva, Switzerland. They own a building there and one room in that building is dedicated to the late Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor. Because of the war the International Labor Organization deemed it advisable to move its headquarters and its administrative set-up from Geneva, Switzerland, to some other country. They were invited to establish themselves at Montreal, Canada, so that the administrative office of the International Labor Organization is now located in that city.

Acting Director Phelan, therefore, made the trip from Montreal, Canada, to Boston for the special purpose of visiting with us and submitting his address. We have had the pleasure of listening to him at previous conventions with a feeling of deep appreciation and genuine

satisfaction. I know he will bring to you a message of deep interest this morning.

I present to you Acting Director Phelan of the International Labor Organization.

ACTING DIRECTOR EDWARD J. PHELAN (International Labor Organization)

President Green, Delegates and Guests:

Thank you for the welcome you have just extended me.

It is always an inspiring experience to attend the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

It is particularly so at this moment when the great drama of history is unrolling at an accelerated pace and on a scale so wide that none may watch it as a mere spectator. The destiny of everyone, not only of you and I, but of the inhabitants of the remotest regions and of islands that are but pinpoints on the largest maps, are being decided by events now in progress and by plans and policies which are now being shaped.

The setbacks and reverses which the forces of the United Nations had encountered a year ago have been changed into a victorious progress on all fronts. The road to complete and final victory may yet be long and hard but the march along it has begun.

The determination of Labor to continue the flow of equipment to the men in the fighting forces will be intensified. The successes just achieved are the most convincing manifestation that every additional effort on the production line can directly and definitely shorten the war and save precious lives. While this will be the dominant mood of this Convention—the overriding consideration in all your minds—the march of military events has inevitably brought certain other questions into a sharper focus of attention.

As military victory approaches, however distant and difficult may yet be its final culmination, increasing thought must be given to what are to be its consequences and fruits.

They present a whole series of problems—political, economic and social—in which Labor has a vital interest. Those problems will not be easy of solution, but solved they can and will be if the determination and the spirit of positive collaboration that has characterized the war effort are maintained. That is why I referred a moment ago to the special inspiration which I find in attending a meeting of the annual Convention of the A. F. of L. at this time. Here you have in this hall the representatives of hundreds of great labor unions, each with its own special characteristics and problems, each with its different experience and knowledge, and yet all coming together to express a common mind, to frame a common general policy, against the back-

ground of which each can pursue its own particular activities with greater security and to greater advantage. Is it not an example of the way in which we may hope the free countries of the world may tackle their problems once the war is over? Is not the title of the United Nations, so happily chosen, almost a suggestion that this should be so?

This war has opposed two conceptions. The conception of the United Nations as against the conception of the Uniform Nations. The one is a conception of Unity, unity on the fundamental principles of the four freedoms, with all the color and enrichment of diversity which national tradition or genius may suggest: the other is the conception of uniformity, where all thought must conform to the fashion of a master mind and a man may not give free rein to his fancy even in the matter of the color of his shirt.

If this were all that had to be settled, we can I think take it that the issue has been decided. The conception of Unity with Freedom has already its victory in the minds of men, and the aggressors who would have destroyed it are going steadily down to defeat.

But agreement on great principles and victory in their cause is not enough. Principles have little value unless they are accompanied by measures of practical application effectively applied. It would be of little use to incur the sacrifice of life and suffering which this war must entail merely to establish the principle that a man may choose the color of the shirt he will wear if there are no shirts to be had, or worse still if there should be a plethora of shirts but men have no wages wherewith to buy them.

Prevention is as essential as cure. Rags breed disease, disease in the body politic as well as in the body physical. Let us therefore see to it that in the future there shall be no millions of ragged shirts in which may multiply the germs of another peril to the democratic way of life.

Healthy, prosperous, free citizens are the ultimate security, the foundation on which all else must be built, if the structure is to be stable and enduring. Here again the objectives can be clearly set and are already generally agreed—jobs for all, the protection of an adequate system of social security, a rising standard of living, educational and professional opportunity open to all without discrimination. Action in, or by, each nation to secure these ends is being prepared in forms appropriate to its circumstances and traditions—an example of the diversity which is a feature of the United Nations, and a diversity which will enable them to learn from one another as they watch the results achieved.

Such national action will not however be sufficient. Not only will some of the measures taken require international coordination, but there must be a general world economic framework in which the economic life of each nation can find its place and develop with security. The world cannot be stable if it is half prosperous and half poverty-stricken. Nations cannot build up a prosperous economy at home if they are exposed to violent fluctuations in foreign exchanges, to unpredictable and catastrophic changes in the prices of raw

materials, and to the disorganization of foreign markets which are the inevitable result of these and similar disturbances. The economic interdependence of the nations of the world was made evident by the successive economic crises of the interwar years.

The United Nations have begun to plan the way in which the necessary order can be introduced into the world's economic life, and the instruments through which that order may be maintained. We have had the Refugee Conference at Bermuda, the Food and Agriculture Conference at Hot Springs: negotiations concerning the regulation of currency questions are in progress, and other elements in the world's financial and economic structure are being carefully studied with a view to international agreements; the United Nations Relief Administration is about to be constituted by a formal act; the International Labor Organization, due to the foresight of two great labor statesmen, Samuel Gompers and George Barnes, at the end of the first world war, is in being with nearly twenty-five years of experience in its task. In the effective and proper functioning of all such agreements and instruments, Labor is vitally concerned. Many of them will have a highly technical character, but they all need to be guided and inspired by the social objectives which the United Nations have set in the forefront of their programme.

Thus, the general picture of what has been called "reconstruction" is becoming steadily clearer: it has two panels, the one a series of national measures taken in or by each nation and which, while possessing a certain general pattern, will show diversity corresponding to different needs, circumstances, and industrial methods and traditions; the other, a series of international measures providing that unity of order without which national measures would fall of their effect. Neither can succeed alone. The success of one set of measures is dependent on the success of the other, and vice versa. At some time there will no doubt be an over all Conference to coordinate the operations of the various international bodies, but no such Conference seems yet to be envisaged. It will be the roof to be put on the structure when it is more or less complete. Meanwhile the different international agencies will be working in contact with one another, discovering where their problems are inter-related and taking practical account of any questions which require to be adjusted between them. In these circumstances, the International Labor organization takes on an added importance for organized labor.

Not only will it have its own field to cover, but it may be hoped that it will succeed in instituting effective methods of liaison with these other international agencies and thereby be able to watch constantly the social implications of the measures they may propose or undertake. Such liaison was promised to it by the Governments at the New York-Washington Conference, a promise to which the workers attached the greatest importance. They attached importance to it because of a fundamental difference between measures taken to prosecute the war and measures taken to establish peace. War measures are in their

nature temporary: the better the war measures the more temporary they will be because their effect is to win the war and thereby end it. Peace measures have exactly the opposite character. They aim at perpetuating peace, at building up a peaceful way of life that will endure. Therefore they need to be taken perpetually. In their nature they cannot be taken once and for all by any Conference, however authoritative and however wisely inspired. The decisions of such a Conference will have their value and find their effect only in their continual application, only as they continue to be applied in a living, growing, changing society. Thus, though labor in the various countries may be consulted and be able to make its influence felt in the general terms of the Peace Settlement, its interests cannot be adequately safeguarded unless it is in a position to watch constantly the way in which the Settlement is given effect to by the various international agencies concerned, and the results of their activities and decisions on the course of the world's life. Organized Labor has its assured constitutional place in the International Labor Organization. In the International Labor Conference, meeting in session at least once a year, delegates of organized labor, sitting with delegates of Governments and of employers, can survey periodically the whole process of building and developing the peaceful economy of the world, and can exercise that "eternal vigilance" without which we know too well how easily man's greatest achievements can be turned and twisted from their purpose.

When Samuel Gompers gave the last months of his life to perfecting and defending the constitution of the International Labor Organization, he had perhaps a vision of how vital an instrument it might one day prove. Thanks to him, to George Barnes, Emil Vanderveide, Leon Jouhaux, President Benes and others who worked with him in Paris in 1919; thanks to Albert Thomas, Harold Butler and John Winant who were successively its Directors; thanks to the long and distinguished list of American and other labor leaders who have participated in its annual Sessions and, after democratic discussion, agreed with Governments and employers on its decisions; thanks to the unwavering support of organized Labor through these difficult years of the war, the International Labor Organization is now at our disposal, admirably adapted by its composition and experience to play a predominant part in securing the fulfillment of men's hopes and desires for a better, a freer and a happier world.

It is at our disposal. Will it be used? Are the United Nations really alive to its vast potentialities? Have they the vision to see how greatly its use, based as it is on the joint collaboration of Governments, workers and employers, will facilitate the solution of the many difficult problems that lie ahead? I know that Trade Unionists in many countries, and from the occupied countries of Europe in particular, are asking these questions with growing anxiety. I hope and believe that an affirmative answer will be given to them in the very near future.

During the war labor has won its place in the highest national councils. It was given, at

the end of the last war, a place of equal honor and responsibility in the International Labor Organization. To ignore that Organization in the work that lies ahead, to underestimate its potentialities, to underemploy its resources of experience and accumulated knowledge would be neither wise nor just.

The work of planning the world's post-war machinery is now under way. Its first concrete results will indeed be shortly apparent. While all that affects the prosecution of the war must more than ever continue to enjoy a unique priority, this work of preparation for post-war tasks is its necessary complement to be pursued as effectively and assiduously as the overriding claims of that first priority will allow. Let us hope that as the complete picture emerges, and as all the functions to be performed are seen in their proper perspective, the International Labor Organization will be found to have been given its due and rightful place; and let us determine that we shall use it and the other agencies at our command so that once victory has opened the road of peace mankind may travel along it to an ever happier and ever richer destiny.

President Green: It was mighty refreshing for us to be permitted to listen to this interesting address delivered by Acting Director Phelan of the International Labor Organization this morning. As the great tragedy unfolds and we are able to understand it and see it better, we realize the importance of the International Labor Organization. In fact, this organization which has functioned continuously since it was organized following the conclusion of the first World War has taught us the necessity of international understanding, international cooperation. We know now, sure and certain, that our great nation, the United States of America, cannot isolate itself from the balance of the world. Through the International Labor Organization labor has been endeavoring to make its contribution toward the development of international cooperation, the promotion of international economy and the establishment of international standards designed to promote the common welfare.

I thank Acting Director Phelan in your name and for you for his visit to this convention and for the address which he delivered.

(The committee appointed earlier in the session escorted Captain John R. Perry, of the Civil Engineer Corps of the United States Navy, to the platform.)

President Green: We have with us this morning a most capable and distinguished representative of the United States Navy. You will recall that Undersecretary of War

Patterson attended our convention and delivered an address on last Monday, representing as he did the War Department.

Now we are happy indeed to have with us this morning a representative of the Navy Department. So without loss of time I am going to present to you our speaker of this morning representing the Navy. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Captain John R. Perry, of the Civil Engineer Corps of the United States Navy.

CAPTAIN JOHN R. PERRY (Civil Engineer Corps, United States Navy)

Mr. President, delegates and guests of the convention of the American Federation of Labor: It affords me a very distinct pleasure to come before you this morning and to tell you of an organization which is very close to my heart and should be very close to your hearts. I refer to the "Sea Bees" of the Navy.

(Applause.)

Admiral Morrell is my boss—he calls them his boys and I call them my boys, but they are just as much your boys, because between sixty and seventy-five per cent of them are your own men. They are rough, they are tough, and that's the way we like them, and they do one swell job for us.

A famous Naval authority once made the statement that a ship or a fleet was no better than the base from which it operated. By that he meant that any ship has to come back to base to be re-fueled, to be overhauled, to be repaired, in order that it can remain an operating unit of a fleet. In this day and age, where we are fighting a war on the seven seas all over the world, it becomes apparent to anyone that we cannot successfully carry on this war without bases all over the face of the globe.

In time of peace we would expect private contractors to do the construction work for us and they would use your men to accomplish the work, your men being dressed in civilian clothes. Shortly after Pearl Harbor we found at Wake, at Guam, in Cavite that it was not satisfactory to have the men in civilian clothes to try to build these bases for us, because if they tried to defend themselves against the enemy they were liable to be shot as guerrillas, and well meaning as many of them were at Wake, they were not trained in a military sense and they could not give their all as they would like to have done. Because of that we had to form some organization which could still build these bases overseas and get a gun in a hurry, and yet have the people that were a part of an organization able to take care of themselves if the enemy struck. Consequently, we went to what we now know as the "Sea Bees". They were formed for work outside the United States, and the records today show that they have performed it in the highest

traditions that any armed force has ever put forth before, and I tell you that you should feel as proud of this organization as I feel of it because in the main it is your men who are in them.

Possibly I should give you something of an outline—and I will try to make it very brief—of exactly what the "Sea Bees" are. The basic unit is the battalion. It consists of 1,087 men and 35 officers. The battalion is divided into five companies. You have the headquarters company which is comprised of people which we term overhead; that is, the bakers, the cooks, the pharmacists' mates, the gunners' mates, the draftsmen, etc., the people we require to see that the battalion is a self-contained unit when it goes into the field and needs no help from anybody.

Then we have four construction companies, each with approximately twenty-six men. Each of these units has in it sheet metal workers, plumbers, machinists, carpenters, wharf builders, riggers, iron workers—all of the trades that you can possibly think of that you have among your own body here, because we never know exactly what type of work we are going to have to do, therefore we must have every type of skilled mechanic we would require to do any type of job anywhere in the world.

When we first started out we thought possibly 10,000 men would do the job. The organization now is made up of over 200,000 men, and I don't know exactly where it is going to stop. I point out again that those are your men and you owe them every ounce of loyalty that you can possibly give them.

Where have these people gone since we have organized them? Well over 100,000 of them are on every continent that you can think of. They are in South America, they are in Africa, they are in Europe, and the islands in the South Seas are dotted with them; they are in Alaska.

If you think that they have not turned in a glorious record, then you should have listened to Lieutenant Drezner, a few nights ago, when he told of the "Sea Bees" and their performance at Salerno. Those boys of yours are tough and hard and we have taken them and given them military training, and they have shown that they have the guts that it takes to stand up against the best that the Germans and Japs have offered.

Take the young fellow from Cleveland, Ohio, Christopher Meyer, he was driving his bulldozer when Jap planes came over a certain island in the South Pacific and he noticed that the gunner handling an anti-aircraft gun had been shot; he jumped down off his bulldozer and manned the anti-aircraft gun. Unfortunately this young man was killed by a bomb explosion a few days later, when he was trying to unload drum gasoline from one of the transports that was in the harbor. But, those are the type of men you have given us and we take our hats off to you people because you have aided us at every turn and we thank you from the bottom of our hearts for the excellent cooperation you have given us.

Let me go further and tell you of some of the jobs they have done. Read the Congress-

sional Record. Senator Taft has just returned from a world-wide visit to all of the battle fronts, and what does he say about your people. He says they are the grandest organization he has ever seen and he wonders why the American people do not know more about them. That is one of the reasons I am here this morning, to let you know what these Construction Battalions are. Every person who has visited any of the fronts comes back with the highest praise for these men.

We thought we were finished after the organization of the first unit. But we had to go further. Where we thought that the unloading of ships would take care of itself, we found that it would not; but the situation was terrible, the ships were not getting unloaded at the final point of destination, and therefore we organized special battalions comprised of stevedores with the necessary complement of construction men with them, so that again the battalion could go into the field and be self-sufficient and would require no help from anyone. The first one of these units went out last January. They went to a hot spot in the South Pacific. The ships were not getting unloaded there. Within sixty days after they arrived the shipping situation in this particular harbor had been cleaned up and yet ships had been waiting there in some instances as many as sixty days before they could be unloaded.

Those men are your men and they have shown how, when they have a job to do, they could go out and do it. They did one grand job down there. When you stop and think that whereas in the past a ship is lying idle in a harbor because it could not be unloaded for a period of sixty days, and that today in that same harbor those ships are unloaded in two to three days, you can readily realize how much saving in shipping space that amounts to. It gives you a quicker turnaround of the ships and, therefore, to get the same amount of cargo to any one port, you need just that many less ships and, if you need less ships, you need less steel to build them with, and that steel can go into making arms which are necessary for the boys overseas.

There will come a time when these boys will come back to you—some of them—not all of them, because as I mentioned earlier some of them lie dead at Salerno, others lie dead in the South Pacific Islands, and some were at Attu—they were among the first to land there, too, but these boys will come back to you after this war is over and I guarantee to you that they will be the best group of trained men you have ever seen. Not only will they be trained in their own particular skill—because they already knew that before we ever took them up—but they will be disciplined and will understand the meaning of discipline, and will come back to you, and I will guarantee you will have some of the finest men coming back into your organizations that you have ever seen in your life. We did not attack the problem of training these people in their particular skills because we did not have the time. We naturally assumed that since these boys belonged to organizations that they already had their skill, but we have

bent over backward in endeavoring to give them military training. They spend some twelve weeks in training before we ever think of outfitting them for work overseas, and during that entire twelve weeks the emphasis is put on military training day by day, and as I have already told you, that training has paid dividends over and over again.

Now, if these boys are doing the work that they are for you, then it is up to you to do everything you can for them. I don't have to give a flag-waving speech here, because I know all of you people are doing everything you can to help the forces overseas. There is one thing you must remember, however, and that is that if by any chance, by any act on your part, the gun does not get to the man on the fighting front—and I refer not only to the "Sea Bees," but to the other Armed Forces, somebody is going to suffer for it.

The only gauge of performance today is the gauge of how many lives you can save by the actions that you take back in this country. All of our forces are giving everything they possibly can for you—it is up to you to give them every support, and though I represent the "Sea Bees" who are your boys, nevertheless I speak for the other forces as well. I thank you gentlemen.

President Green: We are deeply grateful to Captain Perry for his visit with us this morning and for his most interesting address. Perhaps it would be of information to Captain Perry, as well as to many of you here, if I stated that the records of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation itself show that over 2,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor are in the armed services of our country at the present time.

Now, our International Unions are zealously attempting to protect the seniority rights of all these members of the American Federation of Labor serving in the armed forces. Our organizations will be alert when they return, aggressive in their determination to protect these members of all our great unions who have left their work and their homes to serve in the armed forces of our country. We shall endeavor to protect their seniority rights to the limit and see to it that they are returned to the positions they occupied when they left our great country to fight on foreign soil.

We extend to you, Captain Perry, a hearty welcome to this Convention. We ask you to take back to the "Sea Bees" and to the Navy and those connected with the Navy Department the assurance of this Federation of Labor that we will stand immovable in support of that branch of our Government, as well as the Government itself, until this job we have

undertaken is completely finished and the Nazis, Fascists and the Japanese Nation are forced to surrender unconditionally.

Brother Isidore Nagler of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Brother Harold D. Ulrich, of the Brotherhood of Steamship Clerks and Freight Handlers International Union, made the trip to Southport, England, to the British Trades Union Congress, as fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor. They were designated by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in accordance with the authority conferred upon it, to represent the American Federation of Labor at the historic meeting of the British Trades Union Congress which was held at Southport, England, during the early part of September.

These young men did a swell job, they measured up to all of the requirements and to the high standards which we have set for fraternal delegates who attend the British Trades Union Congress. They submitted to me their report on their attendance at the British Trades Union Congress and I am turning this report over to Secretary-Treasurer Meany for inclusion in the proceedings of today's Convention. I urge each and all of you to read this report carefully because it is most interesting and instructive indeed.

JOINT REPORT OF ISIDORE NAGLER AND HAROLD D. ULRICH Fraternal Delegates to The British Trade Union Congress, South- port, England, September 1943

In keeping with our assignment, we flew across the North Atlantic from the new world to the old in less time than elapses between your leaving your place of business in the evening and returning the next morning. Flying high over the sea through the darkness of night and in fog is still considered sufficiently hazardous, especially in war time, as to make all on board, whatever their position in life, feel a kinship to one another, as brothers under the skin, a very human experience in itself. In these times at least there are no stuffed shirts on board a trans-Atlantic plane.

Our departure from New York was delayed one day through a change in schedule, thus making it impossible for us to reach Southport on the opening day of the Congress, Labor Day, September 6, 1943. We arrived

in London by train at 7:30 that evening and found that arrangements had been made for us to stop in London overnight and go on to Liverpool and Southport the next day. However, having already missed the opening day of the Congress, we disliked to miss a good part of the second day's session, so we decided to leave London that evening at 8:45 p.m. on a train due to arrive in Liverpool at 2:45 a.m. Tuesday. The train, however, was an hour late, so we did not arrive until 3:45 a.m. Our short walk of about 100 yards from the railroad station to our hotel gave us our first experience with the total blackout common to all England. To fully appreciate such a thing in the midst of city life, one must experience it in person. The knowledge of something coming towards you and not being able to see it is a sensation different from being in ordinary darkness. After a few hours' sleep and an early breakfast, we were driven to Southport, and arrived in time for the opening of Congress, Tuesday morning, September 7, 1943. Arrangements had been made for us, due to the congested condition of the hotels at Southport which had largely been taken over by the Armed services to quarter us in the Adelphi Hotel in Liverpool, and we were driven by automobile each morning to Southport, a distance of about 20 miles and returned the same way in the evening.

Our attendance at the Congress which remained in session from Monday, September 6, until shortly after noon the following Friday, September 10, was indeed a heartening experience. The serious, expeditious and sincere manner in which the Congress conducted its deliberations was impressive indeed. It was all a part of the feeling one gets from the moment one sets foot on that war-torn island, grim but buoyant, hard-pressed, but confident, showing its scars, wear and tear, but with faces set toward a brighter future. One has only to see London and Liverpool and other blitzed cities or to have listened to the secretary of the Seamen's Union tell the bitter, tragic, heroic struggle of his merchant seamen to know for all time what the struggle has been costing the British people. One had only to listen to Ernest Bevin's moving speech to the Congress to be convinced that this time Britain will not be looking back empty-handed on a lost opportunity when the war has been won.

It isn't often that one is filled with the sense of being in the midst of history in the making, in the promising, confident, intelligent making, but this was our experience in attending the Congress.

The first and foremost business of British Labor is to get on with the war. This spirit was not embodied in any one resolution. It was embodied alike in the presidential address of Dame Anne Loughlin, the first woman ever to preside over the Congress, as well as in the recommendation of the General Council; in the speeches of the delegates; and in the informal discussions.

Approximately 81 Resolutions were considered and acted upon, many of which dealt with matters of purely local interest, not directly involving the war. But on the larger and broader matters of policy affecting the

war effort, the Congress subordinated every other consideration to the predominating issue, namely the winning of the war on an unconditional surrender basis at the earliest possible time, to be followed by an enduring peace. Yes, the first and foremost job of British Labor is to get on with the war. Inconvenience, serious restrictions, physical hardships, burdensome tasks, all that must be borne cheerfully—if by doing so it will help to get on with the war.

The Congress wants the Government to speed up and intensify its job of implementing the proposed Educational Reform. There is great concern throughout the country for the realization of the proposals to raise the school leaving age from 14 to 16 years, improve the character of primary education and the school buildings, and to aid vital part-time education for young employed workers.

The Congress wants a plan for the recruitment and training of juvenile workers after the war. The experience that has been gained during this war should be used in laying out a really effective program for the post-war period for the full employment of labor.

The Congress wants action on the Beveridge Report. Congress, which, of course, endorses the report, also desires certain changes of detail. Especially does it have its own view on what should be done in the way of Workmen's Compensation.

There was a long and interesting debate on post-war reconstruction. The British Trades Union movement recognizes the great value that war-time controls have been in regularizing prices and the cost of living, in making it possible to produce essential commodities when needed and in the proper quantities, and to distribute consumer goods fairly and equitably. This experience has led to some very sober thinking about the value of retaining certain controls during the post-war period. It was decided to set up a secretariat on post-war reconstruction which would prepare for the Congress a detailed plan in this field.

The Congress listened with very keen attention to a report from its General Secretary, Sir Walter Citrine, on the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee's meeting in Russia recently. Your delegates were extremely impressed with the masterful, intelligent and constructive analysis by Sir Walter dealing with this important subject matter. Sir Walter expressed his great admiration for the production achievements of the Russian workers and for the contribution of the Russian people as a whole to the war effort. The report, however, ended with the statement that on two points it was impossible to get complete agreement between the Russian and British members of the committee. The first of these two points was the Russian request that the British members of the committee stand by them in a demand for a Second Front on the Continent of Europe this year. While Congress is heartily in favor of a Front on the Continent of Europe, it did not feel as if it was its function to pass an opinion on how soon or where this should take place. They took the position that this was

primarily a matter for the military authorities. The second point was a request for the extension of the committee to include the Trade Unions of North and South America and of the Occupied Countries of Europe, but this was not considered to be practical at the present time, so Congress adopted the General Council's war emergency resolution which said that at the opportune time this would be considered.

A resolution dealing with the post-war treatment of the German people as originally presented to the Congress by the National Union of General and Municipal workers would have had the effect of convicting the entire German nation and all of the German people. An amendment presented by the Railway Clerks Association, substituting "Nazis" for the words "German Nation" and deleting two paragraphs of the Resolution had the effect of drawing a definite line between the guilty and the innocent members of the German people. The amendment was carried after a series of speeches. The action thus taken constituted a fine example of the tolerance and far-sightedness of the Congress in the midst of devastation and may prove to be a real contribution to the war effort and the post-war period.

The former General Secretary of the Transport Workers, now Minister of Labor in the British Government, Mr. Ernest Bevin, made a very interesting and inspiring speech to the Congress and one which was well received. He made one very important announcement of the Government's policy, namely, that the Government has decided that length of service shall be the criterion for demobilization for the men and women in the armed forces. Mr. Bevin also reminded the Trade Union Congress that in making new agreements they could do a great deal towards helping themselves to the realization of the post-war reconstruction by embodying into those agreements the important new labor standards that have been developed during the war period.

We made our respective addresses as Fraternal Delegates to the Congress on Thursday, September 9, and we have submitted to President Green a copy of them, which each of us took about 35 minutes to deliver, for such disposition as he deems it advisable to make.

We were in England approximately two weeks during which time we had an opportunity of having many talks with our boys in the armed services, now stationed in different parts of the British Isles. We also had the privilege of talking with refugees from the occupied countries of Europe, Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, Norway, Belgium and Holland. We had an unrivaled opportunity of seeing the devastation of London and Liverpool and other English towns and cities. We were in London during the largest air raid which they have had for some time, and we marveled at the courage and fortitude of the British people to carry on whatever the cost with grim determination of spirit on the one hand and an outward display of cheerfulness on the other. There is no pleasure

driving whatever in all of England, and the blackout at night is a total one, we assure you. About everything is rationed, and severely so, except silverware and jewelry, and the luxury taxes on these commodities are ample to discourage purchase. One needs only to be in England a very, very brief time to realize how much better off we are in America with respect to food. We listened to the refugees of the occupied countries tell us about the devastation of their homes, and the loss of their loved ones and the unknown whereabouts of their wives and mothers. We found them courageous of spirit, but as we saw the tears roll down their cheeks, we could but tell them to be of good cheer for the day of liberation was not far off—the light of a new day was commencing to grow brighter with each passing night. We told them that we had found that the people in England and we in America who were still free men and women, had the courage and physical and spiritual stamina along with our allies to fight the forces of evil responsible for all this destruction, devastation and suffering with all the resources at our command, however long it might take, until the day soon dawned when they would be wiped from the face of the earth for all time.

In talking with our boys in the armed services, we found their morale and physical stamina of the best. We are happy to be able to report to you that we did not see one that we could not feel proud of, and that is true also of our splendid women comprising the WACS who are over there. Yes, our boys in England are in the best of shape for whatever lies ahead. They are the fittest of fighting men, but when their thoughts and talk are about home, they become sentimental indeed. Whether we talked with them singly or in groups, their reaction was the same. As soon as they learned that we had been in the United States only a few days before, we immediately became the center of attraction and the object of a barrage of questions. Apart from letters from home, what they want most at the present is the opportunity to get at the "Jerries" across the channel as quickly as possible so they can get the job over with and come back home to their loved ones and their own firesides. We assured them that we at home were doing everything we possibly could to hasten their opportunity to secure the unconditional surrender of the enemy in order that they too might get back home as soon as possible.

After the adjournment of Congress on Friday, September 10, we returned to London. Subsequently, we attended luncheon and dinner meetings of the Association of Railway Clerks of the United Kingdom and Ireland, the Transport Workers, and the Tailors and Garment Workers, at each of which meetings we had the privilege of speaking extemporaneously. We also participated, at the request of the British Broadcasting Corporation, in the North American Guest Hour broadcast from London to America on Sunday evening, September 19, 1943, on which occasion we had the opportunity of giving our impressions of the British Trade Union Congress in action to our American listeners.

While in London we also met Ambassador Winant in the American Embassy at his request. We also had luncheon on one day with the Czechoslovakian Minister, and on another day with the Polish Minister. We were invited to meet with President Benes of Czechoslovakia and had a very interesting talk with him. We also met with the British Home Secretary, Herbert Morrison, and a number of members of Parliament.

We must not forget to mention the very interesting talk at the Congress made by the Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Walter Seavenes, dealing with the subject matter of the reestablishment of the Trade Union Movement in the Occupied Countries when this war comes to an end. It was encouraging indeed to hear of the good work which is being done temporarily in order to bring about the reestablishment of the Free Trade Union Movement at the opportune time.

Our entire trip was packed with thrilling and inspiring experiences. However, with respect to the actual journey to England and return you will understand that many of the most interesting experiences cannot be referred to publicly or in writing at the present time because of war-time restrictions and precautions.

We were profoundly impressed by the brotherly feeling and generous hospitality of the British people towards us.

The British Trade Union Congress which we attended portrayed the true sterling qualities of the British people, especially of the British workers who are determined to make every sacrifice to preserve their own democratic freedom and the freedom and democracy of a new and better world, and our participation in the Congress as fraternal delegates from the great American Federation of Labor we regarded as an opportunity to be of service, and a great privilege indeed, for which we are deeply grateful. We assured the Congress that the American Federation of Labor would continue to work and fight shoulder to shoulder with them, whatever the cost, till Victory, and thereafter we shall carry on with them in peace as in war. We have returned home happy in the thought that we may have made some contribution, however slight, towards the preservation of that essential spirit of co-operation and unity of purpose which has existed between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,

Isidore Nagler

Harold D. Ulrich.

President Green: Now, we will receive the report of Auditing Committee of the American Federation of Labor and following the submission of that report we will be privileged to listen to an address by Monsignor Haas.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Committee Chairman McCarthy: In submitting this report, your Committee wishes to point out that the books are excellently kept, and in a manner in which the facts and figures which they reveal make plain to any trade unionist exactly what happens to every cent of his money which is paid to the American Federation of Labor. We wish particularly to commend Secretary-Treasurer George Meany and the professional and clerical assistants in his office for keeping our financial records in a manner which not only protects fully the finances of our members, but also makes it possible for us to obtain easily the full picture of every financial transaction. The Secretary will now read the report.

Committee Secretary Scholtz read the following report:

To the officers and delegates of the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The Auditing Committee appointed in accordance with Article 3, Section 5, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor submits the following report for the consideration of the Convention. The Committee has examined and checked all of the financial books and records of the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1942, and ending August 31, 1943.

The Committee is pleased to report that all books and records are found to be correct in all respects.

We have verified the record covering the securities owned by the Federation by calling at the Riggs National Bank and the City Bank, both of Washington, D. C., and by counting the bonds held by the American Federation of Labor which were in safe deposit boxes at these two banks.

The cash balance on hand, as verified by letters from each of the banks, shows a healthy increase. The total receipts for the year beginning September 1, 1942 and ending August 31, 1943, amounted to \$2,422,934.35 while the total expenses for this same period amounted to \$2,010,029.35, an excess of receipts over expenses in the amount of \$412,905.00. This substantial increase in our funds is a testimonial to the wholesome growth of the Labor Movement, and indicates the desire of the workers in this country to join in the bona fide American Trade Union Movement, and through it, to work for the common good.

Receipts

Balance on hand, August 31, 1942	\$1,267,171.88
Per capita tax	\$1,360,033.20
Paid subscriptions, AMER. FEDST.	1,543.48
Per capita tax subscriptions, AMER. FEDST.	466,820.97
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund	264,585.03
Initiation fees	297,116.32
Reinstatement fees ..	7,276.00
Supplies	20,867.87
Interest	21,879.85
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	26,287.96
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	16,523.67
Total receipts	\$2,422,934.35
Grand total	\$3,690,105.73

Expenses

Organizing expenses	\$731,756.68
Organizers' salaries..	538,592.20
Office employees' salaries	226,413.07
Administrative salaries	64,785.00
Miscellaneous general bills	297,789.41
Printing and publishing AMER. FEDST.	122,434.49
Defense Fund	6,625.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	21,633.50
Total expenses	\$2,010,029.35
Balance on hand, August 31, 1943	\$1,680,076.38

Recapitulation

In General Fund	\$ 372,757.35
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal trade unions	1,307,319.03
Balance on hand August 31, 1943	\$1,680,076.38

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

We have verified the cash balances and counted the securities, and find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be invested and deposited as follows:

U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity February, 1954, 2½%	\$50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity June, 1953, 2½%	50,000.00
U. S. Defense Bonds, Series G, maturity July, 1954, 2½%	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1964-1969, 2½%	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1950-1952, 2%	50,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1963-1968, 2½%	200,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1945, 3¼%	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1962-1967, 2½%	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1955-1960, 2½%	100,000.00
Premium on 1955-1960, 2½% Bonds	1,531.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 1946-1949, 3¼%	225,000.00
Premium on 1946-1949 3¼% Bonds	2,070.32
Dominion of Canada Bonds, 1943-1945, 2½%	9,912.50
Total investment in Bonds	\$ 937,795.32
Riggs National Bank (subject to check)	694,885.06
City Bank (subject to check)	5,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (subject to check)	2,000.00
300 shares Union Labor Life In- surance Co. (stock)	15,000.00
396 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (collateral deposit)	25,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1943	\$1,680,076.38

The numbers and denominations of the securities listed above are as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds 1946-1949 3¼%

14436F	\$ 5,000.00
28631A	10,000.00
28632B	10,000.00
28633C	10,000.00
28634D	10,000.00
28635E	10,000.00
28636F	10,000.00
28637H	10,000.00
28638J	10,000.00
28639K	10,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds 1946-1949, 3¼%—cont.

28640L	10,000.00
28641A	10,000.00
28642B	10,000.00
38459K	10,000.00
29974D	10,000.00
29975E	10,000.00
29976F	10,000.00
29977H	10,000.00
31874D	10,000.00
33783C	10,000.00
29981A	10,000.00
29982B	10,000.00
29983C	10,000.00
	\$225,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds 1963-1968, 2½%

4359K	\$100,000.00
4358J	100,000.00
	200,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds Series G 2½%

Maturity June, 1953:

X39 464G	\$ 10,000.00
X39 465G	10,000.00
X39 466G	10,000.00
X39 467G	10,000.00
X39 468G	10,000.00

Maturity February, 1954:

X68616G	10,000.00
X68617G	10,000.00
X68618G	10,000.00
X68619G	10,000.00
X68620G	10,000.00

Maturity July, 1954:

X173145G	10,000.00
X173146G	10,000.00
X173147G	10,000.00
X173148G	10,000.00
X173149G	10,000.00
	150,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bond 1955-1960 2⅞%

2727H	\$100,000.00
	\$100,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds 1962-1967 2½%

4107H	\$ 10,000.00
4108J	10,000.00
4109K	10,000.00
4110L	10,000.00
4111A	10,000.00
4112B	10,000.00
4113C	10,000.00
4114D	10,000.00
4115E	10,000.00
4116F	10,000.00
	100,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds 1950-1952 2%

4388J	\$ 10,000.00
4389K	10,000.00
4390L	10,000.00
4391A	10,000.00
4392B	10,000.00
	50,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds 1964-1969 $2\frac{1}{4}\%$

3976F	\$ 10,000.00	
3977H	10,000.00	
3978J	10,000.00	
3979K	10,000.00	
3980L	10,000.00	\$50,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds, October 15, 1945 $3\frac{1}{4}\%$

816F	\$ 10,000.00	
817H	10,000.00	
1097H	10,000.00	
1098J	10,000.00	
17113C	10,000.00	50,000.00

Dominion of Canada Bonds, August 15, 1945, $2\frac{1}{4}\%$

M60269	\$ 1,000.00	
M60270	1,000.00	
M60271	1,000.00	
M60272	1,000.00	
M60273	1,000.00	
M48951	1,000.00	
M48952	1,000.00	
M48953	1,000.00	
M48954	1,000.00	
M64598	1,000.00	10,000.00

Compers Memorial Fund

Receipts from December 20, 1924 to and including August 31, 1943 \$ 133,698.06

Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1943 122,728.87

Balance on hand August 31, 1943 \$ 10,969.19

Funds deposited as follows:

1,266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	\$ 1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account	2,203.19
United States Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000)	7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1943 \$ 10,969.19

The bonds in the Compers Memorial Fund are as follows:

U. S. Savings Bonds—Maturity Value, \$1,000.00 per bond; Purchased April 10, 1936; Maturity date April, 1946. Purchase price—\$750.00 each.

M21871B	
M21873B	
M21875B	
M21877B	
M21879B	
M21870B	
M21872B	
M21874B	
M21876B	
M21878B	\$ 7,500.00

Infantile Paralysis Campaign Fund

Total receipts from January 14, 1943 to August 31, 1943	\$ 15,924.13
Amount forwarded to National Chairman	15,924.13
Account balanced	<u>0.00</u>

American Federation of Labor Building Fund

Receipts

Balance on hand August 31, 1942 \$	20,039.86
Rents	\$ 41,577.15
Dividends	36.54
Fire replacement	15.49
Sale of waste paper	55.54
Total receipts	41,684.72
Receipts and balance	\$ <u>61,724.58</u>

Expenses

Maintenance:

Pay roll (building employees)	\$ 22,092.53
Taxes	2,558.44
Electricity	2,036.79
Fuel (coal)	1,186.17
Supplies	803.56
Upkeep and repairs	3,958.76
Plastering and painting	3,964.37
Cleaning windows	540.00
Insurance (liability)	263.59
Water rent	136.78
Hauling ashes and trash	201.00
Safe deposit (rent)	3.60
Upkeep and repairs of elevators	1,000.72
Fire replacement	15.49
Social Security Tax: Unemployment insurance	569.57
Old Age benefits	210.95

Total expenses \$ 39,542.32

Balance on hand August 31, 1943 \$ 22,182.26

Recapitulation

Receipts and balance	\$ 61,724.58
Expenses	39,542.32
Balance on hand August 31, 1943 \$	<u>22,182.26</u>

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1,218 shares)	1,218.00
Riggs National Bank	13,464.26
U. S. Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000)	7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1943 \$ 22,182.26

The bonds in the American Federation of Labor Building Fund are as follows:

U. S. Savings Bonds—Series B	
Maturity value, \$1,000.00 per bond;	
Maturity date, July, 1946;	
Purchased July 21, 1936 at \$750.00.	
M273333	
M273334	
M273335	
M273336	
M273337	
M273338	
M273339	
M273340	
M273341	
M273342	\$ 7,500.00

In conclusion, your Committee wishes to point out that the total receipts for the year beginning September 1, 1942 and ending August 31, 1943 amounted to \$2,422,934.35 while the total expenses for this same period amounted to \$2,010,029.35, an excess of receipts over expenses in the amount of \$412,905.00.

Finally, we wish to express our appreciation to Secretary-Treasurer Meany and his assistants for the cooperation extended to us in the fulfillment of this assignment.

William McCarthy, Chairman

Carl G. Scholtz, Secretary

Selma Borchardt

Auditing Committee

President Green: You have heard the reading of the report of the Auditing Committee. Delegate Madsen, of the Painters, moves that the report of the committee be adopted by the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

I esteem it an honor to present to you now one with whom most of you are acquainted, an outstanding representative of the Church and one who has devoted a great part of his life to the study of economic, social and racial questions. He comes here especially fitted and qualified to speak to us upon these matters. I know that you will feel highly

honored in being privileged to listen to his interesting and scholarly address.

When I extended him an invitation to come to Boston and attend this convention he responded willingly and with an expression of appreciation of the invitation extended.

Perhaps I should say to you that Monsignor Francis J. Haas, who will address us this morning, is the Bishop-elect of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Grand Rapids, Michigan. I congratulate him in your name and in your behalf on this high and deserving honor conferred upon him.

The President selected him to serve as Chairman of his Fair Employment Practice Committee. He has been serving in that capacity in a most valuable way. I know you will be pleased to hear him speak to you this morning.

I present to you Bishop-elect Francis J. Haas, of Washington, D. C.

MONSIGNOR FRANCIS J. HAAS

(President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice)

President Green, my friends in the American Federation of Labor: I have many times attended your conventions, usually as an observer, yet an observer to whom your deliberations and your decisions were of the utmost importance. The teaching of my church has not discouraged me but rather pointed the way for me in my activities in behalf of organized labor and of industrial peace. There is no need at this time to recount the pioneer teaching of Pope Leo XIII in 1891 urging the organization of workers, and affirming that the right to organize is a natural right—something that is in a man and which no power on earth can take from him. That has been the continued and unbroken teaching of the Catholic Church, and I am happy to be able to say that I have added even in a small way in promoting that fundamental doctrine and in making it now a part of our national life.

President Green has been kind enough to refer to my recent appointment as Bishop of Grand Rapids. Let me say that I greatly appreciate President Green's kind reference to this appointment, and I extend to him and to your Executive Council and to all your National Officers, to all of you a most hearty invitation to come to Grand Rapids for my consecration on November 18th of this year. I hope every last one of you will be there.

The well-being of workmen and working women, their strength to obtain justice for themselves, their courage in maintaining unity by individual sacrifice—these are the

concerns which have meant much to me, and which will always seem to me to be the very sinew and bone of American democracy.

At this present convention these considerations seem particularly high-lighted, as though several batteries of searchlights had converged on a single point toward which our individual eyes are irresistibly drawn. The white light of the war beats upon these issues before you, the light of your trade union movement picks out these issues with stern reality. And there is another beam of light—not as brilliantly apparent to the watchers of our democratic skies—yet one which must have its place beside the others.

I come to you today as Chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, graciously granted by President Green a brief period in which to tell you of those minority group Americans who aspire to take their places at your side in war industries, who ask that you accept them as brothers in fulfillment of the task to provide the weapons of a war for democratic survival, and in that future task to set a pattern of democracy for the entire world to emulate.

This city of Boston is a fitting place in which to examine the makeup of our democracy, for it was on this very soil that Americans first banded themselves together to achieve that strength which only comes from a unity of all the people. We have almost forgotten that it was the Town Meeting form of Government which nurtured the strength of the common people of Boston during the years of preparation for the independence of the United States. In the old New England Town Meeting every citizen had his voice, the poor man as well as the man of property. That daily practice of governing their own affairs bred in the Town Meetings a spirit of independence and reliance which, when oppression threatened the land, transformed all New England Town Meetings into centers of revolt in order to secure the sacred blessings of freedom.

Samuel Adams, great leader of the common people, was sitting as Boston Town Meeting Moderator on that night when the final decision was made to take action, and from the meeting hall the citizens left to dress themselves as wild Indians and throw the taxed tea into Boston Harbor, Americans learned that day what strength unity provides.

In its essentials the Boston Tea Party may stand as an ancestor of the American trade union movement. It was another 60 years however, before the industrial revolution made necessary the rise of a trade unionism as we now know it.

In 1835 a great observer of the American scene, the Frenchman Alexis De Tocqueville, wrote in his book, "Democracy in America," (I quote):

"The most natural privilege of man, next to the right of acting for himself, is that of combining his exertions with those of his fellow creatures, and of acting in common with them. I am therefore led to conclude that the right of association is almost as inalienable as the right of personal liberty."

For this "right of association" American workmen were to fight with scant success during the most of the Nineteenth Century. Neither industry nor government would or could find any alternative protection for working people. The democratic nation which the patriots of Boston helped to found was forced by the pressures of the industrial revolution into an uncontrolled competitive labor market, into an exorbitant interest-taking, into the concentration of the control of industry and commerce in the hands of a small number of very powerful men. These you will find set down by Pope Leo XIII in the Encyclical on the condition of workers in 1891, in one compact paragraph, as the causes of modern social injustice. I once asked one of your older national officers what the Encyclical of Leo XIII did for workers in 1891. His answer was, "It made us feel respectable."

It was not until 50 years after De Tocqueville that the American Federation of Labor, itself the culminating effort of those who had fought for workers' rights before it, gave for the first time a hope to the common man that he might obtain individual justice through the inalienable right of association with his fellows. I need not rehearse to you the successive steps through which labor since 1880 has gathered the strength to take its rightful place in our American society. There are many in this convention now who were leaders in those battles for workers' rights. All of you have taken part in the stirring events of the last decade by which your movement has reached its present high stage of maturity. Today the American Federation of Labor is celebrating its sixty-third birthday, marking another span in the sweep of progress from Samuel Adams to De Tocqueville, to Samuel Gompers. Today, the pace of a world war rushes economic movements along with irresistible speed and power.

Where shall the American Federation of Labor find itself on its 70th birthday, on its 75th birthday, and on its 100th birthday? What allegiance will it hold from American working men and women? Will it be a select organization, chosen by some limited measurement of worthiness to join it? Or will it have a broad base, as broad as our country, upon which can stand in dignity and strength American workmen of any race, of any creed, or any color?

In striving for a basis of judgment in this matter, I think we can gain much wisdom by comparing the experiences of the trade union movement during the last World War and during this one. To most of us the last war is still a living experience, something that we learned for ourselves and not out of books. Many of you will remember how in the years 1917 and 1918, those who wished a strong labor organization, able to participate in the solving of problems which war imposes on an unprepared democracy, were handicapped, almost stopped, by the fragile fewness of organized workers upon whom its leaders of that day could rely. When President Wilson called upon Samuel Gompers for the cooperation of organized labor, there were less than three million workers who owned the training and the know-how which only comes from conducting the affairs of a

local union. But there were the same problems in those days, as today. Men rode to work on the sagging springs of dilapidated jitneys. Beds crowded into unsanitary houses were kept warm twenty-four hours a day around the clock by the three shifts of sleepers. Railroad transportation in the winter of 1918 actually broke down completely for an entire week. And there occurred as a result of these conditions and of labor's inexperience in negotiating more strikes during these two war years than we had ever had in any two years of peace since that time.

I must recall to your minds the homecoming of the soldiers during the winter of 1918-1919, the enthusiasm, the parades, and the hero-worship, given from full hearts to those boys who returned on crutches and with bandaged eyes. For we must face these same things again. I must recall with sadness the let-down in industrial opportunity and national morale which followed that first wild elation over winning the last World War . . . that the industrial disputes of 1919 were bitterly contested; that there were race riots in which returned Negro soldiers and their families suffered at the hands of their former brothers-in-arms.

On the economic side it is not an oversimplification to say that the near-destruction of the trade union movement in 1919 led to the imposing of low non-union wages, that this shrunk our national buying power, and that limited production at high prices led us, as it always will, to depressions such as the year 1921 brought with it.

I believe that we have learned from the experience of the last World War. And the roots of that belief lie in the fact that this time we entered the war with a trade union movement of 12 million workers, loyal to their cause, experienced in negotiation, so powerful indeed that they could give the pledge to the President of the United States that no interruption of work would be permitted for the duration. That pledge, with a few wild-cat exceptions, American labor has kept sacredly.

Your record in war production is known to the world. The front line of the army knows it. The Naval gunner knows it. The pilot in Alaskan fogs takes confidence from it. The battle of production is in good hands and will remain so. But some day you will be confronted with that other battle, the fight to re-adjust our lives after the war is won.

In the winning of that fight, I rest my hopes for success on the sound organization of American labor. This time, taught by the last war, you are laying plans, your government is laying plans, industry is laying plans, to give the returned soldier a real chance by tiding him over in his period of looking for work in industry geared to the production of peace time goods.

These United States of America, this time are fully conscious of the problems ahead. In the hands of soldiers returned from the front, and in the hands of soldiers of production at home, will lie a real power to be masters of their fate, providing only that they achieve a unity of purpose to direct that power constructively.

Is there any doubt of that purpose? I feel that here in this Convention we must be realists, that we must avoid no problem lying ahead. Fearlessly we must face and grapple with it and solve it. I point out to you that there will be this time, one million Negroes in the armed services of the country whose integration into the economic life of the United States must be accomplished during the post-war adjustment period. There will be thousands of returned Spanish-American soldiers and returned prisoners of war, some of them who fought at Bataan. There will be tens of thousands of returned Jewish soldiers, and soldiers whose religious convictions, perhaps, are not those of the majority. Shall we greet these returned Americans with the grudging question: "Will someone else take my job?" or shall we rather say to ourselves: "Will I help make this a country where every man willing to work will have a job, and where none need be barred?"

While I place this dilemma in the future, it exists now, today, when we are in large measure determining what the future will be.

The duty of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice as a war agency is to insure equality of industrial opportunity to every qualified worker without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. This duty was originally placed on the Committee two years ago by the President of the United States, who affirmed then that this policy was laid down (and I quote) ". . . in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within any nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders."

On May 27th of this year President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8806, which sustained the policy of the former order, and created a committee of seven members with the public represented by the Chairman and with labor and industry represented by three members each.

I will not detain you with procedural matters. The heart of this problem is this—the promise held out in the Executive Order of the President to Spanish-Americans, to Jews, to aliens and to Negroes is something akin to what the Wagner Act held out to dominated workers in the year 1935. I can say this because I have seen and I now know the aspirations of minority group members to obtain opportunity for economic security. In trade union terms, they wish to own the right to settle grievances and to negotiate contracts through representatives of their own choosing, to work for their seniority rights, to share in the opportunity for security for their families, and to participate as free men in that modern equivalent of the New England town meeting, the trade union.

There was a time, not so many years ago, when the vast majority of American workers knew themselves bound by heavy restrictions on economic opportunities. These were not, could not be peaceful times. Restrictions on inalienable rights will always breed revolt. It did in the breast of Samuel Adams. It did in the breasts of American workmen who found their right to organize opposed by labor spies, blacklists, and discharges for union ac-

tivity. But the great leaders of labor of America, exemplified by many personalities in this hall, would not accept restrictions. They fought on against all barriers of self-organization, they fought valiantly but not always successfully. The struggle to maintain unions in the period after the last war was definitely lost, although out of it came a more subtle method of preventing labor's voice from being heard—the so-called employee representation plan of the 1920's. None of you are too young to remember how that strange animal—neither fish, fowl nor good red herring—died under the just anger of true, genuine trade unionism.

Just as once there existed unhealthy agreements between anti-labor employers and anti-labor workers, so there exists a danger that some labor organizations and some employers may combine to restrict the rights of minority group members. Put yourself in the place of such a member of a minority group. Be he a Negro or Mexican, Jew or Credent, he wants his full stature as an American working man, and if he finds organized management and organized labor leagued against him he will do what the ordinary red blooded man will do, he will revolt. Would you have it otherwise? Would you have the spirit which founded the American Federation of Labor stamped out among great masses of your own fellow-Americans? Must one-tenth of the people of our country be set aside as a special class, with special loyalties that are not the loyalties of the rest of us?

The interests of this nation at war coincide with the desire of minority group members to be a part of the trade union movement. The strength of our armed forces still needs to be increased by at least a million, and our munitions industries will at least need two million more workers. We are all well aware of the difficulties of meeting this final expansion.

There was presented to you in your most recent Monthly Survey a picture of the hardships to workers and inefficiencies to industry caused by long hours, housing and transportation shortages. We know that it is unwise, socially unsound to employ mothers with young children. We know that school boys and old men should not be employed, if we can help it. And I think we know that to a large degree we can help it, that there exists an untapped pool of willing and skilled hands among the minority groups. We know that a failure to use their help properly imposes a burden on all the weak spots in our war production structure. The city which imports outside workers when a large number of under-employed Negroes are already living there, needlessly puts a strain on all its health, housing and transportation facilities. In such a city it is a useless gesture to expend energy on reducing turnover, absenteeism and work fatigue when a simple willingness to use available labor might have removed the primary cause of these evils.

I cite you a war production center, which I shall not specifically name where the citizens provided an outstanding example of effective community action on wartime manpower problems. The city found itself classified as an area of acute labor shortage and therefore

was denied additional contracts. This denial stimulated some very fast action. All immigration into the city was stopped. Stores reduced full-time employment to 1940 levels. A 90-day moratorium on hiring was declared while determining the true manpower situation in the community. There followed intensive studies on the greater employment of women, a thorough revamping of the local transportation system, a conversion of private homes into dormitories, and all the other useful projects which aroused people found energy to do when the need is sufficiently acute. All that was distinctly to the good. Yet it never occurred to the good people of this city that it had a way to cut across all of these problems in a substantial manner. Negroes in this area constituted 7.4 per cent of the population, but the employment of Negroes remained at 2.8 per cent of the total. In the report which the citizens made to show how they had solved their manpower problems, and removed the ban on further contracts, there was no word to show that the greater utilization of Negroes had any part in their strenuous efforts to meet a crisis.

The good people of that city, which may unfortunately stand for many cities in the United States, probably were not conscious of neglecting one group within it. The question of integrating all citizens into one effective Commonwealth is the oldest problem upon which civilized man has exercised his talents. Today it is thrown into high relief by the needs of war. Gains are being made. We at the Fair Employment Practice Committee have seen the integration process worked out within industry to everyone's satisfaction. Although it has nothing to do with the Fair Employment Practice Committee, I wish to note in passing the admirable work done by the United States Army in teaching illiterate recruits to read and write, and in improving their health. The aim is the practical one of making better fighting men. The end results will be better citizens for the post-war world.

In essentials the problems before my Committee are practical ones. I know of one great production plant where Negroes are given equal opportunity to apply their skills, and within that plant the record of bond purchases and the record of blood donations far exceed the records in most other plants in the United States.

Some people there are who wish to cherish intolerance above the needs of their country. To them I say that this war is not yet won, that we need every available man and woman and every acquired skill, no matter who owns it. We need them, these men and women, as they need us, both now and in the building of peace and order after the war.

One final word. Organized labor's duty towards its country is being magnificently accomplished. The duty of organized labor to itself is to keep strong and to maintain its democratic structure against all opposition. That there might be welded now a unity which, in the post-war period can withstand any possible disintegrating influence, is the part of patriotism and the clear duty of good trade unionism. I am confident that the American Federation of Labor will meet that challenge.

President Green: Monsignor Haas has measured up to our expectations. He has delivered a most interesting, highly educational and inspiring address. The address itself shows that he gave to the subject, with which he dealt, very careful thought and consideration. We are happy indeed that he came to us this morning and his address will be considered as an educational contribution to the understanding of subjects that we must inevitably deal with in a broad, constructive, comprehensive and tolerant way.

I thank Monsignor Haas for his visit here this morning and for the splendid address which he just delivered.

Committee Substitutions

President Green: I desire to announce the addition of President George L. Berry of the Printing Pressmen's Union to the Committee on Resolutions.

I also wish to announce the substitution of Brother Wilfred T. Connell of the Engravers' Union of North America on the Committee of the Executive Council's Report for Brother Henry F. Schmal, who is absent and not in attendance at this convention.

Opportunity was given for announcement as to time and place of meetings of the following

committees: Committee on Executive Council's Report; Committee on State Organizations; Committee on Laws; Committee on Local and Federated Bodies; Committee on Legislation; Committee on Organization; Committee on Labels; Committee on Building Trades.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT PRESIDENT HANSON

Mr. Green: I wish to announce that the President of the Fraternal Order of Eagles will address the convention immediately when we reconvene this afternoon, and I will appoint an escort committee for President Hanson to be composed of Delegate William H. Cooper of the Building Service Employees, Delegate C. L. Bagley of the Musicians and Patrick E. Gorman of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, to meet President Hansen of the Fraternal Order of Eagles this afternoon and escort him to the hall.

Are there any further announcements? If not, the Chair will recognize Delegate Hugo Ernst for a motion to adjourn.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 12:25 o'clock p.m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p.m.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

October 6, 1943

President Green called the convention to order at 2:45 o'clock.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following telegram:

New York, N. Y.
October 4, 1943.

President William Green
A. F. of L. Convention
Boston, Massachusetts

You are convening during one of the most critical moments in the history of mankind. The principles of democracy which hold for all workers our one sure path to freedom and human brotherhoods are being assailed by bigots and criminals of protalitarian darkness. As

the delegates legislate and plan for the future be assured of the fraternal and sympathetic interest of all the workers for whom the negro labor committee is privileged to speak regardless of color, religion, sex or craft.

We hope that out of the convention will emerge a unity of all labor pledged to true democracy and complete victory over our common enemies.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH Chairman
The Negro Labor Committee

Committee to Escort Mr. L. Metcalf Walling

President Green: The Honorable L. Metcalf Walling, Administrator of the Wage and Hour Law in the Department of Labor will address the convention this afternoon. I will appoint

on the committee to escort Mr. Walling to the hall Delegate Joseph P. McCurdy of the Garment Workers, Delegate Sol Hoffman of the Upholsterers and Delegate R. Guskin of the United Hebrew Trades.

Presentation of Badges to Fraternal Delegates

President Green: It has always been customary for the American Federation of Labor to present to the fraternal delegates who attend our conventions, specially prepared, solid gold badges. We have followed that custom on this occasion. The badges are here and we are prepared to present them to our fraternal delegates right now.

I know you will be pleased with the presentation of these badges because you present them to the fraternal delegates through me, as your instrumentality. So without further explanation I am going to proceed to present first to Fraternal Delegate Harrison, this beautiful badge which you authorized to be purchased and presented to him for you. Brother Harrison, I present to you this badge.

Fraternal Delegate Harrison: President Green and fellow trade-unionists: This is indeed a pleasure because it is something that we cannot in our country, at the present time, give to your colleagues who come to our country as Fraternal delegates. It is impossible for any one to get anything made of gold in Britain. I will treasure and regard this, and I know my children will also regard it, as a bond of fellowship, a bond of friendship—a friendship which I hope will never be broken. I thank you.

President Green: In like manner, I present to the colleague of Brother Harrison. Brother Bayliss, a beautiful badge similar to the one just presented to Brother Harrison.

You know these are very fine badges, but there is something connected with them which is of greater value than the intrinsic value of badges themselves. That is the friendly sentiment that goes with the giving, and I know they will cherish that even above the material value of the badge.

Inscribed on these badges is a very suitable inscription which records the fact that they were presented at this Sixty-third Annual

Convention to these fraternal delegates. That is historic in itself.

Now I want to present to you, Brother Bayliss, a badge similar to the one presented to Brother Harrison.

Fraternal Delegate Bayliss: Mr. President and friends: I, along with my colleague, Mr. Harrison, feel deeply impressed by this mark of your kindness, for it is quite typical of all the other treatment we are receiving while visiting your country; and I, along with him, hope that it will be a bond of friendship, not just between Bill Bayliss and Bill Green, but between the great trade union movements of the world, so that in the future these meetings can continue and the useful work that is being done by them may be of benefit to mankind as a whole. I thank you, Mr. President.

President Green: For you and in your name, I am pleased to present a badge similar to the others just presented to the fraternal delegates from Great Britain, to our very dear friend, the fraternal delegate from Canada, Brother Matte.

Fraternal Delegate Matte: Mr. President and brother delegates: I appreciate very much this beautiful souvenir which will remind me of this great convention of the A. F. of L. I hardly expected to have the pleasure of attending such a convention for although I have been working for the trades unions many years, it is the first time I have had the pleasure of being here. Such a souvenir will be a great thing for myself and also for my fellow workers in my own city of Quebec, and I appreciate this, especially as a great honor for our French-Canadian people of Quebec.

President Green: The President of the Fraternal Order of Eagles is known quite well in Milwaukee, where he resides, and in that vicinity. Our labor representatives there, those actively representing the American Federation of Labor, know him quite well. We know him by reputation as the head of a great fraternal order in the United States. I know he will present to us an interesting message this afternoon.

I am happy indeed to present to you now Robert W. Hanson, the President of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Mr. Hanson.

ROBERT W. HANSON

(President, Fraternal Order of Eagles, Milwaukee, Wisconsin)

Thank you, President Green and leaders of the American Federation of Labor. It is a great pleasure to come from Wisconsin, the State that is supposed to have more cows than people, and from Milwaukee, the city that beer is presumed to have made famous, and present to this gathering and bring to this gathering the greetings from three-quarters of a million members of the Fraternal Order of Eagles in this country; a fraternal order of average men of the nation which has shared with organized labor the fight for so many of the humanitarian laws on the statute books of the nation.

As I look at this gathering of representatives of International Unions, I see not only the International Unions and the Local Unions represented, but I see the home towns of all America. I see the home towns that you men came from and where the Local Unions which you represent are situated. I think of those home towns and see in them the institutions that make them real communities—the churches with the tall, towering steeples, the schools with the open door, the court houses, the city halls, the State Capitols and the federal post offices that are all symbols of self government. And in every town in America there is a newcomer to the list of institutions that makes it a real city, and that is the labor temple or the labor hall that is the hub of organized labor activities in the community. That is the headquarters for the occupational interests of city workers.

I am here to talk to you about a hall that is a little farther down the street, maybe another block or a few blocks away, and that is the building known as the Lodge Hall in which 23,000,000 Americans belong to one or another of many fraternal groups, and in 1,219 American communities that is the hall of the Fraternal Order of Eagles in which three-quarters of a million Americans find their social life. It is an outlet for their family interests and a headquarters for their fraternal activities, for there they find fun and good fellowship and fraternalism.

I would like to say, in passing, that so many of the three-quarters of a million Eagles of America are members of the American Federation of Labor, that I should, as the national head of that organization, publicly acknowledge the credit that we owe to the leaders in this room and American Federation of Labor leaders throughout America for the support they have given to the Fraternal Order of Eagles in its fight for social objectives. In my home town the President of the Eagles is the President of your Central Trades Council. The trustee of the Aerie is the International Secretary of your Building Service Employees Union, and in the officers' lineup and in the list of active members you will find many of the outstanding labor men of Milwaukee and Wisconsin.

You know, and I know, that the Eagles gain in strength and in understanding labor's

problems and adjectives from cooperation, but I would simply and humbly like to suggest that labor gains as well by the participation of its leaders in the civic, club and community life of the home towns in which Local Unions are situated.

Your organization and ours have grown, side by side, and we have both come of age, and in the coming of age we have got new responsibilities. Now in time of war we have greater responsibilities—the responsibility for buying War Bonds, helping support Civilian Defense at home and in salvage matters and in doing whatever the government wants done by the home front organizations. With our coming of age and our maturity, I think we have a new responsibility to join in strengthening the community in which we live, for the communities look now to labor groups and to fraternal groups for real community leadership, and I welcome this kind of an invitation from your President, William Green, and this opportunity to participate in a significant war time convention, because I can point out in a word or two and in a moment or two how much our co-operation has meant to ordinary people all over the country.

I am thinking now of the fact that when organized labor started to fight for workmen's compensation, so that men crippled in industrial accidents would not have to bear the cost of enforced idleness and disability alone, the Fraternal Order of Eagles enlisted in the battle for that law.

I am thinking of the time in St. Joseph, Missouri, when the Eagles sponsored the first mother's pension law in America and when the American Federation of Labor took up that crusade and, side by side, we aided in the enactment of that law which protected widows and orphans when the death of the breadwinner brings death and desolation to the family circle.

I am thinking of the time in Montana when the Eagles sponsored the old age pension law and the American Federation of Labor took up that battle in order that people would not have to end their declining years in a public almshouse.

I am thinking of the time when Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the Social Security Bill and he gave the pen with which he signed that measure to the Fraternal Order of Eagles. And yet I know, and you know, that when he gave us that pen and when we accepted it we did so, knowing that we had the support of the American Federation of Labor, and had it not been for that support that Social Security Law would not today be on the statute books of the land.

Members of organized labor, you share with the men of the Eagles the determination that we will, through social security legislation, protect ordinary people against the major hazards of life, and on this occasion, instead of just looking backward at what has been done by their sharing, and our working together, I would like to look ahead to the day when the Fraternal Order of Eagles can cooperate in the greatest crusade that the American Federation of Labor has ever undertaken, and that is the crusade to provide

jobs for returning service men and demobilized war workers after the hostilities have ceased. I would like to report to you that at our National Convention in Chicago, just as at your National Convention in Boston, the question uppermost in the minds of leaders is what can be done to cushion the shock of demobilizing and to retooling America for full employment in time of peace.

It was away back in 1930 that the Fraternal Order of Eagles sponsored the Eagles' Ludlow Bill, which would have set up a Federal Commission to provide for employment and to seek out and develop jobs, and to correlate industry, labor and government in providing jobs. But we know now that you will not find the answer to providing jobs for returning service men and demobilized workers in one bill in Congress and in one speech or in one master blueprint. We shall have to have a multiplication of plans that will require the best brains of management and industry and labor and the tremendous resources of government—federal, state and local—and when we enlist with organized labor in that crusade, we do so realizing that upon the successful meeting of that challenge may depend a great deal more than we now realize, for when service men return home they are not going to want confetti dropped from New York skyscraper widows; they are not going to be satisfied with leaf raking or apple selling. They will want to resume interrupted careers; they will want to resume interrupted schooling and resume the building of a stable future for themselves and their families.

That is the least that they want and that is the least we want to plan to give, and you men and women of organized labor now working in war industry and now being exhorted to produce planes and tanks and guns and to buy war bonds, to go all-out on the home front, will not want to stand in county relief lines, either. And so we face this tremendous challenge at one time under an American system of free enterprise, that of providing a job opportunity for the boys in khaki and the men and women in overalls, and I pledge to you men and women of the American Federation of Labor the heart, the hand, the body and soul of 750,000 American Eagles who are with you in the mobilizing of public sentiment to the importance of this problem and in the gearing of all of our resources, private and public to its solution.

One more thing from a fraternal point of view. This is not the forum, this is not the place, this is not the occasion to discuss the hopes we share with you for world peace through world cooperation, for some machinery with teeth in it for the orderly settlement of international disputes. This is not the place to do more than say we share, with President William Green, the hope that at the peace table there will be represented the leaders of labor, so that a people's war can be succeeded by a people's peace. And yet, in addition to alliances, commonwealths, world parliaments, the men of fraternalism would like to go on record as saying that unless there is a will to peace in the neighborhoods and home towns in which ordinary people live, there will be little of permanence

in the dikes and dams of international understanding. Unless there is a will to peace in the hearts and minds of individual people we shall search in vain for it at a national or world-wide level.

And so a group like yours or ours has a great opportunity now to plant the trees of understanding and build the reservoirs of good will among all people that will stand us in good stead when we try to make a better world out of the ashes of a war-torn world. And in that effort we pledge with you that any effort to array race against race, creed against creed, or nationality against nationality will be met with the united strength of an organization that, like yours, is a great cross-section of the American people. Like yours, we have people of all religions—Catholic, Protestant, Huguenot, Quaker, and we have just begun the listing; we have peoples from many countries—Poland, England, Ireland, Sweden, Italy, and we have just begun the listing. We have people who are barbers, ditch diggers, carpenters, butchers, bakers and candlestick makers, and we have just begun the listing. We are, in fact, as you are, just ordinary, average people, as common and as average as the typical man on the street.

If we continue to deserve the confidence and merit the faith of the average, ordinary person there is no limit to what we can do in building better home towns in which a better country and a better world must be built. God willing, the American Federation of Labor and the Fraternal Order of Eagles will have a great future.

Thank you very much.

President Green: We are indeed pleased to listen to this fine address which has just been delivered by President Hanson of the Fraternal Order of Eagles. We appreciate the sentiments he expressed, and in reciprocal fashion we extend to him the sincere promise that we will gladly work with him for the realization of the objectives which he so eloquently presented to this convention.

I thank you, President Hanson, for your attendance at our convention and for your address.

Now we have another most interesting speaker, one who has been with us before and who spoke to us in such an inspiring way as to make us wish for his return. He is the Administrator of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the Department of Labor, and all of you know the great value we put upon that legislative enactment, the wage and hour law. It established the 40-hour work week, and we have clung tenaciously to it. Our American Federation of Labor has stood guard against its modification or its repeal.

Mr. Walling, who will speak to us now, has administered the Act not only in the letter but in the spirit of the law as well. He has met our every conception of the administration of this very important statute. We hold him in high regard and in high esteem.

I am pleased to present to you Mr. L. Metcalfe Walling, the Administrator of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the United States Department of Labor.

MR. L. METCALFE WALLING
(Administrator of the Wage and
Hour and Public Contracts Divi-
sions of the United States
Department of Labor)

President Green, members of the convention:—It is a very great pleasure and privilege for me to be able once more to raise my voice at a meeting of the convention of the great American Federation of Labor. One of the happy duties of being Wage-Hour Administrator is the opportunity to travel about the country from time to time and meet with labor groups. I make a point of attending as many State Federation of Labor conventions in the course of the year as I can. Just two weeks from now I am going down with your Southern representative to speak to the State Convention at Biloxi, Mississippi, and I hope if there are any Mississippi delegates here I will have the opportunity to renew acquaintances with them at that time.

As we near the end of our second year of war, I think it is appropriate at this convention to review briefly how the federal labor standards of this country have fared under the stress of war-time conditions. Have they been weakened by the critical events that have occurred? Have those with an axe which they eternally keep sharpened for use against labor been wielding this axe effectively under the guise of patriotism? Or have the labor standards set up by federal statute remained unshaken and as strong as ever before because of their essential fairness and because they have been of fundamental assistance to the war effort? Only by knowing the answers to such questions as these can the American Federation of Labor begin to plan intelligently its program for the immediate and post-war future.

The Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions are responsible as you know, for the enforcement of two of the most important federal statutes relating to labor standards—namely, the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. Of these two acts, the Public Contracts Act is the older and, on the whole, sets the higher standards. It was conceived on the broad premise that work performed in the interest of the federal government should be performed at least under minimum standards of

hours, pay, child labor, and safe working conditions. One of its very important requirements in these days of production pressure calls for the protection of the safety and health of employees working on government contracts. It provides for prevailing minimum wage determinations, many of which are above the 40-cent top minimum wage of the Fair Labor Standards Act and it also requires that daily overtime be paid after 8 hours a day or 40 hours a week, whichever is the greater. The importance of this act, which has always been of particular concern to the American Federation of Labor, has naturally increased during war time as its scope has been broadened to cover an increasingly large number of men and women who are working on government contracts.

Let me give you some figures to illustrate the astronomical increase in the number of contracts over which we have jurisdiction as compared with six or seven years ago. During the last fiscal year 100,000 contracts valued at nearly \$14,000,000,000 were awarded subject to the Public Contracts Act as compared with 3200 contracts valued at less than \$200,000,000 in 1937. There are now some 35,000 firms employing between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 workers who are subject to the act. There has been, I am happy to state, no concerted effort to break down the high labor standards under which these workers are now employed.

As to the Fair Labor Standards Act, it is a matter of record that special interests and persons who have always been opposed to the act have twice put vast pressures to bear upon the elimination of the act's overtime provisions. These attacks have taken varying forms, including a phony grass roots movement and a one man campaign by a famous war hero, of World War I, whom I have had occasion to discuss at another labor meeting in Massachusetts some time ago. Some of you may have been present on that occasion.

The battle for the overtime provisions seemed to be nip and tuck upon several occasions, but the tide was turned by the hearty support of labor and the support of enlightened industrialists who appreciated the chaos into which the country would be thrown should the overtime provisions be eliminated. I think it can be fairly stated that the act came through the storm stronger than ever and that the principle of a ceiling over hours with extra compensation for overtime is here to stay. In fact, it is my opinion that these two federal labor statutes did much towards stabilizing our whole national economy and that, in looking at the acts from the hardboiled viewpoint of war production, their existence played a major part, and is playing a major part, in rolling up the vast supply of armaments which this nation and the United Nations have today.

I do not mean to give the impression, however, that everything is rosy so far as the enforcement of these two federal statutes is concerned. True, there have been certain principles, such as the overtime principle, that have been cemented into the framework of our labor legislation. I have been accelerating the pace of the industry committee machinery set up by the Fair Labor Standards Act which has been functioning so smoothly that on October 24 of this year recommendations will have

been made to raise the wages of all workers covered by the act to a minimum of 40 cents an hour. The act, itself, provides a minimum 40-cent wage for the great bulk of American industry beginning October 24, 1945. By this increased tempo of industry committee procedure, we will have anticipated by nearly two years the statutory goal of a 40-cent minimum which the Congress set for us five years ago.

I want to say here that I appreciate very much the assistance Mr. Green has been to us, and particularly his representative, Boris Shishkin, who has worked very closely with us in cooperating to formulate these industry definitions. I realize it has not always been easy for the American Federation of Labor to join in the definitions that have been worked out for industry because of internal jurisdictional problems you have had, but you have always patriotically and broad-mindedly supported us in our desire to cover as much ground as we could, as rapidly as possible, in order that as few workers as possible would be delayed in their rights of receiving minimum wage guarantees. I am glad to give expression here publicly of my gratitude for the assistance and sympathetic cooperation Mr. Green's office has always given when we have sought their advice.

I know that a good many workers whose wages are far above the minimum set in this legislation and whose union contracts have long provided overtime pay on an equal or more advantageous basis have come to think of the law as a protection for somebody else, but as having no personal meaning or usefulness for themselves. I do not believe this is true, even in the present war market for labor, because low wages anywhere imperil good wages everywhere. But in the post-war readjustments the Wage and Hour Law is apt to be of more importance than ever to all labor. We know there will be unemployment during the period of conversion and readjustment despite all our planning, and this bulwark against wage slashing and long hours is going to be vitally needed.

But though we have made gains during this war period and though the act has been greatly strengthened and enlarged through various court decisions, there have been losses as well and we who have been administering these laws know how much they can be strengthened and improved. There are other ways to nullify the laws besides the outright type of repeal represented in the campaign against the Wage and Hour Act's overtime provisions, and this is something you will want to keep your eyes opened to. In state legislature, after state legislature this year, bills were introduced to limit the time during which workers may institute suits to collect wage claims. These statutes did not shorten the time in which the landlord may sue the worker for his rent or change the statute of limitations for collection under any other contract, which in most states runs six or seven years. No. They singled out the worker and his wages and shortened the period during which a worker may collect the wages of which he has been illegally defrauded. Such legislation actually passed in four states, Alabama providing that a worker cannot collect after one year on wages illegally withheld

and Oregon dropping the period to a mere six months, to name the two most drastic.

Such legislation is aimed primarily at defeat of the Federal Wage and Hour Law in practice. Such legislation rules out the possibility of private suits to recover wages after a stated time, and thus effectively curtails our opportunity to close cases only after restitution to the employees owed has been made.

In the last fiscal year, despite the concentration of much of the activity of the Division on emergency work for the war agencies, nearly \$17,000,000 of restitution of illegally withheld wages due some 390,000 workers was agreed to by employers or ordered paid by the Wage and Hour Division. Much of these illegally withheld wages ran back over a period of months or years. We do not have an inspection force—and never did have—sufficient to inspect every establishment every year, let alone every six months. As a matter of fact, last year we had an inspection force sufficient on paper for a complete inspection coverage once in seven or eight years, if there had been no necessary conversion to emergency war work. This year, our present budget has cut us down from that point by from one-fourth to one-fifth.

During the last year more than 61,000 establishments were inspected under the Fair Labor Standards Act on the basis of complaints or in industries and areas in which previous experience had indicated considerable violation. Of the nearly 57,000 establishments covered under the Act, almost three-fourths were found to be in violation of some provision of the Act and almost half were found to be paying less than the minimum wage or less than one and one-half times the regular rate of pay for hours worked in excess of 40 each week.

Although we employ our field force as strategically as we can in those areas where experience gives us reason to believe violations are most likely to be found, you can see readily enough how this dropping of the state statutes of limitations, as applied to the collection of wages, could in time, if pursued by enough states, nullify the whole effectiveness of the act. You can see how it would cut down on the \$17,000,000 in restitution we found due this year. Already in the states where it has been put through, it is operating to mulct workers of their legally earned wages and to give an unfair competitive advantage to those employers who want to sail close to the wind and take a chance on not getting caught before the time has passed when they can be forced to pay. I want to comment here on some figures which have been supplied to your national office in Washington, at their request. For the period from October, 1942 to June, 1943 we have had only 569 complaints of violations of the Public Contracts Act, of which 250 proved to be in violation and 158 were settled by restitution, leaving a backlog still pending of 100 complaints. Mr. Green brought to my attention a few weeks ago a situation which had been brought to his notice by various Locals that were working on government contracts that frequently in these establishments the poster notifying the workers that they were engaged in a govern-

ment contract was not posted. We advised Mr. Green that the reason for this was that the War Department had requested us not to require these posters in establishments working on secret government contracts, because of the war situation.

I told Mr. Green I would take this up with the War Department and see if I could get them to relax this prohibition, and I informed him a few weeks ago they had tentatively agreed with us to try it out and see if any harm had been done. Two days ago I sent him a letter in which I advised him that the Secretary of War had told me that he no longer has any objection to the posting of these requirements, even in factories working on secret and confidential contracts, so that workers in these establishments will now know, from this time on, whether they are entitled to the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act or not.

Violations are not confined to the overtime provisions of the act, either. Minimum wage violations, failure to pay the minimum of 30 to 40 cents an hour, are still found despite the allegedly universal high wages that we read about in the papers. Of the cases in which the \$17,000,000 in restitution was agreed to or ordered paid in the last fiscal year, more than a third involved failure to pay that minimum wage of 30 to 40 cents.

We will do as complete and thorough a job of inspection and enforcement as is humanly possible under all the circumstances. But it is obvious that we cannot cover as much ground, or cover it as rapidly with 700 inspection type people for all the covered industries of the United States, as we were able to do with 900, and that is the reduction in our inspectional staff enforced by the cut Congress made in our appropriation for the present year, after we and the Budget Bureau had already pruned our requests to the bone, beginning July 1st.

I believe it is my further duty to call your attention to one other serious situation which must, of necessity, concern you all. This is the vast increase in the number of children who are being employed in American industries. I think it is not generally realized to what an extent this nation is fighting its productive war on the labor of children.

By July of this year, when there is, of course, a normal increase in the employment of minors during the school vacation, the number of boys and girls under 18 jumped to five million from about two and a half million engaged in full or part-time work the preceding April when the schools were in session. Of these two and a half million, probably five hundred thousand were boys and girls of 14 and 15 years. This means that about one out of every eight children of 14 and 15 in the United States was gainfully employed and about two out of every five children of 16 and 17. Beginning with the vacation period in July, two out of every five boys and girls of 14 and 15 were working and two out of every three boys and girls of 16 and 17 years of age.

The significant fact is that about one million more boys and girls of 14 to 17 years of age were at work in April of this year than

would have been employed except for the war. In that month there were over four million more persons in the labor force and the armed services than would have been expected on the basis of the 1940 proportion, and of this one million, or one-fourth, were boys and girls from 14 to 17 years of age.

Although it is generally believed that the greatest source of labor supply during the war period has been women, the truth is that the numbers of young workers under 18 in excess of normal is about the same as the number of women 35 years of age and over. The number of employment and age certificates issued for boys and girls of 14 to 17 has practically doubled annually from 1940 to the present time. Although at first we tended to draw largely on the 16 and 17 year olds we are now dipping down into the 14 and 15 year olds. There has been an over-all increase of 331% of boys and girls to whom Social Security numbers have been issued for the first quarter of 1943 as compared with the same period in 1940.

As would be expected, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of minors illegally employed. Although fewer inspections were made in 1943 than in 1942, the number of establishments found in violation of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act increased 33% over 1942 and 197% over 1941. Of the 4567 minors illegally employed in 1943, 18% were under 14 years of age and 58% were 14 or 15 years old, leaving only 24% of the relatively older minors illegally employed who were 16 or 17 but still were in hazardous occupations. Certain industries have a much less enviable record than others. Canneries and packing establishments, for instance, not only employed 8 and 9 year old boys and girls but also were responsible for the unpleasant figure of having 40% of their violations children under 14. The printing, publishing and allied trades had 45% and agricultural establishments 56%.

At the present time, of course, we are less concerned about the threat to the older worker and the stability of family income which child labor normally presents, but we cannot ignore the fact that stunted minds and stunted bodies are being fostered and that educational opportunities for our young people are being ignored. Not only do we want strong bodies in our future America but also we want good citizens who have been educated to a sense of their civic responsibilities and who have been given the tools with which to carry out those responsibilities. We cannot look with complacency on what is happening to our young people.

But so much for the present and past situations. Now let us turn to the future and to considerations as to possible ways of improving our federal labor statutes. I believe that a long step in the right direction was taken in the consolidation of the Wage and Hour Division with the Public Contracts Division. As a result of that consolidation, we have been giving serious consideration to bringing about uniformity in the provisions and regulations required under the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act. I want to throw out to you for discussion

the possibility of reconsideration of the top minimum wage of 40 cents which can be recommended under the Wage and Hour Act's industry committee procedure if the wartime economic conditions carry over into the post-war period. The act now limits the top minimum wage to 40 cents an hour. Should the industry committees have the authority to recommend a higher minimum wage than this in the post-war period? Certainly there is no magic in 40 cents an hour which would mean that this figure should necessarily be the highest minimum wage for years to come. The cost of living and the standard of living are constantly varying and it would require approximately 50 cents today to buy what 40 cents would have bought in 1938. A subsistence wage—and remember, we are talking just about subsistence wages, not prevailing wages—thought to be adequate in the semi-depression year of 1938 may not be adequate in the boom year of 1945 or 1950. I suggest that there should be some flexibility allowed as to the top minimum wages set under the Wage and Hour Law which would be controlled by the now well-established and highly-successful industry committee procedure.

Some employers themselves have suggested that the Fair Labor Standards Act be broadened to include activities which affect interstate commerce in order to protect those employers presently covered from unfair competitive conditions. At the present time, the act covers only those employees who are producing goods in interstate commerce or who are engaged in interstate commerce. To cover the anomalous situation where one employee of an employer is covered but his fellow worker is not because of the accidental legal relationship to interstate commerce, it has been suggested by some that coverage be on an industry rather than an individual employee basis. There have been a great many other suggestions for improving the Wage and Hour Law such as the elimination of some of the exemptions from its provisions that now exist. I just wanted to mention a few of these in order that you may not rest under any misapprehension that there is no further room for improvement in the whole field of labor standards.

This brings me to one final observation regarding the future. There can be no denying that the labor standards of this country are the highest in the world. There is, of course, no reason to feel smug or complacent about this, since we are still so far from an ideal situation. However, these high standards are going to have a growing importance so far as our trade relations with other countries are concerned in the post-war period. We are well aware in this country that the labor standards for the worker in Alabama have an immediate effect on the labor standards of the worker in Massachusetts. This is, of course, the underlying reason for such a federal statute as the Fair Labor Standards Act.

After World War I, the American Federation of Labor, through its great president, Samuel Gompers, took a leading role in the establishment of the International Labor Office. At the time of the peace conference sentiment in favor of the organization of some sort of

international peace machinery was general, in tacit recognition of the fact that international labor regulation was essential to sound economic relations, and therefore to peace. One of the first acts of the Paris Conference and the peace plenipotentiaries was to establish by unanimous agreement a Labor Commission to work out a plan for world labor regulation. Its purpose was "to inquire into conditions of employment from an international aspect and to consider international means necessary to common action on matters affecting conditions of employment." It was also "to recommend a form of permanent agency to continue such inquiry and consideration with and under direction of the League of Nations." Mr. Gompers was chosen president of this commission and, under his inspiring leadership, details of a plan for a permanent organization were worked out and then submitted to President Wilson who, in turn, gave the plan to the conference and obtained approval for it. The first conference of the ILO was held in Washington with the Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson, as its first president and Mr. Gompers on the organizing committee.

It is this type of world leadership in the field of labor that we are expecting from American Labor after this war, and I am sure we are going to get it.

To enter the post-war period without specific goals would be to return to the age-old policy of *laissez faire*. The social and economic forces of the world are by no means wholly uncontrollable, and there is much that we can do to harness these forces to achieve the ends we wish to see achieved. I am reminded of a newspaper story which I read the other day about a young American pilot in England who was out on a mission and who followed his leader into a dive from 25,000 feet into a German formation beneath. After diving the required distance, he tried to pull his plane out of the dive only to find the controls were frozen. He tried every means at his command to get the plane out of its precipitous plunge which was, by the time he reached 10,000 feet, hurtling him earthward at an estimated speed of over 800 miles an hour. He had just about given up hope when miraculously the plane began gradually to level itself off. This happened so smoothly that the pilot did not even "black out." As the plane settled itself and the pilot felt the plane coming under control again, he said, "All right, God, I'll take over now." And then, "Thanks, God."

There have been many times, particularly in the past thirteen or fourteen years, when events seemed to have gotten out of control of those whose goal is Democracy and everything for which it stands. There have been times when unending unemployment and the triumph of Nazism and Fascism have stared us in the face. But we are winning the battle against these evils, with God's help, and with the blood and sweat and toil and tears of millions of freedom-loving people the world over. The world is coming out of its hurtling dive into the abyss of Fascism, and our hands are on the controls. Let us grasp them firmly and with a firm knowledge of our course head

the world towards that goal where the Four Freedoms will be realized.

President Green: I knew in advance, before I presented our good friend, Mr. Walling, to the convention that he would deliver a most interesting and instructive address. He measured up to our expectations again. We appreciate very, very greatly the fine address which he delivered to us this afternoon. We hope and trust that he may be continued as the Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards Act indefinitely.

I thank Mr. Walling in your behalf for his visit here today and for his inspiring, educational and instructive address.

Now I want to present to you for a report the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor and the General Counsel for a number of International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Judge Padway, to whom I refer, has been serving labor faithfully and well for quite a long period of time. He is more to us than a general counsel. He is a part of us. He is devoted to the philosophy, the principles and the policies of the American Federation of Labor. When he is serving for us in a legal way discharging his legal duties he is influenced by the loyalty and the devotion which he has always manifested toward the American Federation of Labor.

His record as counsel for the American Federation of Labor has been a brilliant one. He has handled many legal cases for the American Federation of Labor, for a number of unions that he represents and serves, and in practically every case he has won for us. I sometimes wonder how he does it, but he has won for us in practically every case. He has grown in our estimation. He is loved and honored by us. We hold him in high regard and high esteem, and I am pleased to present to you the Honorable Joseph A. Padway, General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor.

MR. JOSEPH A. PADWAY
(General Counsel, American Federation
of Labor)

Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Again I come before you to present a review of legal activities confronting the American Federation of Labor during the past year. If I were to give a title to my talk it would be — FASCISM COMES TO AMERICA.

I suppose you all know that there has been for several weeks, and is now, a book widely advertised by the name of UNDER COVER. I have not read it, but I have read synopses of it in the newspapers. It is claimed that the book exposes fascists and fascism in this country, and gives names and dates. I don't know what there is in that book, but I do know that we have good reason to believe that fascism is coming to America in a very peculiar way — peculiar in one sense and yet usual in another, in that manufacturers' associations, chambers of commerce, and reactionary front organizations such as The Associated Farmers of California, The Christian American Association of Texas, and other similar organizations have cooperated in fostering and promoting legislation in the various states which have as their objective the ultimate destruction of trade unions in this country.

These organizations have framed a series of bills to fit situations in the different states and then have had them handed to legislators in the various states — generally farmer representatives — and behind the scenes these organizations have successfully piloted the passage of these bills. Thus labor has suffered the greatest legislative calamity in its history. The reason it is not felt by workers as a whole is because the war detracts from this dramatic and tragic circumstance.

However, before I proceed to discuss the subject of reactionary state legislation in greater detail I should like to refer to two congressional enactments, one the Hobbs Bill, the other the Smith-Connally Bill.

The Hobbs Bill

The Hobbs Bill passed the House of Representatives April 9th, 1943, and is now pending in the Senate. It is supposed to repeal the so-called Anti Racketeering Act of 1934. In its place it proposes to prevent interference with interstate commerce by providing new definitions for robbery and extortion. The penalties for violation of the bill are extremely severe—twenty years imprisonment or \$10,000 fine, or both.

The American Federation of Labor undertook to propose an amendment to this bill which would have preserved the exemptions accorded labor in the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Railway Labor Act. Although the amendment proposed by the American Federation of Labor was not adopted in its precise form, another amendment was adopted to the effect that the Hobbs Bill shall not be construed so as to modify or affect the labor provisions in the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Railway Labor Act or the National Labor Relations Act. Not only were the efforts of the American Federation of Labor rewarded by this amendment which makes the bill considerably less harmful than it was when first introduced, but the opposition to it has had the effect of causing it to lie dormant in the Senate. It is a vicious bill and, of course, ought not to be passed.

Smith-Connally Bill

The reactionary forces in Congress, however, were more successful with another bill which is now commonly termed the Smith-Connally Bill. This measure was enacted and is known as the War Labor Disputes Bill. It is unnecessary to review the preliminary maneuvers respecting this bill except to state that it is a composite of two bills—one introduced by Senator Connally in the Senate in 1942 and which was dormant for over a year, and another introduced by Congressman Smith in the House of Representatives and which lay dormant in the House for over a year. When the coal situation of early spring came to the fore the reactionaries in Congress saw an opportunity for reviving these bills. Thus the Connally Bill was passed in the Senate, and when it was sent to the House the old Smith Bill was resurrected and attached to the Connally Bill and passed by both houses in that form. The President vetoed the measure but it was passed over his veto.

Although much has been written concerning the bill questions arise each and every day respecting its operation. I am continually being asked when and under what circumstances may unions strike, and when and under what circumstances are union officials and others prevented from discussing strike procedure or advising respecting the same. It may well be that some of our delegates are not too clear about the bill and its effect. Therefore I will take a few moments to comment briefly on the more important provisions of the law.

The chief purpose of the War Labor Disputes Act is to impose restrictions and limitations upon strikes and stoppages of production in war plants. There are two classes of plants to which the law applies, namely, plants, mines or other facilities which have been taken over and operated by the Government, and plants, mines and other facilities engaged in war work but not taken over or operated by the Government. The law permits the President to take over plants if production is interfered with. The plant must be returned to the owner within sixty days after the restoration of productive efficiency. When a plant is taken over by the Government, wages, hours and working conditions are frozen. Application may be made to the War Labor Board to unfreeze or change the working conditions.

One of the most abhorrent and distasteful provisions of the bill is Section 6 (a) which relates to plants taken over by the Government. This section makes it unlawful for any person to —

Coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with, or encourage any person, to interfere, by lock-out, strike, slow-down, or other interruption, with the operation of such plant, mine or facility.

It is even made a crime to aid in such lock-out, strike, etc., by giving direction or guidance in the conduct of the same. Further, it is made a criminal offense to provide funds for the conduct or direction of a strike or for

the payment of strike, unemployment, or other benefits to strikers.

However, this section does provide that workers may quit or refuse to continue any work as individuals. Thus, although it is illegal for unions to vote a strike or for officers of unions to call a strike, or to pay or cause to be paid unemployment or other strike benefits with respect to Government owned plants, nevertheless the individual as an individual, without associating himself with anyone else, may quit and refuse to work. Thus there is here established the offensive and abhorrent doctrine of conspiracy which was the basis of so many prosecutions of unions and their officials in the years when government by injunction flourished. A violation of this section imposes severe criminal penalties consisting of fines up to \$5,000 and imprisonment of one year, or both.

I repeat that what I have just discussed pertains to plants possessed by the Government. There are no criminal penalties with respect to strikes or activities connected with war plants which are not owned or possessed by the Government. As to such plants, if an interruption in production is likely to occur the law makes it mandatory for the representatives of the unions to notify the National War Labor Board, the National Labor Relations Board and the Secretary of Labor of the dispute. If the workers intend to strike they must continue to work for thirty days after notice has been given and until the National Labor Relations Board has taken a vote of the employees on the question of striking. The law does not make the right to strike contingent upon the outcome of the vote. Whether the vote is for striking or against striking, after it has been taken any of the employees may go out on strike.

You will ask—what happens in the event a strike is called in these plants without giving the notice provided for by law and without waiting for a vote. In the case of these plants no criminal penalty is provided. The law, however, does impose civil liability upon the unions and any persons participating in the strike. In other words, any person injured by the strike, or the United States if it is injured by such strike, may sue civilly to recover damages.

There is another provision in the law which pertains to political contributions. I have received a number of inquiries respecting what political activities trade unions may engage in, and what constitutes an unlawful political contribution under the act. Section 9 of the Act amends the Federal Corrupt Practices Act passed in 1925. It makes it unlawful for any labor organization to make a contribution in connection with elections for President, Vice President, Senator or Representative, and it makes it unlawful for any candidate, political committee, or other person, to accept or receive contributions from labor organizations. A violation of this law is punishable by a \$5,000 fine if the violation is by a union, and a \$1,000 fine or imprisonment up to one year or both, if the violation is by an officer.

Really, what the law does is to prevent out and out money contributions by labor unions in favor of candidates running for federal of-

fee, or to political committees. Thus outright money contributions or donations of literature, radio time, paid ads to a candidate or his committee at his request are violations of law.

But it is equally clear that the law does not prohibit expenditure of money by labor unions in connection with any activity undertaken by a union on its own behalf, in its own interest, to promote its own welfare such as a legislative program, even though such activities are intended to elect or defeat any candidate or candidates for office. In other words, if a union is promoting its own social and economic program by spending money for or against candidates it is not thereby violating the law. Thus a union may spend money for distributing literature pointing out how candidates stand in relation to labor's program. Unions may purchase time on the radio for this purpose; they may also print newspaper ads; they may hire halls for the purpose of holding meetings and making speeches; they may even invite a candidate to these meetings to explain his position on labor's program. Thus unions may engage in a wide variety of political activities in furtherance of their own social and economic program.

Individual union members may make contributions to a candidate or his committee; they may even pool their contributions. However, it must be done in the individual capacity of the members; it must not be done as a subterfuge to cover up union contributions, nor can a union assess members for the purpose of political contributions.

Officers of unions as individuals may donate their time to political candidates and committees; however, it must not be a donation by the union. If a union official is only obliged to give such time to his union duties as he deems proper, such official can utilize any additional time he pleases as an individual in furthering the interests of a candidate.

There are three distasteful features about the Smith-Connally Act—

- 1) It re-establishes the old doctrine of conspiracy by which workers may be prosecuted for performing acts lawful when performed singly, but made unlawful when performed in combination;
- 2) It imposes involuntary servitude upon workers in that as a result of combination they may not refuse to work;
- 3) It prohibits unions from making political contributions, whereas no similar restriction is placed upon farm organizations, merchants and manufacturers associations, or individuals of great wealth who, when they do contribute, do so on behalf of wealthy corporations in which they are interested.

A fourth objection to the law is that it substitutes for organized labor's no strike pledge a procedure which encourages stoppages of work and specifically authorizes strikes.

The members of Congress who urged and voted for this bill were actuated by malice. They overrode the President's courageous veto. Instead of contributing to peace in industry during war time these congressmen, by overriding the veto, fostered disruption.

It may be said that the President merely expressed a partisan view in his veto, and that it is a partisan view of organized labor, that the bill fosters strikes, disruption of service and interference with production. Well, less than a month ago—September 11th, 1943, to be exact—in the leading editorial in BUSINESS WEEK, we find the following:

"Conceived as an instrument that would divert organized labor of some of its power as a pressure group and eliminate some of the frictions in employee relations, the law has had a directly opposite effect. It serves a purpose completely alien to that which was intended by its sponsors. Instead of curbing labor's bargaining strength, the section of the act that provides for plant seizures in the event of labor trouble or the threat of labor trouble has armed the unions with a new weapon.

"Instead of neutralizing labor's political influence through its inclusion of a ban on direct political contributions by the unions, the act has been responsible for a resurgence of political activity in the A.F.L. and C.I.O. which promises to make itself felt distinctly in 1944.

"Instead of discouraging wildcat stoppages by its provision of penalties for strikers and leaders, flash strikes and quickies have increased since June.

"Most important of all, the famous 30-day cooling off period which must now elapse between announcement of intent to strike and the taking of a strike vote has become in practice a heating-up period during which campaigning and agitation have precipitated the employee relations of more than one important war plant into chaotic disorder.

"... And any of these employers will tell you that he has a much more serious problem to deal with when the United States government steps in and plasters plant bulletin boards with sample strike ballots than he had when his union held a closed meeting in the local Odd Fellows Hall to discuss whether or not to call a strike. If the old method was harmful to morale, the new one is, by comparison, disastrous.

"... But when we legislate in the hope of reversing a trend and in so doing make a too radical attack on established patterns, we risk intensifying the very hazards we seek to escape.

"In the intensely practical, but delicately balanced competition of labor relations, the concepts of politicians written into law may have unpredictable and intolerable consequences. The interests of business will best be served by leaving the details of collective bargaining and personnel policy to its industrial relations experts. Better than anyone else, they know what hazards inhere in further government intervention of any sort."

Anti Trust Prosecutions

Another subject which I should like to dwell on for a few moments is the anti trust activities and prosecutions affecting labor during the past year. The report of the Executive

Council contains the very encouraging information "that the time is fast approaching when the final chapter in the dramatic legal attack upon labor's fundamental rights, through civil and criminal prosecutions instituted by the Anti Trust Division of the Department of Justice, will be written." The history of prosecutions of organized labor by the Anti Trust Division is well known to the delegates to this Convention because it has been reported on since 1938 when Thurman Arnold, then in charge of the Anti Trust Division, instituted his prosecutions against trade unions. The chief victims of these prosecutions were the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Brotherhood of Teamsters. Both of these International Unions vigorously defended against these prosecutions. As a result of the defenses interposed against these prosecutions, cases reaching the Supreme Court of the United States were decided in favor of organized labor. The Hutheson case will go down in history as one of the greatest victories for organized labor in over half a century.

The early prosecutions were brought by the United States against trade unions; no employers were involved. When Mr. Arnold was defeated by the United States Supreme Court in his efforts to prosecute labor alone he resorted to the plan of prosecuting labor jointly with employers and their associations. In the past year there were two outstanding prosecutions of this nature, one against the American Federation of Musicians, and the other against the Brotherhood of Painters.

You will recall that the American Federation of Musicians case was instituted by Mr. Arnold last September just before the Convention met, and while the Convention was in session the hearing took place before Judge Barnes at Chicago who decided in favor of the American Federation of Musicians and dismissed the Government's case. It was a civil case. Mr. Arnold sought to have the court declare the activities of the American Federation of Musicians to be illegal. Those activities consisted of refusal on the part of the American Federation of Musicians to make records which records destroyed their employment opportunities. Federal Judge Barnes held that not only was the dispute a labor dispute and thus an injunction could not be granted because of the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act prohibiting the issuing of federal injunctions in labor disputes, but that there was no violation of the anti-trust law and that workers have the right to refuse to work in the making of machines if such machines destroyed their employment opportunities. This decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States sustained Judge Barnes.

It seems, however, that the Anti Trust Division was not satisfied with this decision which was the result of a civil suit for an injunction, so it instituted a criminal prosecution against the Brotherhood of Painters and a number of its affiliates in the San Francisco Bay Area, together with a number of employers. The Anti Trust Division alleged a criminal conspiracy in that the unions and the employers had entered into a written

agreement to the effect that paint spraying machines shall not be used in the performance of work. The indictment was a unique document. The Government alleged that the Painters union insisted upon this agreement in order to make more work for themselves, thus increasing the cost of the work. The Government wholly failed to allege that the real reason for the prohibition against the use of the paint spraying machine was the fact that it was conducive to lead poisoning, tuberculosis, and other diseases. The case was argued before Federal Judge St. Sure at San Francisco. I should like to read to you a paragraph or two of Judge St. Sure's decision:

"The unions had two legitimate purposes in demanding the restriction of the use of paint spray equipment: the use of the spray equipment constitutes a health hazard; and such equipment saves time and thereby cuts down the amount of employment . . . Labor might combine to seek and obtain more employment through the elimination of the competition of mechanical devices; . . . such was a 'condition of employment' and . . . their activities were within the exemptions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act."

Judge St. Sure then quoted from the International Hod Carriers case:

"Such normal legitimate and lawful activities of a labor union include the calling of strikes, or threatening to call strikes, in order to enforce their demands, as in the present case a demand against the use of labor-saving devices which will displace their members; or, in the alternative, the demand that if the labor-saving device is used the same number of men be employed as would be if the other type of mixer were used. These are legitimate and lawful activities which a labor union is permitted to carry on in an effort to maintain employment and certain working conditions for its members, and any restraint of trade or commerce attendant thereon is only indirect and incidental . . ."

Judge St. Sure then said:

"The court will take judicial notice of the fact that the use of spray painting equipment constitutes a health hazard. It would appear that this would afford a good and sufficient reason for the unions to demand restriction or even prevention of the use of such equipment . . ."

Here again the Anti Trust Division was defeated in its contentions. Both of these decisions constitute great victories for organized labor. They recognize new principles of organized labor which the Anti Trust Division sought to have declared criminal, but which the courts have held to be peaceful, normal activities of labor unions—(1) that unions have the right to refuse to work on machines if such work reduces their employment opportunities; (2) that unions have the right to impose prohibitory conditions in the performance of work in order to protect their health and physical welfare.

As you know, Mr. Arnold was elevated to the bench and he is now Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The Anti Trust Division at the present time has shown no disposition to continue Mr. Arnold's policies or to test further his repudiated economic theories. It is my opinion that the fight made by organized labor against the prosecutions of the Anti Trust Division, resulting as it did in victories for organized labor, has been one of the most important fights the Federation has ever been engaged in. It prevented the destruction of organized labor through resort to civil and criminal prosecutions under the anti trust laws—laws which were never designed to destroy labor, but on the contrary to destroy monopolies and restraints of trade in commodities.

State Anti Labor Legislation

I should like to discuss now the fascist legislation enacted by some of the states this year. At the outset I mentioned the clever manner in which state anti labor measures were proposed to the various legislatures by reactionary organizations. For instance, in the states of Idaho and South Dakota provisions relating to the sheep shearing industry were emphasized. These organizations knew that legislation pertaining to alleged protection of this industry would be easier to pass than an all comprehensive industrial bill which might fit the State of New York, Illinois, or some other industrial state. In Minnesota several bills were introduced and emphasis was placed on agriculture. In Texas and Florida emphasis was placed on licensing features and the regulation of the internal affairs of trade unions. The bills were framed and devised to catch the votes of the legislators of the particular states in which legislation was sought. It is for that reason that the bills were passed in states which have had little or no labor trouble at all, such as Florida, Alabama, Texas, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho. And for that matter, with the exception of the CIO-Teamster difficulties at Minneapolis, Minnesota has had little or no labor trouble.

States which have enacted legislation of this character are Idaho, South Dakota, Arkansas, Texas, Kansas, Michigan, Florida, Alabama, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Colorado. In addition to the states named, South Carolina and Maryland passed bills termed "Work or Fight" laws. With the exception of the work or fight laws, all legislation enacted by the various states have for their purpose the destruction of free trade unionism as established and known in this country. The objectives are based on three principles—

- 1) Unions and officers of unions must register or obtain a license before they can operate or transact business as officers of unions.
- 2) Confining labor disputes to the individual employer and his immediate employees, and the requirement that strikes, boycotting and picketing in furtherance thereof are dependent upon a majority vote.
- 3) Control of, and interference with, the internal affairs of labor organizations,

such as fees, dues and assessments, the levying of fines, election of officers, financial accounting, etc.

I do not propose to discuss in detail the various provisions of these state bills, but it may be well briefly to refer to some of the provisions in these laws by way of illustration of the three principles referred to.

Idaho and South Dakota

The Idaho and South Dakota laws are identical. They provide that a labor union must file annually with the Secretary of State a verified statement of income and expenditures. Officers or employees of any union are prohibited from entering upon any ranch, farm, feed yard, shearing plant, processing plant or agricultural premise for the purpose of collecting dues, fines or assessments, or for the purpose of soliciting membership in a union. Picketing in these industries is prohibited. Likewise, boycotts or other interference with the movement to market of any agricultural commodity are prohibited if such acts are engaged in because the commodity or produce may have been produced by non-union labor. Fines and imprisonment are imposed for violation.

Thus the Idaho and South Dakota bills come within the provision for licensing or registration and restriction upon the right to picket or boycott. Such provisions deprive unions of the right of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and peaceable assemblage. A suit has been instituted in the courts of Idaho attacking the constitutionality of this enactment, and one is about to be instituted in South Dakota.

Arkansas

Arkansas enacted a law making it unlawful to use force or violence or threats thereof, to prevent or attempt to prevent, any person from engaging in any lawful vocation. The law prohibits certain forms of assemblage. Violation of the law constitutes a felony, and there is not even a provision for a fine; conviction leads to imprisonment of from one to two years. The law is so broad as to make many forms of peaceful, lawful and usual trade union activities a criminal offense because it uses terms such as "encourage interference with lawful vocation or employment". A labor dispute is defined very broadly so that the definition can be used as an aid in criminal prosecutions. Briefly, the act is intended to discourage or prohibit trade union organization through peaceful activities of workers. This law likewise violates constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and peaceable assembly.

Texas

Texas passed a law crammed with numerous inhibitions, all of which are directed against the right to organize workers in trade unions. Sections of the law permit the State to interfere with the internal affairs of labor organizations, to prohibit peaceful picketing, peaceful assemblage, and the right peacefully to boycott. The method of holding elections of officers, and the amounts which

may be charged for initiation fees are put under state control. There is one section in this law which prohibits labor unions from collecting "initiation fees, dues, fines, assessments, or other pecuniary exactions which will create a fund in excess of the reasonable requirements of such unions." Violations are punished by fines of \$1,000 on the part of unions, and \$500 with imprisonment for sixty days on the part of officers. A suit has been commenced in Texas attacking the constitutionality of this law. Arguments before the court will be had very soon.

Kansas

Kansas has adopted a broad licensing or registration law, and before a union can do business in Kansas it must obtain a license from the Secretary of State. If the license is refused the union cannot function. Every union with twenty-five members or more must file a financial statement. The records are open to all persons for examination and taking copies. Strikes are unlawful unless authorized by majority vote. A "hot cargo" provision is contained in the law making it illegal to refuse to handle, install, use or work on, non-union material. Jurisdictional disputes are illegal. Licenses may be revoked by the Secretary of State. Penalties of fines and imprisonment are provided. A suit has been instituted. Arguments were had before a three-judge Federal court, but before a decision was handed down one of the judges died. A new judge has been called in and re-argument of the case has been ordered.

Michigan

Michigan passed a simple law with one section, providing that anyone who by force stops or hinders the operation of any vehicle transporting farm or commercial products, or interferes with the loading or unloading of such vehicle shall be guilty of an offense punishable by ninety days in jail or a fine of \$100. This law is very broad, and many usual peaceful activities of trade unions in connection with strikes or labor disputes may constitute crimes under it.

Florida

Florida has adopted a licensing law coupled with regulation of the internal affairs of trade unions. The law prohibits strikes over jurisdictional disputes; it requires a vote of the majority of workers before strikes can be called; it imposes a limitation of \$15 upon initiation fees unless a higher fee now prevails. Unions must register with the Secretary of State, and business agents must be licensed. Picketing is restricted. Criminal penalties consisting of \$500 fine or six months in prison are provided.

In connection with the Florida law I desire to advise you that the legislature also passed a resolution to amend the Constitution of Florida, calling for a referendum by the people of the State to be held in 1944, which resolution provides for the outlawing of the closed shop. The main provision recites:

The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of mem-

bership or non-membership in any labor union or labor organization.

I do not believe that the language of the amendment accomplishes the purpose sought. However, the intention is to outlaw the closed shop. This arises from the crusade instituted by the Attorney General of the state who brought suits against the Moore Pipe and Sprinkler Company which had a contract with the Plumbers International Union, and against the Tampa Shipbuilding Company which has contracts with the Metal Trades Unions. I handled these cases. The lower courts refused to hold that closed shop contracts are illegal or against public policy as contended by the Attorney General, but the judges of the trial courts did hold that closed shop provisions in war industries interfered with production and therefore were against public policy. The case is now before the Supreme Court of the State of Florida. We filed briefs and argued the case and a decision is awaited.

Alabama

Alabama adopted a vicious bill. It establishes a Department of Labor with broad powers of mediation. The provisions, however, are detrimental to labor. Registration of labor unions and financial accounting are required. The closed shop is outlawed. Peaceful picketing activities are limited and prohibited, and it has a "hot cargo" provision. A majority vote is required before a strike can be called. The permit fee system is prohibited. Supervisory employees cannot be members of a labor union. Political contributions are prohibited. Substantial fines and imprisonment are provided. A suit was instituted in the State of Alabama, has been argued, and a decision is awaited.

Massachusetts

Massachusetts enacted legislation respecting permit fees and charges. The bill is simple in form. It provides that unions cannot require the payment of any fees higher than the regular initiation fees, dues and assessments provided for in the by-laws or constitution of a union.

Minnesota

Minnesota passed several laws. It is indeed disappointing that a progressive state like Minnesota should have fallen for the propaganda of the reactionary organizations fostering these bills, and it is more disappointing to find that Governor Stassen signed the bills. Five bills were sponsored by reactionary farm organizations. Through the efforts of the State Federation of Labor they were defeated. Then two new bills were introduced, passed, and signed by the Governor. These are indeed vicious bills. They interfere in many ways with the normal functioning of trade unions. In fact some of the provisions are more severe than those to be found in any of the other state bills. The bills provide for the appointment of state referees to hear and decide jurisdictional controversies. One of the

acts is known as "The Minnesota Labor Union Democracy Act". It has all kinds of regulatory provisions dealing with the internal affairs of unions. It limits the terms of officers. It prescribes the kind of ballot that must be used in elections. It provides for the furnishing to each member of written statements of receipts and disbursements and assets and liabilities. It provides for tribunals to try complaints of dereliction of duty brought against union officers. If the referee sustains the charges of dereliction of duty the labor union cannot act as a representative for the purpose of collective bargaining.

Colorado

I have reserved for final discussion of the state laws the enactment passed by the State of Colorado. The reason is that Colorado passed the most comprehensive anti labor law that has ever been introduced in any legislature in the history of organized labor; also that this law has already had a test before the courts of Colorado and a decision was handed down on September 7th, 1943.

The Colorado law prohibits arbitrary or excessive dues, initiation fees and fines, and it provides that the state will determine what is arbitrary and excessive. It demands full and detailed financial reports; strikes can only be called by majority vote and a secret ballot. Jurisdictional disputes do not constitute lawful labor disputes. Employers are given the right to hire and fire as they please regardless of seniority provisions in agreements. Employers may refuse closed shop contracts and such refusal does not constitute a labor dispute. Picketing and boycotting are prohibited in furtherance of so-called jurisdictional disputes or strikes called without a majority vote. A "hot cargo" provision is included which makes it illegal to refuse to handle, install, use or work on "scab" material. Company unions are so defined as to make them legal. A labor dispute cannot be posed between a union and a single employer, such as the self-employed barber, plumber, or truck owner. Collective bargaining agents must be elected by a majority vote of all employees on the membership rolls even though a majority does not appear at a meeting to vote. Thus there would be no election unless a majority of the members turned up and a full majority of all members voted for the particular agent. A comprehensive code of unfair labor practices by unions and employees is provided, violation of which puts the union out of business.

More important than any other provision in this vicious bill is the one which provides for compulsory incorporation. This is the first time in the history of the American labor movement that any state has provided for compulsory incorporation of labor unions. In connection with compulsory incorporation there are many provisions giving complete control to the state over the internal affairs of unions. If these provisions are violated the charter of the "corporation" can be revoked and the union thus put out of business.

As I stated, this law has already had a test in the courts. The case was briefed and argued before Judge Sackmann who, on September 7th, 1943, handed down his decision.

It is indeed an interesting decision and I should like to take a moment or two to explain it. In the main it is a victory for organized labor.

Judge Sackmann held that those portions of the act imposing compulsory incorporation on labor unions, and the requirements for filing financial statements, and the numerous provisions regulating the internal affairs of labor organizations, were unconstitutional. The Judge refused, however, to declare unconstitutional those other provisions of the act which restricted striking, picketing and boycotting.

Thus on the first test, compulsory incorporation of trade unions is held to be illegal. It is an important decision, because if this section of the law had been declared valid every local union and every International Union would have had to incorporate in order to function in Colorado.

Incorporation of trade unions is sought by employers in order to equip themselves with a powerful weapon whereby to destroy labor unions. They know full well that what the state gives it can take away, and thus employers could bring pressure on the state officials to put out of business a union it did not like, by revoking the union's corporate charter.

Judge Sackmann grounded his decision on the most substantial provision in the United States Constitution. He called attention to the Fourteenth Amendment which guarantees to all citizens fundamental civil liberties. These are freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and the right of peaceable assemblage. Many states had endeavored to limit and restrict these rights by imposing what is known in the law as "previous restraints," such as the requirement for the payment of tax or the obtaining of a license before exercising the constitutional rights.

We argued to the court that the very essence of trade union functions, and therefore its very existence, depends on the exercise of these constitutional rights: that the holding of union meetings is nothing more than an exercise of the right of peaceable assemblage; that the discussion of labor's problems, and the dissemination of information, orally and written, is the exercise of the constitutional right of freedom of speech and of the press, and that the exercise of these rights could not be made to depend on "previous restraints" such as first procuring a license from some official, or first registering, or first filing documents, etc., or paying a tax.

We argued strongly that since the Colorado law required incorporation as a condition precedent to the operation of a union, workers who were members of unions were thereby unconstitutionally denied the right to speak, to assemble, to petition, or to publish, unless they first obtained a license or certificate of incorporation; and that such requirement was a previous restraint on civil rights, rendering the law invalid. Judge Sackmann agreed with this argument.

A paragraph or two from Judge Sackmann's opinion will make clear what I have just said:

"It is emphasized that none of the plaintiff labor organizations, or those whom they represent, are engaged in any business for profit; that the members of said unions, having only the brawn of their muscles, the strength of their bodies, the alertness of their minds, the skill of their hands, and general ability of the average human being with which to support and maintain themselves and their families under a standard of living worthy of this great civilized Republic and constitutional government of the United States; because of the weakness and futility of individual action in a country like ours to obtain justice, fair treatment, careful and just consideration and solution of these vital problems and constitutional rights, workers have united themselves into labor organizations commonly called unions to obtain those just rights and benefits by collective bargaining; that they are, like religious organizations and political associations, simply groups of individuals gathered together and assembled together for the more effective exercise through joint action of the constitutional rights to which each individual American citizen is entitled and may lawfully exercise jointly to obtain just hours, wages, working conditions and American standards of living for themselves and their families; that Sections 20 and 21 of the Labor Peace Act, in the light of the decisions of the courts of this country, constitute an attempt to impose a prerequisite or prohibition directly upon the exercise of their basic constitutional rights, in that same deprive the plaintiffs unlawfully and unconstitutionally of the rights of free speech, free press and assembly, in violation of the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment considered in conjunction with the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States by insisting that, in addition to the requirements of the Constitution simply of citizenship of the United States, that they must incorporate and receive a license or warrant of authority from the State of Colorado to operate as a corporation and submit to an unwarranted interference with their internal organization affairs as such corporations before they can enjoy the basic, inalienable rights given them under the First and the Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

"The Court has carefully considered all . . . the arguments and citations of authorities and briefs . . . and has come to the conclusion . . . that Section 20 (and all the provisions and subsections thereof, and Section 21, are unconstitutional and inoperative and unenforceable for the reason that the same do require the prerequisite of incorporation for labor unions which, under its wording and provisions, does operate as a complete general previous restraint upon the exercise of the rights of free speech, free press and assembly, thus violating, in the opinion of the Court, the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution considered in conjunction with the First Amendment, and the Court so declares and finds."

The rationale of Judge Sackmann's decision is applicable not only to the attempts by the state to impose a condition of incorporation as a prerequisite to the right of workers to engage in labor activities, but also to any attempt by the state to impose a license upon that right. Thus, the decision affords a persuasive and, we hope, a compelling precedent in the cases commenced in other states where such states have attempted to license labor organizations and their representatives.

It is clear to anyone giving thought to this legislation that the purpose is to effect complete destruction of labor unions by rendering them ineffective and weak. Every form of regulation and control is assumed by the state, with power to revoke registrations, deny licenses, and deprive unions of their right to act as collective bargaining agents for their members. I can conceive of nothing more fascist in the philosophy of totalitarianism than is to be found in these state enactments. The principles of voluntarism and free trade unionism are completely destroyed. It was necessary for the American Federation of Labor to advise its affiliates not to comply with these laws until courts had ruled upon their validity. These laws revolutionize the trade union movement. We are hopeful that the Supreme Courts of the various states, and in particular the Supreme Court of the United States, will strike down these fascist measures.

President Green: We have just had a convincing exhibition of the value of educational service rendered labor at these conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

I have frequently stated that there is no college of learning, no established school in the United States that offers such a two weeks of economic training and education as does the American Federation of Labor.

Judge Padway, our Counsel, has made a very valuable contribution toward a better understanding of the relationship of the state to our great organized labor movement and of the attempts that are being made by the reactionary forces of the nation to establish just as repressive measures through legislation as do the totalitarian governments in continental Europe.

You can read this address, this detailed information that is contained in the address, in the proceedings of this convention. I know it will all be eagerly read by students of economics, by many of those who are seeking to understand the economic problems of our nation. It seems appropriate for me to make these remarks now in expressing to our General Counsel, Judge Padway, our very, very deep appreciation of the splendid address which he just delivered this afternoon.

I thank you, Judge Padway.

Announcements

President Green: May the Chair announce a meeting of the Executive Council in the Hancock Room on the mezzanine floor at eight o'clock tonight. I ask that all members of the Executive Council be present. Please bear this announcement in mind.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Volz.

Delegate Volz: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Laws will hold a meeting at eleven o'clock tomorrow morning in the Hancock Room, where they will conduct hearings or will be pleased to hear any delegate who may be interested in Resolution No. 72. We would urge those interested in this resolution to appear tomorrow morning at eleven o'clock in the Hancock Room before the Committee on Laws.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Meany: Resolutions have been submitted by the Progressive Mine Workers of America, calling for the creation of a safety organization within the American Federation of Labor; by the Painters' delegation, with reference to the Smith-Connally Act, and by the same delegation, with reference to the Social Security Act. Unanimous consent is necessary for their introduction.

President Green: Are there objections? Hearing none, the resolutions will be introduced and referred to the appropriate committees.

The resolutions are as follows:

Safety

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates Lloyd Thrush, John Marciando, International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America.

WHEREAS, In the United States unnecessary accidents and fires have increased tremendously in both frequency and severity, costing this nation the lives of many thousands of men, millions of man hours lost time, and billions of dollars worth of materials at the most critical time in this nation's history, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has specifically requested, that we lend

our complete support to an organized effort to reduce and, if possible, to eliminate all unsafe acts and unsafe conditions, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor finds itself in a position to further the war effort by full cooperation with the President of the United States, other executives of government, and the armed forces of this nation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That safety shall be accorded the complete militant support of every officer and every member of the American Federation of Labor during the forthcoming year. That no effort or expense shall be spared in promotion of accident and fire prevention until deaths and injuries occurring in Homes, Traffic, Public and Industrial Accidents shall be reduced to the point of elimination, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a safety organization shall be created within the American Federation of Labor, under the direction of the Executive Council and that adequate safety, engineering and consultant services shall be immediately employed to assist in the formulation and direction of the Federation's Safety Program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The Smith-Connally Bill

Resolution No. 124—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Pete Yablonski, George Meyers, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, in common with the American labor movement has given full support to the war effort to the end that this nation and its allies will render decisive defeat to the Axis and all that it represents, and

WHEREAS, There exists today in this nation a small but powerful group who, since Pearl Harbor, have used every opportunity to spread disunity and defeat here at home, centering their campaign on splitting the labor movement away from their support of the war effort and into a position of opposition to the present conduct of the war, and

WHEREAS, The passing of the Smith-Connally "Anti-Strike" Bill over the President's veto, engineered by this above-mentioned group, is a serious defeat for the American labor movement which demands prompt and decisive action on the part of organized labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps to organize the full membership of the Federation into an emergency campaign of political activity to use all legal means to prevent this vicious law from hamstringing American Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Social Security Act

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Pete Yablonski, George Meyers, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Federal Old Age Benefits System provides for retirement pay from the Federal Government to qualified persons beginning at the age of 65 years, and

WHEREAS, At the end of this war there will be millions of persons out of work for the period of adjustment, and

WHEREAS, When the adjustment takes place the industrialists will demand younger men and persons over 60 years of age will find it impossible to make a living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all it can to amend the Social Security Act to read 60 years of age and

also provide benefits equal to the American Standard of Living.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Yom Kippur Services

Secretary Meany read the following announcement:

Rabbi Liebman extends an invitation to all Jewish delegates who wish to attend Yom Kippur services at Temple Israel on Friday eve and Saturday. They are welcome, and seats will be provided for them.

There being no further business to come before the convention, Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the convention adjourned at 5:10 o'clock p. m. to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 7.

FOURTH DAY — THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

Boston, Massachusetts, October 7, 1943

The convention was called to order by President Green at ten o'clock.

President Green: The Reverend Elden Bucklin, Pastor of the Chepachet Union Church, Chepachet, Rhode Island, will pronounce the invocation this morning. Reverend Bucklin.

INVOCATION

(Reverend Elden Gardner Bucklin, Chepachet Union Church, Chepachet, Rhode Island)

Almighty and Everlasting God, Maker and Ruler Supreme, we bow with humility and reverence before Thy throne. We acknowledge Thee as our God. O Thou who dost operate the world by law and order, may the deliberations of this body be carried on in the spirit of harmony and peace and unity of purpose. We pray thy blessing upon all who work to answer the prayer taught by the Carpenter of Nazareth, "Give us this day our daily bread." Help all who labor to realize that they are not just working to earn their pay, but that they are laboring to speed the day when all men in all nations shall have freedom as we know it in our blessed land.

Help this representative body of thoughtful men to speed that day of freedom by their decisions in this Convention. We ask all this in the name of the Carpenter of Nazareth. Amen.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Ornburn, of the Committee on Legislation.

Chairman Ornburn: Mr. Chairman, the announcement was made yesterday that there would be a meeting of the Committee on Legislation in Parlor C at 10:30 this morning. All delegates interested in resolutions and members of the committee are to take notice that the meeting of the committee has been postponed until 11:30 this morning in Parlor C.

Committee to Escort
Mr. Paul Fitzpatrick

President Green: Mr. Paul Fitzpatrick, the Administrative Vice President of the American Arbitration Association, will speak to the delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention at about eleven o'clock this morning.

I will appoint as a committee to escort Mr. Fitzpatrick to the hall Brother William E. Maloney, Operating Engineers, Brother Francis J. Gorman, Textile Workers, and Brother William Schoenberg, of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers. This committee will please arrange to get in touch with Mr. Fitzpatrick and escort him to the hall this forenoon.

SPECIAL ORDER

President Green: May I call your attention to a special order of business at eleven o'clock today. The special order of business will be the submission of a supplemental report of the Executive Council, for action by the delegates at this convention.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements.

Secretary Meany read the following communication:

Message From the Secretary of
the TreasuryTHE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

October 6, 1943.

My dear Mr. Green:

I have been greatly honored by your invitation to attend the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor and to address the convention on some phase of the war problems of the Treasury Department. I received this invitation with great satisfaction, as it represented an opportunity to discuss with an important body of loyal Americans some of the vital problems con-

fronting their national Government; but unfortunately developments have arisen which make it impossible for me to be in Boston during your sessions.

Since the beginning of the war emergency I have had many consultations with you as President of the American Federation of Labor and with other national labor leaders, in which a wide range of economic and financial subjects have been discussed. It has been most reassuring to find that the leaders of the organized labor movement in this country have more and more assumed national leadership in the consideration of great public questions. Organized labor is beginning to realize that problems of wage rates, working hours and working conditions are not its sole field of interest, and that these immediate problems of labor are dependent upon larger economic forces which apply as well to management, agriculture, the commercial community and, in fact, the entire citizenry of the United States.

We are finding you valuable and broad visioned advisors on problems of taxation and monetary policy. Organized labor, as the most effective representation of the many millions of wage earners who form the largest single section of our population, should be especially interested in the formulation of national policies which are not unfair to any other group. You representatives of the American Federation of Labor have shown in many ways your recognition that this responsibility rests upon you.

I urge you to continue and to increase your support of the present voluntary system of War Bond purchases by your members, with especial emphasis on the easy, effective Payroll Savings Plan. I urge you to continue to make plans, in cooperation with the Government and other bodies of citizens, for spreading the burdens of the war fairly and constructively among all the people and for meeting the problems of post-war readjustment and reconstruction.

Again expressing my regret that I cannot be present to deliver this message to you in person, I am

Sincerely,

H. MORGENTHAU, JR.,

Secretary of the Treasury.

President Green: The communication sent to us by Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

Brother Arnold S. Zander, of the State, County and Municipal Employees, was designated by the Executive Council to attend the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress as Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Labor. He attended that conference that was held at Quebec from August 30 to September 3rd, and has filed with me a report of his attendance at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I am submit-

ting his report for inclusion in the proceedings of today's convention.

REPORT OF ARNOLD S. ZANDER, FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO THE 59th ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA

To the Officers and Delegates to the 63rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The 59th annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was held at the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec, August 30th to September 3rd, 1943. The convention was postponed from its original date because of the United Nations war conference which was held in Quebec at that time. Presiding over the opening of the convention was Joe Matte, Chairman of the Quebec and Levis Trades and Labor Council. Chairman Matte's welcoming speech was followed by addresses from Mr. V. C. Phelan, representing the Canadian Department of Labor, Mayor Lucien Borne of Quebec, Mr. Edgar Rochette, Provincial Minister of Labor and Mayor Bolduc of Lauzon.

In the absence of President Tom Moore, the convention was turned over to Acting President Percy R. Bengough, who also welcomed the delegates and then read President Tom Moore's letter submitting his resignation because of ill health, after 22 years of devoted service as head of the Trades and Labor Congress.

The 519 delegates to the convention, representing 190,778 members, were then officially seated, and the convention was declared open for business. It was interesting to note that the membership in the Trades and Labor Congress as reported to this convention showed an increase of 26,403 over that of last year.

The report made by the executive council to the convention outlined much of the program and progress of the Congress, and covered in detail the work that the executive council had carried on since the convention of 1942. Throughout the convention concern was expressed because of the lack of labor representation on government war boards, and the executive council report quoted a memorandum sent to the government on this subject. In part it said:

"As loyal citizens of Canada we unreservedly recognize that the most important and vital issue confronting us today is to do all we possibly can in defeating the enemies of our country in the shortest possible time. . . . From the very commencement of this war this Congress did . . . offer its full cooperation to the government and has continued to do so. It is deplorable that . . . our offer of cooperation has not been ac-

cepted. . . . We urge the Government to consider setting up a Board similar to the War Production Board in the United States . . . for the purpose of stimulating and developing Joint Production Committees in the major industries on which Labor and Management has representation."

In another section of the report the executive council urged the government to introduce a Federal act guaranteeing the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively through the chosen representatives of their unions. Equal pay for women workers was also asked.

Consideration of solutions to the problems of post-war unemployment was urged by the executive council. Their report emphasized that "serious thought will have to be given now to arranging for a distribution of available employment on a far shorter work week basis than previously adopted; that it is unnecessary and impossible for people to have full employment on present day hours. . . . It is also imperative that there be no reductions in real wage levels, otherwise the buying power of the people will be impaired, our home market destroyed. . . . What the workers of Canada desire and believe is feasible and practicable, in view of our scientific and technical progress, is Social Security in its full sense guaranteeing to every citizen of Canada able and willing to work an adequate income that will provide a living free from the fear of want during the whole of their lives and efficient treatment and protection during illness and old age."

More than 250 resolutions were considered by the convention. Delegates were unanimous in their reiteration of the Trades and Labor Congress no-strike policy. Resolutions were endorsed calling upon the government to guarantee collective bargaining rights to all workers, and to inaugurate a wage policy guaranteeing a minimum of 50c an hour or \$25 a week to all workers, and to make holidays with pay mandatory. Cost of living bonuses and proposed changes in them came in for much discussion. A resolution favoring affiliation as a member-body of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee was passed unanimously. Resolutions dealing with overtime pay, protesting freezing wages at sub-normal levels, demanding that profits from industry be limited to 5 per cent by taxation or other methods and that excess profits be used for the prosecution of the war, maximum work week, old age pensions, workmen's compensation laws, post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction, and many other subjects of vital concern were passed.

It was deeply regretted by everyone that President Tom Moore was forced to give up his leadership of the Congress because of illness. Vice-President Percy R. Bengough, who had been Acting President during the past year, was elected President of the Congress by acclamation. J. A. Sullivan was elected Secretary-Treasurer. At this time the number of vice-presidents was increased from three to five, allowing one for the maritime provinces, one each for Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, and one for the prairie provinces.

In my address to the Congress, as Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Labor, I tried to draw a general picture of the part labor is playing in solving some of today's problems, and particularly our part in the war effort and the contribution we are making toward finding a solution for post-war problems—toward the establishment of international machinery which could protect us against such a tragedy as that in which we are now involved.

Your Fraternal Delegate was shown every courtesy by officers and delegates to the Trades and Labor Congress convention, and the beautiful gifts which were presented to my wife and me will remain as lasting evidences of the friendliness and generosity shown.

I wish to express my appreciation to President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Meany, and the members of the Executive Council for appointing me the 1943 Fraternal Delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Scholtz, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

In accordance with request of F. B. Gerhart, who was reported as representing Match Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18928, Barberton, Ohio, we recommend that he be seated as delegate to represent the Barberton, Ohio, Central Labor Union, with 1 vote instead of Match Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18928.

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the credential of Horace E. Howe, representing the Portland, Maine, Central Labor Union, and recommend that the delegate be seated with 1 vote.

We have examined the following credentials—Arthur Ancill, representing the Central Labor Union of Taunton, Mass., and recommend the seating of delegate with 1 vote.

William H. Gordon, representing Federal Labor Union No. 21243, Dorchester Lower Mills, Mass., with 4 votes.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TRIBUTE TO DECEASED MEMBERS

President Green: Secretary Meany will now read to you a list of the names of our departed brothers who died during the past

year, and after the list has been submitted we will pay our tribute of respect to those who have gone. Please be seated while we have this very impressive service.

Secretary Meany read the following list:

List of Officials and Representatives Deceased Since the 1942 Convention

George D. Curran, President, Central Labor Union, Clarkston, Washington. September 26, 1942.

O. E. Woodbury, Organizer, American Federation of Labor. October 2, 1942.

Frank I. Ross, Member and former President of the Springfield, Ohio, Machinists' Union. October, 1942.

James A. Feeney, Formerly President of Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C. Member of Bookbinders Union No. 4. October 13, 1942.

Harvey E. Garman, Editor of the Los Angeles Citizen and member of Typographical Union for 55 years. October 13, 1942.

Oliver R. Perry, President and Charter Member of Dayton Local of Roofers' Union No. 75. October 26, 1942.

Fred W. Birnbach, Secretary, American Federation of Musicians. November 4, 1942.

Henry Davis, Comptroller of the Labor League for Human Rights. November, 1942.

Mrs. Cora Kennedy, Business Agent of Women's Bindery Union No. 42 in Washington, D. C. November 21, 1942.

John Hayes, Former Secretary-Treasurer of Knights of Labor and Editor of the Journal of Knights. December, 1942.

Joseph Blaszyk, Secretary, Journeymen Stonecutters Association of N. A. December 12, 1942.

Shuford B. Marks, Vice President of International Printing Pressmen and Assistant's Union. Former President of Atlanta Federation of Labor. December 14, 1942.

Charles Reagan, Former Recording Secretary-Treasurer, Tri City Federation of Labor in Illinois. December 19, 1942.

William M. Brandt, Secretary Emeritus of St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union. Fourth Vice President of Cigar Makers International Union of America and member for 55 years. December 22, 1942.

Frank M. Sillik, Organizer, American Federation of Labor. December 26, 1942.

E. L. Tucker, Veteran Member of International Association of Machinists and served

for 16 years on its Executive Board. January, 1943.

John Sullivan, Former President of New York State Federation of Labor. January 28, 1943.

Frank J. Weber, First President of Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, 1893, and served until 1917. General Secretary of Milwaukee Federated Trades Council for almost 50 years. Died at age of 93 on Feb. 4, 1943.

Charles J. Shipman, Secretary-Treasurer, American Flint Glass Workers Union. March 3, 1943.

Frank Gillmore, President Emeritus of the A. F. of L. Actors' Equity Association—President of Associated Actors and Artists. March 29, 1943.

John P. Coyne, President of Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L. April 20, 1943.

Morris Feinstein, Head of United Hebrew Trades. April 28, 1943.

Wm. J. Donovan, president of Laundry Workers. May 9, 1943.

Thomas J. Lyons, President of New York State Federation of Labor. May 6, 1943.

Herman Seide, President of Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. May 25, 1943.

H. W. Strickland, Secretary of Railway Mail Association. June 14, 1943.

Harry W. Bassett, National Vice President of Federation of Government Employees. June 21, 1943.

Harry W. Fox, Editor of The Catering Industry Employee Magazine of Hotel and Restaurant, International Alliance and Bartenders International League. June 27, 1943.

George Masterton, President of United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada. July 17, 1943.

Charles J. Jennings, Organizer for the American Federation of Labor, Jersey City, New Jersey. September 22, 1943.

John Heald, Vice-President of International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of N. A. September 3, 1943.

A. A. Myrup, President of Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America. October 1, 1943.

David A. Crosswhite, Vice-President, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. July, 1943.

William H. Knott, President, Texas State Conference of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union. January 10, 1943.

Elias Reisberg, Vice-President, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Ora Kress, Vice-President, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers. December 6, 1942.

Francis J. Leary, Organizer, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers. March, 1943.

Meyer Barkin, Business Agent of Chicago District, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Edward Vandeleur, Secretary, California State Federation of Labor. October 5, 1943.

William F. Walsh, Member of General Executive Board, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

Alexander H. Logue, Secretary-Treasurer, of Division 85, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

George Norman, 4th Vice-President, Nebraska Federation of Labor. May, 1943.

Leroy Seidel, Executive Council Member, United Textile Workers.

Oscar F. Nelson, Chicago, Ill., 6 years President of Local No. 1, National Federation of Post Office Clerks. President of National Federation of Post Office Clerks, 1910-1913. Twenty-five years, Vice-President of Chicago Federation of Labor.

President Green: Are there any others? If not, we will all stand in silence for a moment and pay a tribute of respect to our departed brothers.

In compliance with President Green's request, the delegates stood in silence for a brief time.

ANNOUNCEMENT

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that the address delivered by our General Counsel, Judge Padway, will be printed separately for distribution to the officers of National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies, and any others who would like to have copies of that address.

President Green: An invitation was extended to the representatives of The American Arbitration Association to attend and address a session of our convention. In response to that invitation, Mr. Paul Fitzpatrick, the Administrative Vice President of The American Arbitration Association is here to visit with us for a short time and to deliver an address.

This is a subject in which we are all deeply interested, because many of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have pioneered in the experiments which have been made on the subject of voluntary arbitration.

I know you will listen to the address delivered by Mr. Fitzpatrick with deep interest and I am pleased to present him to you now.—Mr. Paul Fitzpatrick, the Administrative Vice-President of The American Arbitration Association.

PAUL FITZPATRICK

(Administrative Vice-President, American Arbitration Association)

I consider this a very real privilege. Some of you know so much more about arbitration than I, that it is really a reversed role. I should be down there, and some of you up here, but there are one or two things present in today's situation that I can perhaps help throw a little light on.

In the first place, I think Mr. Green's own views and convictions regarding voluntary arbitration need no explanation nor extension by me. He has given a hundred, if not more, proofs of his firm belief in the principle that Sam Gompers fought for from the day he took control of the destinies and policies of the American Federation of Labor in the early days.

Those of you who have gray hair—and I am one of the old men, too—will remember the enormous fight that was created in the early days in an attempt to put compulsory arbitration upon the statute books of the various states. It was a good fight and for the time being it was won. The same fight is before you again today; it is not won, and it is on that point that I think it may be useful for us to consider this morning some of the encroachments that are being made upon that principle through inactivity, through neglect, through fault upon your part.

I think labor stands at one of its historic crossroads. I think that crossroad, unlike some of those you have met in the past, has no great flaming beacon to warn you that here lies danger. I think it has no great sign post with black letters on white, saying, "This is the right way." "This is the wrong way." I think it is a crossroad that has a myriad of little signs that some of you aren't watching and that some of you aren't heeding, and that if you take the wrong turn here, because it looks attractive, you will rue the day. The principle of voluntary arbitration is in my opinion, stateable in two words. Arbitration by choice instead of by compulsion.

I am going to take a minute and define a term which is used very frequently and is misunderstood almost as widely—enforceable voluntary arbitration. The minute you use enforceable, there is a hint of compulsion. But enforceable voluntary arbitration rests upon a very simple thing, and that is if there is an arbitration clause in a labor contract and it is not enforceable, then you have not arbitration. You only have a sound of words. If it is enforceable, then it is on equal level with the other clauses in that contract. By virtue of old English law which we inherited here, arbitration agreements in most of the states are not enforceable at law. You sign the agreement to agree to arbitrate, but you can walk out of that agreement any time up to the making of the award. If you can walk out, so can the other side. There are a few states which have made arbitration clauses

as enforceable as the other clauses in your contract. I bespeak, on the part of the American Federation of Labor, consideration of the desirability of making all of your contracts one and of the same kind. If there is any clause which should be enforceable it should be the arbitration clause. Because that, if you believe in voluntary arbitration, is the one means of bringing justice into the disputes which arise under the contracts' other clauses.

The process of bringing voluntary arbitration into being lies to your credit. It is you who set the pioneer step on this. It is you who have led the way. I beg you not to falter now, and I see some signs of faltering. You gave up the right to strike during the war—it was an absolute, equitable, fair, intelligent and logical counterpart to that pledge of no strikes, to set up compulsory arbitration for the period of the war under the Labor Board. There lies your temptation. With the War Labor Board prepared and now regularly empowered, unless the Supreme Court decides otherwise, to write your contracts for you during the war, to settle any dispute that threatens production, the temptation to take your disputes and grievances to the Board has been very great. If you fall for that temptation and cut a path to Washington that sets the War Labor Board firmly in the picture of settling grievances that you consider should be settled either across the council table or by voluntary arbitration, then you are cutting a pattern for a harness that will not fall from your shoulders after the war.

The Board has officially renounced any idea of continuing itself in the post-war period, until very recently, and now we hear a few voices raised that it would be a pretty good thing to have something like the War Labor Board continue after the war.

I, for one, believe that the Board has done a hard job quite well. It has upon it some of the finest men in the country, with the greatest knowledge of labor relations and labor problems that you could probably bring together with a group of twelve or fifteen men, but habit, the habit of determining minor disputes is one that, if you let grow and grow and grow, you will find fastened to you when freedom should again be the order of the day. We are fighting for freedom. Our minds are without boys. Our minds are on building the tools with which our boys can carve out victory and maintain our freedom. If we let our hearts, with their concern over our boys take our eyes off the ball completely during this period, they will come back to an America which has fastened on to it one more recipe for regimentation and official control.

I think the Board should be held to their promise that they would dissolve themselves and let free enterprise with free labor and free management find their own road after the war crisis is passed. Are you for that? Or, are you not? If you are for voluntary arbitration, then I think you must be concerned with what inevitably the Board itself has recently done. The Board issued on September 10th a clarification of their policy with respect to private and voluntary arbitration. Its last clause reads this way: "Naming of the arbitrator." And don't you men ever fool yourselves for one second that the privilege

of naming the arbitrator is not the cornerstone of voluntary arbitration. Give that up and you might as well give all the rest up, because you have given up the heart, the corner and the keystone, wherein the Board in any of its duties will designate the person who is to act as arbitrator. The Board will not, unless the parties agree thereto, delegate to an association, agency or individual the obligation to name the arbitrator. It will not, in the absence of agreement between the parties,—and that is a barn door through which you can march four square,—agreeing with your employer-contractor that you will have the right to name the arbitrator, or if you do not agree the War Labor Board will do it for you. Now that sounds innocent. I am sure that the Board meant to put it the other way around and say, "If the parties agree to a method for naming the arbitrator, the Board will recognize that." That is what they say in effect—in reverse. Some of you—and I have had reports from quite a few sections of the country—seem to have read in this clause that they have at least taken away that right from you. It is not true; they have not taken it away and I am sure they are going to restate it in such a way that you who read it carelessly and neglectfully will see that you still have that right. You can't provide in your contracts for the naming of the arbitrator in some way that gives you a voice in the choice that will do it for you. That is simple.

There are a hundred other signs; the State Legislatures have followed very rapidly, in my opinion, the lead of the Smith-Connelly Act. I am sorry that I wasn't here yesterday to hear Judge Padway deliver what I had to read in the papers, instead of listening to. I should like, for instance, to have known precisely the hidden meaning of some of the innocent sounding legislation which has not received attention from the Legal Department of Labor. Those that have been attacked—those bills like the Colorado Bill that have already had some adjudication—are the obvious ones, but there are plenty of quiet and unobtrusive signs along the road today that are showing the drift of public opinion under conditions where labor, faced on the one hand with its own no-strike pledge, and on the other hand with the necessity of creating necessary arbitration during the tenure of that pledge, has been too silent on the question of its permanent right to voluntary arbitration. It is time you raised your voice loudly, clearly, in maintaining that right for all of its people today and for its complete use after the end of the war.

I am going to say a word about the Association, because I believe this to be a privileged opportunity to erase at least two misunderstandings that are fairly general about the handling of voluntary arbitration through the American Arbitration Association.

The first is that it costs a lot of money. That is nonsense. It costs so little that the poorest Union in the whole United States is better advised to use it than to drift into the use of allegedly free services provided by officialdom, that names the arbitrator. It costs \$25.00 for a full day's hearing. A so-called free arbitrator—I have a telegram in my pocket—costs the Union \$400.00 because

the designated arbitrator in whom they had no voice in the choice, after the hearing was over, submitted his bill for \$400.00. Our arbitrators deliver their services as a civic duty, free. The only costs you pay are the physical costs—our rooms, clerks, forms and administrative details, and when I tell you that the \$25.00 does not cover that, I know you will believe me.

The second point that is often made is that our panels are loaded with management men. That is true. Our commercial panels are nothing but management men. We have thousands of them throughout the United States, experts in every known field of commercial endeavor. They are not the labor arbitrators. Our panels of labor arbitrators are chosen for different purposes, by different means and you have a voice in establishing the panels from whom you have a choice in naming the specific arbitrator. We solicit the nomination from every labor union in this country of men who they know are fair. There is no use putting on our panels a man that is so pro-labor that he can never be approved of by management, but we have thousands who are approved by both union labor and organized business. We ought to add many more thousands. We handled a thousand disputes last year all over this country. But we are still in need of building our panels with men to whom both labor and management can look for an absolutely fair, square, intelligent and impartial award.

We have no chance to succeed if we are pro-labor, we have no chance to succeed if we are pro-management. Our rule is impartiality and the day we fall from that role, you can wrap the American Arbitration Association up and throw it overboard without a word.

If you are looking for an arbitrator to give the decision your way irrespective, do not come to the Association. If you are looking for an arbitrator who will carefully, fairly and intelligently examine the dispute itself and on its merits to the best of his honest capacity deliver an honest and impartial award, then do come, sure that you are going to receive precisely the kind of treatment that you ought to receive in a court of law with an impartial judge, if you have a legal dispute to settle.

I thought Mr. Green's speech on Monday was one of the finest clarion calls to labor, to manhood, to Americanism, that I have ever read. I could have paraphrased one or two of his paragraphs and made an eloquent speech to you this morning if I were eloquent, but I am not. Mr. Green made me think perhaps that I am not eloquent because as it stands now Mr. Green's eloquence is a light shining so high that I do not know of anybody that compares with it, and it must be nice up there all alone.

I feel that one more word about the method of invoking arbitration is necessary. I read thousands of your contracts. I have access to many, many of them. I have a file with hundreds and hundreds of arbitration clauses in them that your contract writers have drawn that are not worth the ink they are written with, because you say, "Disputes or differences arbitrated under this contract shall

be settled by a Board of Arbitrators, one of whom shall be named by the Union, one of whom shall be named by management, and the third shall be named by those two." That is the kind of a clause which has absolute possibility of deadlock. All that management might have to do would be to name an arbitrator who wouldn't agree to anyone you would agree to and you have no board of arbitration and you have no arbitration. Take one more step, men, in drawing your contracts and write into it a recipe for breaking that possible deadlock. That is a good way to choose an arbitration board, and I am for it. Two good men selecting a third is a good way, if they select a third. But if one of them won't, then you haven't got a board and if you haven't got a board you haven't got arbitration, and if you haven't got arbitration why the hell do you write it into your contracts.

Write that additional sentence; In the event that the two named by the parties cannot agree upon a third, that the third shall be named by somebody; and for heaven's sake don't make that somebody an individual. They die. They turn their costs. Things happen to men. Don't say that John Smith will name the third arbitrator if the two can't agree. Find in this country somehow, somewhere, the institution that exists without depending upon a man, who by its methods can command your confidence that the third man if named in the case of a deadlock will be a fair man, as fair a man as would have been chosen by the two parties themselves. Those three things are necessary if you are actually going to practically defend voluntary arbitration, and lip service to it in the days to come is going to be easily heard on many sides. Arbitration at long last is coming into its own. Men are commencing to realize that honest differences can exist between honest men and it may be a difference that comes from a lack of illumination on the point or from a bias or any one of a hundred different scores, but honest differences between honest men should be settled by voluntary arbitration—by arbitrators of their own choosing.

If you want it, you can keep it. If you don't watch out it will be taken from you by the careful slicing of a little bit here and a little bit there; a little bit around the edges, until finally they get at the core of it and you will wake up some morning to the realization that voluntary arbitration has disappeared from the labor scene. Against that day, I plead every man in this room to gird himself to think, to talk, to fight. Thank you.

President Green: I thank Mr. Fitzpatrick for the address which he delivered this morning. I know we all very deeply appreciate his visit and his address.

Now, we will proceed with the special order of business but before we do the Chair requests that all be seated. I call upon Secretary Meany to read to you the supplemental report of the Executive Council.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

International Association of Machinists

In our report to the convention, we have set forth the action on May 27, 1943 of the International Association of Machinists in withdrawing from the American Federation of Labor and we have also set forth our efforts to have this organization withdraw its notice of withdrawal in the interests of harmony within the family of the American Federation of Labor.

We are now happy to report to this convention that, after extended conferences, the International Association of Machinists has, through the following communication complied with our request:

"October 6, 1943

"Mr. George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel,
Boston, Massachusetts.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This is to advise that our letter of May 27, 1943 announcing the International Association of Machinists' withdrawal from the American Federation of Labor is herewith withdrawn.

With kindest regards, I remain

Fraternally yours,

—s— H. W. BROWN
International President,

—s— E. C. DAVISON,
Secretary-Treasurer."

In addition to the above, we wish to report that the International Association of Machinists has paid its per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor up to and including September, 1943.

We, therefore, recommend that the Credentials Committee of this convention be instructed to give immediate consideration to the seating in this convention of the delegates representing the International Association of Machinists.

At the conclusion of the reading of the report the delegates rose and applauded for some little time.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Maurice Hutcheson of the United Bro-

therhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Delegate Maurice Hutcheson, Carpenters: I move concurrence in the supplemental report of the Executive Council.

President Green: Delegate Hutcheson moves concurrence in the report of the Executive Council and the adoption of the recommendations contained therein.

Delegate Maloney, Operating Engineers: The International Union of Operating Engineers wants to second the motion of Brother Hutcheson to concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council.

President Green: Are there any remarks? If there are no remarks all those who favor the adoption of the motion will please rise. Those opposed will rise and the Chair declares the motion unanimously adopted by the Convention.

Now, the Chair recognizes the secretary of the Credentials Committee, Secretary Scholtz.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Scholtz, Secretary of the Committee submitted the following report:

We, your Committee on Credentials, having examined the credentials of the representatives of the International Association of Machinists, recommended the seating of the following:

H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, James Edgar, John Clayton, Don Burrows, S. L. Newman, with 4,584 votes.

Secretary Scholtz moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded by Delegate McCarthy, Chairman of the Committee, and adopted by the unanimous vote of the Convention.

President Green: The motion is unanimously adopted, and the Chair declares the delegation representing the International Association of Machinists legally seated in this Convention.

I regard this as a great achievement, and we extend to this old organization, long affiliated with the American Federation of Labor a hearty welcome into the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We

are happy to have them back with us again and the negotiations which have carried on show that after all, reason and good judgment, common sense, tolerance and fairness eventually succeed in the settlement of our disputes.

Now I recognize Secretary Meany for an announcement.

FEDERATION MEMBERSHIP

Secretary Meany: In the report of the Executive Council submitted to this Convention, we show the membership as of August 31st. That is our annual custom. The membership shown in the Executive Council's report is transmitted into the proceedings of this Convention and constitutes a permanent record for the future. That figure on August 31st was shown as 5,939,021 members. It did not, under our custom of recording only the paid up per capita tax membership, include the Machinists. Our report should now read—and I ask permission of this Convention to change that permanent record as of August 31st, 1943, to read 6,564,141 as of August 31st on a basis of paid up per capita tax.

President Green: If there are no objections the request made by Secretary Treasurer Meany will be complied with and the correction in the record will be made as suggested. Are there objections? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

That completes the special order of business for this morning. Are any of the convention committees ready to report, or are there any announcements?

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Chairman Delmonte of the Local Committee on Arrangements, made an announcement with regard to the tour of the Stage Door Canteen this afternoon for the ladies and the stag party at night for the men.

Vice President Doherty: There will be another meeting of the Committee on Organization this afternoon at 2 o'clock in Room 410. The Committee requests that Delegate John Reid, Secretary of the Michigan Federation of Labor, Francis X. Martel, President of The Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, and Delegate Clark of Marquette, Michigan, to appear before the Committee this afternoon.

We would further request that Director of Organization Frank Fenton, of the American Federation of Labor, also appear before Committee at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

The Chair wishes to announce that the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and from the Dominion of Canada will submit their messages to the delegates in attendance at the Convention this afternoon, so please be present and listen to the splendid addresses which will be delivered by our visiting brothers from abroad.

Committee to Escort National Commander Warren H. Atherton

I wish to announce that the newly elected National Commander of the American Legion, Warren H. Atherton, will address the Convention tomorrow at eleven o'clock. I appoint as a committee to escort Commander Atherton to the convention Brothers James Burns of the American Federation of Government Employees, Maurice A. Hutcheson of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Martin Durkin of the Plumbers and Steamfitters and Joseph Ryan of the Longshoremen International Union.

Now it seems that the work of the morning session is completed, and the Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn until this afternoon.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, offered such a motion which was seconded and carried, and at 11:25 o'clock A. M. the Convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

October 7, 1943

President Green called the convention to order at 2:45 o'clock.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Scholtz of the Committee on Credentials for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Committee Secretary Scholtz read the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that we have examined credentials and recommend the seating of following:

Fertilizer Workers' Union No. 22305, Bart P. Saunders, 1 vote.

The committee moves the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Secretary Meany is recognized for messages.

COMMUNICATION

Secretary Meany read the following communication:

Oct. 6, London, England.

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Annual Convention
Boston, Mass., USA

Sincerely regret duties here prevent my returning in time to attend 63rd A F L Annual Convention at Boston to which you so kindly invited me and to which I had been looking forward so much. Please accept yourself and convey to all delegates my very best wishes for a happy and most successful convention which will assuredly make a further notable contribution to the allied cause on to victory on which the future well being of the world depends.

ARCHIBALD McDONALD GORDON

President Green: Now I am pleased indeed beyond measure to present to you in succession, the fraternal delegates from the British

Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress who are attending this convention, for the submission of their addresses.

It is especially fitting and appropriate that the fraternal delegates from Great Britain should attend this convention this year, particularly at this time when the fate of Great Britain and the United States, along with our Allies, is, figuratively speaking, hanging in the balance.

We have maintained, as you know, an unbroken relationship of fraternity and good will between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor for many, many years. There is much sentiment connected with it, and we hope that the chain that has been forged as a result of all this shall remain unbroken until the end of time. Even under the most trying circumstances we have maintained our fraternal relationship. In the face of great danger, as it may seem, and great as it really may be or was, delegates make the trip from Great Britain to the United States and in turn from the United States to Great Britain, for the purpose of discharging their obligations and their solemn duties. I know we will have these thoughts in mind when our distinguished visitors are submitting their addresses this afternoon.

Now the first one of the fraternal delegates that I will present to you visited the United States just a few months ago. We were privileged to meet him and visit with him and associate with him in a most pleasant way. He gained an understanding of the American Federation of Labor at that time that I am sure has been of great value to him. He returned home to Great Britain after his visit a few months ago and he is now back with us again. He was nominated by the British Trades Union Congress as a delegate to represent that organization at this convention.

With these few remarks, I am happy indeed to present to you Brother Harry N. Harrison, Fraternal Delegate from the British

Trades Union Congress. Perhaps I should tell you just who he is and a little about him.

He is a National Industrial Officer of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. He was born in Workington in 1884, and joined the Union in 1902. He acted as branch secretary and district organizer and, in 1913, was elected as the Liverpool and Warrington District Organizer of the Tanners' Union. He kept his membership with the General Workers' Union, however, and in 1915 the Tanners' Union merged with the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. For about six years he was a member of the Manchester and Southwark Labor Electoral Committee. He is President of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions, and was for eight years secretary of the Manchester District Committee. From 1914 to 1935 he was a delegate and executive member of the Warrington Trades and Labor Council, and from 1917 to 1921 a member of the Preston Trades and Labor Council and its executive committee.

He was elected to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in 1937. He is Vice Chairman of the Ministry of Supply Production Committee for Royal Ordnance factories, a member of the Joint Advisory Committee to the production executive of the Cabinet, a member of the Food Prices and Rationing Committee, and many other government advisory committees, including the Joint National Consultative Committee to the Admiralty. He is also a member of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee and the Joint Committee representative of the British Trades Union Congress, and the American Federation of Labor.

That is a splendid record, and now I am happy indeed to present to you the Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, Brother Harry N. Harrison.

MR. H. N. HARRISON

(Fraternal Delegate, British
Trades Union Congress)

Fellow trade unionists:

I bring you the fraternal greetings of the largest number of organized workers ever concentrated in the Unions affiliated to our British Trade Union Congress. There are now more than 6½ million members of Unions

in association with the T.U.C. This is a larger total than we have ever recorded in the annual reports of our Congress. During the last great war membership grew very rapidly. It reached a peak of over six million in 1920. That was practically a three-fold increase under war conditions. But our present numerical strength, and certainly the influence and wide ranging activity of our T.U.C. organization today, is greater than it was a quarter of a century ago. At our Annual Congress this year which was going on when I left England, we reported a total membership in excess of six million—nearly 600,000 more than at our Congress last year. We have, therefore, a time lag of three-fourths of a year by the time our annual Congress meets, and I am pretty sure that the aggregate dues paying membership of our T. U. C. affiliates cannot be far short at the moment of seven million, counting them all in.

There are some interesting aspects of this rapid upward trend of trade union organization. It is not confined to any single group of Unions. The Unions of general labor have gained quite as much as the craft unions, and probably more. My own organization in the first of these three war years, that is 1939, had a total membership of something under 420,000. That was the number upon which we paid affiliation dues to the Congress. The total membership of my Union now is 732,205, excluding members serving in His Majesty's forces.

An increasingly large proportion of our membership are women. The growth of organization among working women is one of the most encouraging aspects of our present trade union position. The woman membership of my own Union has grown since the war began by 258,138. There has been an equally marked increase in the woman membership of other Unions, catering for workers in the war trades.

Delegates here will be interested, I am sure, in two facts about the position of women in our trade union movement. One is that the guiding principle of our policy is to secure for women an equality of status both in industry and in our trade union organization. I cannot claim, of course, that we have achieved this completely in any section of industry or in all our Unions which cater for women workers. But we have gone a long way towards it.

During this war there has been a far more general acceptance by employers of the principle of the "rate for the job." Our Congress, as a matter of policy, has asserted the claim to equal pay for equal work. We have agreements in many sections of industry and transport which stipulate that a woman doing a man's job shall have the man's rate, usually after a short qualifying period and when the woman shows herself capable of doing the job without extra supervision. It is by no means a simple matter to enforce the claim to equal pay for equal work under present conditions. But there is no doubt at all that we have gone

a long way towards establishing the right of women to higher and better industrial standards than they had before this war began.

We have the advantage, of course, that our Government's industrial policy is very much in the hands of a Minister and a member of the War Cabinet who is also a strong and experienced trade unionist. Our good friend, Ernest Bevin, as Minister of Labor and National Service, is practically our Minister of Manpower. He has tried within the limits of his authority to enforce the principle of "rate for the job". Moreover, he has insisted on an improvement in the welfare arrangements for industry, particularly as they affect women workers. In the war industries there has been a very significant development of health and welfare services, canteens, hostels, and nursery schools, which aim at safeguarding the interests of women, particularly mothers with young children, who have been called into national service and directed into the war trades.

These are the two aspects of British industrial policy which have been strengthened by the action of a fellow trade unionist endowed with Ministerial responsibility as a member of our War Government. There is another development in connection with the organization of women of great significance from the trade union standpoint. With the large influx of women into industry during the war, there have inevitably been some problems of trade union jurisdiction, and I would like to tell this Convention how we have handled the most difficult problem of all in this connection—namely, the problem arising from the decision of one big craft union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, to alter its rules and Constitution in order to make it possible for it to admit women to membership. In the engineering trades there are other Unions that have been organizing women workers for many years past. In order to prevent inter-union friction, overlapping and unnecessary competition among these Unions four of them—the Unions principally involved—got together under the auspices of our T.U.C. General Council. My Union, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, was one of the four. The other three were the Transport and General Workers' Union, an organization which resembles pretty much the one to which I belong, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation and the Amalgamated Engineering Union. The representatives of these four Unions discussed their problem in the most comprehensive and comradely way, and the result was an agreement containing five points. These are the points. I give them to you as an example of what can be done in overcoming jurisdictional problems when Unions get together with a determination to prevent inter-union strife.

- 1—The four Unions pledge themselves to assist each other in getting 100 per cent organization of women in every establishment where they are jointly concerned.
- 2—They will not encourage any member to leave one Union in order to join another.

3—In proposing any woman for membership, each Union will ascertain whether she is a member of another Union, and if she is will refuse to accept her until 18 weeks have elapsed since she paid her last contribution to her former Union, or since she intimated her intention to resign.

4—Where there is any shop in which the Union parties are concerned a block of members desiring to change their Union, they shall not be accepted under any circumstances until notification has been made to the Union from which they desire to transfer, and joint consultations and agreement have taken place.

5—A joint Committee consisting of two from each of the four Unions shall be set up to deal with questions arising out of this agreement.

Problems of this nature affecting the relations of one Union with another are not likely to disappear when we pass from the abnormal conditions of the war period to peace-time industry again. I hesitate to say that post-war industry is going to be anything that we can call normal for quite a long time to come. To meet the needs of war production there has been something like a revolution in the distribution of manpower, in the transfer of workers, men and women, to war industry from industries which are less essential under war time circumstances. The war trades, broadly speaking, are being carried on at the present time under what we call Essential Work Orders. The effect of these orders is to impose, side by side with specific provision for safeguarding the interests of the workers, some onerous conditions affecting the freedom of the worker to leave his or her job, and subjecting the workers covered by the Essential Work Orders to a more rigorous discipline than they had to submit to in pre-war years. Workers employed in undertakings scheduled under an Essential Work Order get the benefit of the guaranteed week and wages and of provisions relating to industrial welfare schemes; but they cannot leave their employment without the permission of a National Service Officer, who is of course an officer of the Ministry of Labor and National Service; neither can they be dismissed from their employment without the National Service Officer's permission, except for what is described as "serious misconduct." Here I think I ought to interpose and say this, that it is a legal offense for men and women to leave their employment without that permission. It is a legal offense to be habitually late. It is a legal offense to lose time, and these offenses are punished in court by very heavy monetary fines, and in some cases the offenders have been sent to prison. That is a liberty which we willingly surrendered in the interests of endeavoring to get one hundred per cent war production for our fighting forces. Experience of the Essential Work scheme has caused the Unions to urge some amendments and improvements in the provisions and administration of these orders in order the better to safeguard the interests of working people employed in scheduled undertakings. The

need for such amendments gave rise to a debate at the Congress which was proceeding when I left England. We have been asking, in this debate, that the term "serious misconduct" should be more precisely defined. We have also been urging that the machinery by which a workman can appeal against the decision of the National Service Officer shall be improved. We have asked, too, that when a worker is successful in his appeal he shall be paid for any loss of wages whilst his appeal is under consideration; and we have also felt it necessary to insist that the orders shall be impartially applied and that not only work-people but employers shall be held accountable for breaches of these orders.

I mention these difficulties arising from our war-time legislation in order to emphasize the complicated character of the post-war industrial problem that the trade union will have to cope with when the time comes to decide which of the war-time controls, regulations, and restrictions affecting the working people we wish to retain, and those that we would like to get rid of as soon as the war ends. There is a good deal of talk about post-war industrial policy, and much of it comes from people who don't have the responsibility of deciding what it will be necessary to do when the war is over, and how it can be done. Some people talk about throwing off the whole net work of war-time regulations and restrictions as if it were as easy as throwing off one's clothes to get into bed; and others, on the contrary, talk as if it were a simple and easy matter to continue the war-time controls far into the years of peace. I venture to say as one trade unionist to other trade unionists that it isn't going to be as simple as all that. It isn't going to be a question of no controls or all the controls that exist now. Some essential freedoms the work people will want to recover as soon as the rigors of war-time organization can safely be relaxed. There are other controls, affecting the distribution of commodities, both the raw materials for industry and the essential commodities for household consumption, which will have to be continued in some form as long as goods remain in short supply. It seems to me a matter of plain common sense that as long as the conditions of war-time scarcity exist, and until in the coming years of peace the foundations of economic security have been established, it is sound policy for the Unions to insist upon the retention of the war-time controls that have, on the whole, provided for a more equitable distribution of the necessities of life and the proper allocation of the raw materials of manufacture in short supply, and the most efficient use of our productive equipment and our manpower resources.

It is from this practical standpoint that our Trades Union Congress has been examining problems of post-war policy. Our General Council has accepted the responsibility of joining with the representative employers' organization in the consideration of important questions of general policy arising out of post-war reconstruction which the government itself has under consideration. Some ten months ago the Minister who is in charge of reconstruction questions, Sir William Jowitt, agreed to a suggestion made jointly by the

T.U.C. General Council and the two big employers' organizations, The Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation, that he should set up a joint body to secure a mutual exchange of views between the representatives of labor and industry and the Government on reconstruction problems. The Minister agreed to this suggestion, and as a result we have in existence now the reconstruction Joint-Advisory Council representing industry on the one hand and the Government on the other, which is giving its attention to particular problems, such as demobilization of the men and women in the armed forces and civil defense services, the probable overseas demand for the product of manufacturing industries, the transfer of labor from war-work to peace-time production, and similar problems. The trade unions attach importance to the establishment of this joint advisory body. It consists of six representatives of the T.U.C. and three representatives each of the two employers' bodies, with the Minister as Chairman, and representatives of Government Departments most directly concerned with reconstruction policy. But I need hardly tell the Convention that the Trades Union Congress is not satisfied merely to get Government proposals for post-war purposes. We have our own views and are engaged in framing our own program of reconstruction after the war. We have not yet put that program on paper. Far too many programs are on paper now. It was your American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, wasn't it, who said of the time in which he lived and wrote that the air around him was full of plans for a new and better world, and not a man that he met but had the draft of a new world in his waistcoat pocket.

We seem to be in very much the same state now, and almost everybody one meets has his program for post-war reconstruction. As trade unionists we don't approach the post-war future in any abstract or academic way. We recognize, at any rate our T.U.C. General Council recognizes, that it is not even possible as yet to foresee what the post-war transitional period will present to us in the way of industrial and economic problems to be solved. We do not know how long the transitional period will be; we can't tell whether it will last for no more than a year or two or continue for a number of years with difficulties arising out of the return of labor from the war trades trades to the trades which have been compelled more or less to shut down, with difficulties of re-equipment, of factories and workshops with machinery of every description, and with the difficulties of allocating on an equitable basis available supplies of the raw materials of manufacturing industry. We have to recognize that our own industry will need to adjust its claims for re-equipment and supplies of essential materials, in relation to the needs of other countries that will be endeavoring at the same time to re-establish their industrial system in those countries which has been wrecked by the Nazi invaders.

Nevertheless the General Council and the unions generally realize that the solution of many of the problems even of the transitional period depend upon the determination

of policy on more permanent reconstruction aspects of our country's economy. It is with these fundamental questions that we are grappling in the T.U.C. The governing principle of our approach to these problems is that the transfer of productive resources, that is, manpower, factory equipment, machinery and resources of raw materials shall be effected as speedily as possible to meet the needs of a country and a world at peace, the needs of a people that have suffered privation and endured many sacrifices of comfort and convenience to win the war. We are trying to work out our reconstruction problems from this standpoint: (1) to insure the speediest possible transfer of resources from the uses of war to the needs of peace; (2) to foresee and prevent the inevitable shortages and dislocations of the immediate post-war years being worsened by an uneconomic and unregulated distribution and use of the available resources; and (3) to endeavor by all reasonable means to insure that the shortages of essential commodities and the dislocation of the means of production and distribution do not give rise to unfairness and inequalities as between different sections of the community.

I state these guiding principles to my fellow trade unionists in this Convention because I believe that they are the common sense of reconstruction policy. They express the essential requirements of the situation which we shall have to deal with as trade union officers and active members of our unions. And I take the view, which is also the view of my colleague of the T.U.C. General Council, that they constitute the real argument for the continuance at any rate in the immediate post-war years of those measures of public control over prices, production, distribution, and even of consumption—by means of the rationing system—which have been in operation during the war and by which something approximating to a square deal as between the claims of different sections of the community have been secured.

Our General Council told the Congress this year that the measures of public control which it will be necessary to maintain in the post-war years, that is as long as war conditions are projected into the coming peace period, are those which have enabled us fairly successfully to avoid inflation and deflation in our financial mechanism, and to keep the price level fairly stable; measures by which industrial raw materials have been concentrated and properly allocated; measures by which the use of both public and private credit has been controlled and directed, and measures which have met the needs of the community for an equitable system of distributing the necessities of life by means of a consumers' rationing scheme. I do not see myself that there can be any reasonable argument against the necessity of such measures as these. But I will tell the convention that our General Council had the candor and the courage to tell the delegates at our Congress this year that it appears to my colleagues and myself on the Council that it is difficult, if not impossible, to insist upon the maintenance of controls and restraints of this nature over a comprehensive range of economic and industrial activity without

there being some measure of control over labor itself. Recognizing this, we take the view on our Council that the whole question of wartime regulation and control must have the most careful examination by the trade union movement.

Perhaps, I ought, Mr. President, in a final word, to say something about the very difficult problem which has brought our Congress into conflict with the Government, and which has not yet been settled. You will have heard on this side of the Atlantic, no doubt, a good deal about the effort we have been making as a Council to enable the unions of workers in the civil service to re-affiliate to our Congress. I don't know whether the real facts are known on this side as we see them ourselves as trade unionists. Briefly the present position is that under the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927, which was passed by a reactionary Conservative Government after our National strike in support of the miners in 1926, Unions catering for certain categories of civil service workers, those that are called established civil servants, were prohibited from maintaining any association with unions outside the Civil Service. Established civil servants are those who are paid by monthly salaries, and have pension rights.

There are a number of unions in which civil servants of these categories are members. Four of them have been very active in endeavoring to secure the right of re-affiliation to Congress. One of these four unions—the union of Post Office Workers—decided in their annual conference to see re-affiliation to the Congress regardless of the consequences; having regard to the fact that persistent efforts made by the T.U.C. over a number of years had failed to obtain the reinstatement of this elementary right—one of the four freedoms—of free association between civil service trade unionists and their fellow trade unionists in other forms of employment. We made repeated efforts as a General Council to get a settlement of this single issue by agreement and consent of the political parties constituting the present Coalition Government, along with our own Labor Party. Our conciliatory efforts failed. The Union of Post Office Workers therefore decided that they would apply for affiliation to Congress, and if we agreed to accept them, would stand the consequences of disregarding the provisions of the 1927 Act. Our General Council, for its part, decided that if such an application was made we would recommend our Congress to accept it, and would pledge our utmost support to the Union of Post Office Workers if any members were penalized or victimized by their employers—in this case the Government—in the exercise of the powers the civil service authorities possess under this Act. These two decisions of the Union and the T.U.C. General Council have been misconstrued as a defiance of the law. I want to make it clear to this Convention that no violation of the law was involved by these decisions. There is no law in our country which prohibits any trade union affiliating to the Trades Union Congress. There is no law in our country which prohibits the Trades Union Congress accepting any bona fide union into affiliation. There is no ille-

gality involved or contemplated either by the union or the Congress General Council. What was involved was the fact that under the 1927 Act the Government could call upon civil servants belonging to this union to choose between retaining their jobs as established civil servants by leaving the union, or losing their job by staying with the union. For us as trade unionists, as every delegate will see at once, this was just the problem of victimization which has confronted many unions and many trade unionists in the course of years of effort and sacrifice to build up our great trade union organization.

Certainly our T.U.C. General Council was prepared to support the Union of Post Office, or any other Civil Service Union in defending their members against such victimization. But this is war time, and a time of great dangers not yet overcome. In the interests of national unity, which no trade unionist who realizes the tremendous issues which this war involves wishes to distract or divide the nation during the present world struggle. Moreover, later negotiations between representatives of the Civil Service Unions and our own Prime Minister encouraged the representatives of the Civil Service Unions to hope that the Prime Minister would use his influence to secure a settlement if the application of the Union of Post Office Workers for reaffiliation did not stand in the way. The Union Executive, without any persuasion or pressure on the part of the T.U.C., decided of their own free will to withdraw the application, in the belief that it would facilitate fresh negotiations with the Prime Minister. The T.U.C. General Council for its part agreed to the setting up of a joint committee representing the political side of our movement along with T.U.C. representatives to assist in securing an amicable settlement. That was the position which was reported to the Congress, and discussions upon it were proceeding as I left. The Convention will appreciate that we have done our utmost to prevent this difference with the government, or rather with certain conservative elements in the Government, from breaking the harmonious and cooperative relations the trade unions have sustained with the government ever since the war began and the decision reached was that if the Government continued to maintain its present attitude, we will accept the Postal Workers union affiliation, we have, as our President said at Congress, no wish whatever to disturb the nation's unity during the war, or to do anything to weaken or distract the national war effort. But we have a right, as we think, to reciprocity from those who do not see eye to eye with us in politics. The organized labor movement has made many sacrifices to win this war, and we expect something more than smooth words and bright promises from those who pay lip service to the ideals of freedom and democracy for which those sacrifices have been made. The war will be won, and perhaps at no very distant date we shall be asking that the pledges and promises made to the peoples who have fought and bled and suffered for freedom and a fuller life shall be redeemed. Do not let us, as trade unionists, delude ourselves by thinking that

we shall get what we are seeking on behalf of the great body of working people, unless they are organized, united and resolute in support of our program. Organization and unity of purpose are the key to the realization of our trade union aims.

You will know of the efforts we of the Trades Union Congress have made during the past eighteen months in an endeavor to secure the extension of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee by the inclusion of representatives of American organized labor. In the early part of this year the British Trades Union Congress sent a delegation, of which I was a member, to the United States of America in an effort to further that proposal. We did not succeed in securing the agreement of your Executive to that proposal, but we did succeed in setting up a joint committee representative of the Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor.

Our General Council were naturally disappointed at the failure to secure the inclusion of representatives of American Labor in the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee. But at the same time they welcomed the setting up of the Joint Committee with the American Federation of Labor which they regard as a step towards much wider collaboration. We regard with great regret the differences which exist between the labor organizations in the United States, but we fully appreciate that the settlement of these differences must rest with the American organizations themselves. It is our sincere hope that some reconciliation will be achieved in the very near future, as not only is 100 per cent unity necessary for the full prosecution of the war, but it will be even more essential when the time comes to put into operation the many post-war plans which will be necessary. Only by such unity will it be possible to insure to the workers the full fruits of their labor and their sacrifices.

In June of this year the Trades Union Congress also sent a delegation to Soviet Russia to report on our meeting with the American Federation of Labor, and they urged us, among many things, to use our influence, what little influence we may possess to bring into being a world wide Trade Union organization, an organization that would respect each other's ideals, each other's beliefs founded on the common basis, the common basis of the brotherhood formed of the working class.

And herewith I want to conclude by saying that the people who know—and there are not a great many of them in Russia who do know—of the wonderful material that your country and my country has given to Russia appreciate it very much. Your Ambassador Standley was right when he said the mass of the Russian people, for some reason or another, are not made aware of the contributions that your country and my country have made and are making, and I felt in honor bound, as a colleague, that I ought to tell you that. Those who do know recognize and appreciate that they could not have done what they have done, despite their power, despite their great military force if they had not had that wonderful volume of material assistance which your great

country gave to them, as they gave it to us in the darker days of 1940.

(Applause.)

President Green: Now I am happy indeed in that I am privileged to present to you, Brother W. Bayliss, a member of the Executive Committee of the Mineworkers' Federation of Great Britain and agent of the Nottinghamshire District Miners' Federated Union. Commencing work in the Leicestershire coal field at the age of 12 he joined the Miners' Union in 1899. As a consequence of trade union action he was boycotted by the Leicestershire coal owners and had to leave the industry for some 12 months. He returned to the Nottingham coal field in 1910. Elected delegate for his branch in 1915, he held that office, with a break of one year, until 1927, when he was elected Vice-President of the Nottinghamshire Miners' Union. In 1929 he was elected President of his Union.

Mr. Bayliss held the position of Financial Secretary from May 1932, until 1937, when his Union amalgamated to form the Nottingham Miners' Federated Union, since when he has been agent of that important body.

That is the experience through which he has passed and through which he gained an understanding of the philosophy of his Trade Union movement. I am pleased indeed to present to you the colleague of Brother Harrison, Brother W. Bayliss, a member of the Executive Committee of the Mineworkers Federation of Great Britain.

MR. WILLIAM BAYLISS (Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President and fellow trade unionists: I feel in fairness to our friends on the front bench here I should draw attention to the fact that I may want to divert slightly from the notes that have been supplied by the Secretary. That is in consequence of several questions that have been put to me during my stay amongst you, by the delegates who are concerned and anxious to know something, a little more than they have had through the daily press, on one or two points that have occurred in our country. I think it is only fair to draw the attention of the reporters to that, because in following the notes they may feel that I have not treated them fairly.

Now, Mr. President, it is difficult to convey the feelings of millions of trade unionists in a short speech. That is my task as one

of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress. It is made somewhat easier because we all speak practically the same language, share the same ideals of democracy and freedom, and probably we understand each other's problems better than at any time in our history. It is a privilege to speak to you as fellow trade unionists, united with us in the great struggle that is now raging to free the world from the tyrannies of dictatorship and the oppression and servitude which dictatorship has brought upon so many millions of unhappy people in so many parts of the old world.

This is not an occasion upon which one would be justified in making much personal reference. But I know it is the wish of the T. U. C., in whose name I speak, that I should say first to you, sir, as President of the Convention, how much we admire as trade unionists in the old country, your splendid persistence in very loyal and conscientious devotion to the varied duties which your high office involves. We understand quite well how impossible it is for you, in your position of leadership, to give satisfaction to everybody, and how easy it is for motives to be imputed which do not in fact exist. But your long record of service to your fellow workers in the American Trade Union Movement, and your loyalty to the movement justify the expression of our hope that you will live long to enjoy the confidence and the affection of the great numbers of friends you have gained by the great work you have done and are doing for American labor.

If I may be pardoned for just a personal word about myself, it will be simply to say that this is my second visit to your great country. I came over here with my sister to visit my brother and sister, in Northern California because of an accident to her. I had the privilege of coming over here to assist in my sister's recovery to health. I am happy to say that as a result of that visit when she was a perfect wreck, a complete wreck when we left home, she is now completely restored and has been in perfect health ever since. I have happy recollections of this visit. It gave me the opportunity to meet many of the principal administrators of your Health Service. Until quite recently I kept in contact with the Tuberculosis Association of Chicago whose annual reports have been very helpful indeed and have been submitted to our own Public Health officials and much appreciated. I met others among your experts on matters of health. I gathered from them much useful information on the methods by which you, I suppose, are coping with health problems at home. In fact, I gathered so much literature that I had to buy in New York an attache case to take it all home with me. On all these questions of public health policy our Congress takes a definite stand, and we have at various times taken decisions upon them. If there were time I would like to enlarge upon this aspect of policy, but there is so much to say and so short a time in which to say it that I must pass on.

It may be helpful if I said at this point that the Trade Union Movement in Britain, like

your own, has had to face up to many difficult and complicated problems arising out of the organization of the national war effort. It can be said quite definitely that the existence of our Trade Union organization has enabled the nation's war effort to be more effectively organized and more vigorously prosecuted. That has been acknowledged by our leading statesmen including the British Prime Minister. It was not, of course, to be expected that we should all easily forget the pre-war attitude taken up towards the Labor Movement by many people in high places.

I interpose here and I should say we would be very unwise to forget the attitude of some of the opponents of labor during the pre-war period, during the war period; and forget that there is a great possibility of their pre-war attitude returning as soon as the dangers of war are passed, and the trade union movement must be alert to that possibility; but we felt as probably you feel that our first obligation was and is, to make every endeavor to ensure the achievement of the war aims of the Allied Nations, complete and final victory, and the destruction of the tyranny which has brought so much misery to the world. It would have been inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our Movement for us to have taken any other decision. To have acted otherwise would have been to create the grave risk and probably the certainty of losing what we are fighting for, namely—the continued existence of our free and democratic institutions which have made, and must continue to make, important contributions towards a still higher standard of life for all people.

There is much evidence on record to testify to the important part which the British Trades Union Congress has taken in peace time, in laying the foundation of legislation on vital aspects of workers' health and welfare. Most of the Acts of Parliament dealing with industrial affairs had their inspiration in some resolution or other initiative of our Congress. Undoubtedly the volume of such legislation has been greater because of the great help we received from our fellow trade unionists, who are also members of Parliament and who can give their support to our case through the valuable machinery of the Labor Party in both Houses, The General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Co-operative Union work closely together with the Parliamentary Labor Party, once the agreed policy is formulated through our National Council of Labor upon which our three great working class movements are equally represented.

It is here that I want to digress again for a moment on a point which has been put to me and which we in the British labor movement pay a good deal of regard to. You see I refer there to the joint bodies including the General Council, the Labor Party and the Co-operative Union. The work of that body is mainly in agreement with our higher policy. I want to refer to the wider aspect of the latter of those movements, the Co-operative Union. I do so because some friends here, members of the Convention, have raised this

point and have appeared anxious to know as nearly as possible what we are doing in that direction. It is part and parcel of the British labor movement, and I want to say very deliberately, that the people—the working people in Great Britain have built up an institution that has been of more value to the working people of our country than any other institution that exists there. Here you have got an organization of consumers extended into the production world in certain spheres, that represents at least 10,000,000 of the homes of the British people—10,000,000 homes deriving some of their services from the cooperative source.

I was interested yesterday in hearing the very excellent speech of Judge Padway, and he made reference to one section of the co-ops—I think it was to the farmers—who appear to have been very active in promoting anti-labor legislation. I gathered that in some state or district some of the co-ops or so-called co-ops, had had or were making preparations to check, if possible, the progress of your movement. In our case it is an entirely different thing. It is chiefly a consumer's movement but it does a lot of important work of the trade union movement. We have established the conditions of employment, which are equal to anything we have got in the country. We have established a very high standard of quality in the goods that are supplied to the members of the movement because the profit motive is eliminated.

I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if I could digress just a moment further on this subject and tell a short story with two morals in it. It may be of some help to the teachers who, I may say, are in a preferred condition as compared with the teachers in our country—the teachers I understand, Mr. President, are members of your organization. At one time some of the wealthy people of the United States, and I suppose they will again, used to come over to Great Britain for the purpose of showing the importance of their position and their knowledge of values and there were certain things that they came and purchased from our country—many antiques of various kinds—and at one time in particular we had, I think it is safe to say, some of the finest furniture made of oak that you could obtain anywhere in the world, and at that time, years ago, some of these pieces of furniture were referred to as chests of drawers. As time went on, the term was changed and varied sometimes and now you go into some of our friend's homes and they would be ashamed to call a piece of furniture the drawers. Now they call it the sideboard, or chiffonier or what-not, or some other modern term. Now in England, in our elementary schools, our boys and girls are getting practical instructions and in one of our schools, in the handicraft center, the teacher was giving his boys a course in the woodwork section, and he wanted to test their knowledge of the subject as well as instruct them in the work of making up wood. So, he got various pieces of timber lying on the bench and he picked up a piece of untreated wood from the bench and he said, "Now, boys, I want you to know the sources of the timber on which you are going to work—where they come

from and what trees they grow on." He picked up a piece of wood with the bark on it and he said to the boys, "What tree does that come from?" A forest of hands went up, some putting both hands up, and they said, "Ash." "Very good." He picked up another piece with the bark on it and he said, "Now, what is that?" "Oak, sir." "Yes, that is very good." Now then he picked up a piece that had been treated—polished, and he said, "Now, boys, I want you to tell me what tree this timber came from." There was some hesitancy among the boys to answer this question. However, he prompted and he prompted and he didn't seem to be getting very far with them until finally he turned to a little boy toward the back of the class and he said, "Now, Tommy, I know you've got some of this timber in your own home on a piece of furniture, so you ought to know what it is made of or what tree it comes from." Tommy was a little bit hesitant, and the teacher said, "Tommy, I am sure you know what your mother's drawers are made of." Tommy said, "If you please, sir, co-op flour bags." And that is the moral, treated lightly. To me it is an important moral in the message to our women folks in the United States. That statement I have just made is a true statement regarding the use of those articles for underwear of the mother and an indication that our mothers, along with the mothers in the United States, make shift with such things as those at times of distress and shortage to insure that the younger members of the family shall have a reasonable chance. I thought, Mr. President, that it was worth while making reference to that at this time.

Now there can be no question that the activities of this powerful combination of Labor and its influence are better appreciated today by the British people than ever before. There is more popular good will towards our movement at the present time and it is part of our task to ensure that not only will our movement's influence be maintained but that it will be enlarged, and directed towards the effective rebuilding of the world after this war on the foundations of the four freedoms which President Roosevelt formulated. I believe that the people of Britain, like the people of America, will not forget the great work that our organized movement has done during this tremendous world crisis. It has been the means of inspiring the people, especially the millions of trade unionists, to appreciate more fully the rights and privileges we enjoy as citizens in a free society and it has stimulated us all to put forth every effort to retain, defend and enlarge these freedoms. We fully realize how necessary it is to develop the highest level of efficiency in our organization and to fortify our kindred bodies in other parts of the world if we are to play our part in solving the problems of post-war resettlement. The better we are organized the better our prospects will be.

It will not be inappropriate after this general reference to the power and influence of the British Trade Union Movement if I make a brief comment upon the service rendered by your delegates to our Congress at Blackpool last year—Brothers Tobin and Padway.

They gave us an inspiring and informative account of the growth of the American Trade Union Movement, and they made it perfectly clear to us that despite the differences in political and legal procedure the problems which you have to contend with in the United States are very much the same as ours in principle, however circumstances and conditions may vary. The Congress last year greatly appreciated the compliment paid to it by your own Movement in resolving to examine the structure of British Trade Unionism and I am sure we all hope that this will be helpful; and the establishment of the Joint Committee of your Federation and our Congress will be mutually advantageous and lead to a still closer bond of union between the two countries.

Unfortunately at the time of the 1943 Congress I had to leave on other business and was not present when the two brothers, who have since returned and submitted their report to your President, addressed the Congress. I do know, however, that Brothers Padway and Tobin in 1942 created a very deep impression on the minds of the representatives of the British Trades Union movement attending the Congress at that time. Some time when I have a chance of having a word privately with Judge Padway I may tell him something that I wouldn't care to tell the whole of the convention here, an impression that he created upon minds of a number of the delegates. It is nothing discreditable, Mr. President. It is rather humorous, but I must pass on.

As many delegates to this convention are probably aware, relations between the General Council of our Congress and the British Government have developed during this war on cooperative lines. I think I can say that the British Government is fully aware of the power and influence which the General Council exercises and equally aware of the ability and qualities of leadership of the General Secretary of our Congress, Sir Walter Citrine. Evidence of this lies in the fact that very few if any changes in working conditions or in the organization of war service affecting our people generally are made without prior consultation with representatives of the T.U.C., especially if this involves changes which could be exploited by unwise employers to the disadvantage of the workers—and we still have unwise employers.

My brother Harrison has made reference to this, and I want to refer to it, too. Many changes have been made during the war which have statutory effect and which no doubt we shall desire to continue after the war. I might refer to the Essential Work Order. That is something that we aimed at for more than a quarter of a century and a thing we used to use for one of our pre-war slogans, but now materialized by the British government, namely, work or maintenance, in a manner which our opponents at that time never dreamed of. The Essential Work Order stipulates when men or women employed in a scheduled undertaking are capable of and available for work, and there is no work for them to do they get their pay.

The important principle so far as we in the British coal fields are concerned is this:

We had already established by law what is known as the Minimum Wage Act of 1912. But that minimum wage only applied to the time the men worked, and we have many instances during the period of the economic crisis of men being able to work less than one day per week. Consequently, the guarantee that they had on the statute was of little, if any material aid to them. They were assured of the day's wage if they worked that day or through circumstances outside their control they could not earn under contract their day's wage. Now for the first time in the history of our industry it has given not only a weekly guarantee minimum wage subject to these reservations I have made, but it has made a universal minimum wage throughout the whole of the British coal fields, whereas prior to this Order we had rates varying throughout the several districts, about eleven or twelve districts in the coal fields, none of which had the same rate of pay. That is a tremendous step forward and will be one of the things that I am sure our Mine Workers Federation of Great Britain, with the help of the Trades Union Congress, will use every endeavor they possibly can to retain.

Another point here that has been raised with me I want to deal with just briefly, because I want to clear away, if possible, a misunderstanding that may easily develop if the whole of the facts are not known to our friends in the trade union movement here. Friends have asked me what was the trouble in the British coal fields, and in view of the fact that just as I came away from home there had been a stoppage of work in one of the large producing districts, although we are under a pledge not to use strike action, and a good many of you friends have seen something about this in the press, about the men in the Nottinghamshire coal fields being on strike because a boy refused to work down in the pit.

As briefly as I can tell you it is this. The men in the coal field did not strike so much in support of that one boy as they were striking against something that was considered to be inequitable in the treatment of other boys at the age of 18, when they are due to be called into the Service of any description that the Minister may see fit.

Our position was and still is this: there was a slip-up in the drafting of the legislation. However, it can be modified without a serious climb-down on the part of the Government, I don't know, but I feel that serious steps will have to be taken to relieve what we consider a grave anomaly in the legislation. The boys in this grade, those who are working on the surface of the mine and have reached the age of 18 when they were subject to being directed to some service that the Minister decided they should be, in the case of the lapse in this grade had no option except in the direction to work underground. The boys working in other occupations in other industries had two choices: they could either go into the pit, or they could go into the service and the men in the coal fields resented the legislation because it was considered there was preferential treatment being given under the law to the boys outside the industry as compared to those inside the industry.

I would like that to be clear, Mr. President, that there was not so much the desire to prevent production or obstruct production as there was a strong feeling against what was considered to be a grave injustice to all the boys who worked on the surface in the industry.

Another point regarding this which affects the mine workers all over the world is the fact that there is a grave shortage of manpower in the industry and there is likely to be a shortage until some steps are taken to improve and insure the continued improvement of the standard of life of those engaged in the mining industry. Parents will not let their boys go into the industry because they realize that even with a less wage per week there is better opportunity of working more time in the year, getting a higher annual income, although a less daily wage than many of them got in the mining industry in the years just gone by. Consequently, it is very difficult for us to encourage young men to go into the pits, because it doesn't matter what you do—and I know I am speaking in the presence of some members in this Convention who have some knowledge of pit work, and I am sure that not one of them will challenge me when I say it doesn't matter what the invention you bring out, what steps you take to improve the working conditions in a pit, you can never make pit work pleasant work; you never will be able to do that. Consequently, we are concerned about the lack of manpower, the lack of recruitments. We are losing approximately 30,000 men a year because of various reasons: death, ill health, injury, etc., and it is known that so far as our industry is concerned it is the most dangerous of any we have. Your own President's figures show that in industry you are bearing a very high casualty list in this country, and we are in ours. When we realize that one in five or twenty per cent of the men engaged in our industry at home are affected by either death or injury during the year, we can realize that we are very disturbed at the position as we find it there.

There have been other measures taken during the war, some of which may appear remote from the concern of the Trade Union lodge but the effect of which is felt in the daily lives of the workpeople. The various controls which have had to be set up to regulate the supply and distribution of essential commodities, including food and clothing and the system by which supplies of raw materials are assured to industry, are all matters in which the Trade Unions have had to take an active part through the T.U.C. and the various consultative and advisory committees on which they are represented. I have no doubt myself that much of this machinery of control will have to continue after the war especially in respect of vital commodities which will be in short supply. Unless our Trade Unions continue to function in this field of policy, it is safe to say that the people who will suffer most are those who have made the greatest sacrifices in the war effort; but we shall have to educate our own people to recognize the necessity of these social controls in their true aspect as the means and machinery of post-war planning. The Mineworkers' Fed-

eration at the Trades Union Congress this year, which I have just left, has tabled a motion asking the General Council to examine the operation of war time legislation and regulation with a view to ascertaining their effect upon conditions of employment and upon the development of the trade union movement. We mineworkers hope that the T.U.C. General Council will be able to submit a full report on these matters and thus enable our movement to decide upon the advisability of extending to the post-war period such legislation and regulations as are considered to be beneficial to the workers.

But when all is said and done in this direction, it remains true that the sure defense of the workers' interests both during the war and in the post-war world will be the existence of a strong trade union movement. In making this reference I am sure you will understand, Mr. President, that my purpose is to draw the attention of workers who have for no justifiable reason kept outside the trade union organization to realize their responsibilities, and in the hope that non-unionists will recognize their duty to make a much greater contribution by cooperation with their fellow workers inside the Unions. They can make no contribution at all by isolation. By standing outside they do not help but hinder. Inside this great movement of ours they add power and influence, not only on matters pertaining to their own particular daily occupations, but on the much wider aspects of welfare affecting the people of the world.

I have already referred to some of the problems which affect the particular body of workpeople amongst whom I spend my life in the coalfields. Coming from a mining district I can give numerous illustrations emphasizing the claim and proving that membership of a trade union is one of the best forms of insurance against distress and exploitation. It is generally agreed that the miners' calling is one of the most dangerous and arduous forms of employment. The British miners have realized this as a reason for maintaining a very high standard of organization, and through that organization they exercise a great deal of influence upon the deliberations of our Congress. For generations coal mining has been looked upon as the Cinderella of industry, but the time has come when with the help of organized labor the importance of the calling is becoming more fully recognized, and together we intend to make sure that all workers employed in industry shall in future enjoy a much higher standard of life and greater security than ever before.

In the mining industry we have naturally been concerned with the question of workmen's compensation. I think the British Trade Union Movement would readily agree that the Mineworkers' have been the spearhead of the whole of the workers' movement in endeavoring to get better treatment for those who are injured whilst following their occupation and also for better treatment for the dependents of those who lose their lives in their employment. At the same time the miners fully recognize that it is the power and influence of the T.U.C. brought to bear upon the Government which has produced legislation to meet these claims.

We have all heard the declarations which have been made by responsible statesmen about conditions in the post-war world. I believe that these sentiments have been expressed with full sincerity and conviction. Taken together with resolutions adopted by such assemblies of the workers' representatives as your Convention and our Congress it is not too much to hope that some of the major problems which will meet us when the war comes to an end will be handled by Governments in the spirit of these declarations. I am quite sure that organizations like the American Federation of Labor and the British T.U.C. will be called upon to play a very much bigger part in the discussion and solution of these problems. And therefore our fraternal greetings to you embody the hope that the workers' movement in all the Allied and peace-loving countries will be maintained at the highest level of efficiency so that our work will be effective. This means that we must keep together and bind ourselves with the closest ties of fraternity and maintain the highest degree of unity in our organized movement. I join with my colleague, Brother Harrison, in conveying the best wishes of our British trade unions to you all, in your efforts to deal with your own problems and join with us in grappling with those problems that are our common concern.

President Green: Now, I am pleased to present to you the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Brother Joseph Matte, the President of the Quebec and Levis Federated Trades and Labor Council and a member of the Brotherhood of Carmen. He is here as a delegate officially commissioned to bring to this Convention fraternal greetings of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We are happy to have him here with us, along with the British fraternal delegates this afternoon. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Brother Joseph Matte, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

MR. JOSEPH MATTE

(Fraternal Delegate, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada)

Mr. President, Honorable Guests, Brother Delegates: It is my privilege and pleasure to be here as a representative of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. This body represents sixty-two International Unions with 1,670 Canadian locals, nine National Unions with 201 locals, 127 directly Chartered and affiliated Federal Unions, representing a total of 1,998 Local Unions, and three Provincial Federations of Labor, 42 Trades and Labor Councils situated in the various centres throughout our Dominion, with a

combined membership of 264,375. I wish to point out that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was organized in December 1883, and for almost sixty years has been seeking and securing legislation of benefits to the workers of Canada.

On this established fact we think we can rightfully take the position that the Trades and Labor Congress also represents the many thousands of workers in Canada who have not had the opportunity or been able to affiliate themselves with the Trade Union Movement, and, as a result of that lack of organization, are unable to give voice to their opinions.

The membership of our Congress is engaged in practically all lines of Canadian industrial activities. Thousands, of course, are now serving in the various branches of the armed forces and thousands are working in transportation, ship construction and its auxiliary industries, aircraft production, the manufacture of munitions and supplies of all descriptions, as well as such industries as building and general construction, pulp and paper, needle trades, fishing and government and municipal employees.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has just concluded its 59th Annual Convention in the historic City of Quebec and the sessions took place in the very room where your President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Premier of Great Britain, the Right Honorable Winston Churchill, met to chart the future course of the war.

This helped to bring home very sharply to the delegates in attendance the urgent problems confronting the Organized Labor Movement and the working people as a whole, with the result that organized labor in the Dominion of Canada has pledged itself to do everything in its power to see that there is an uninterrupted supply of the weapons of war and the materials necessary to bring about the Allied victory at the earliest possible moment.

This present convention of the American Federation of Labor has also momentous questions and will no doubt make decisions that will have far reaching effects, not only on the North American Continent but throughout the entire world. Since the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor, people of the world have watched the transformation from peacetime industry to wartime industry that has taken place in the United States of America. It is public knowledge that your country alone produced 110,000 military planes since January 1942 and your Mr. Donald M. Nelson, Chairman of the War Production Board, has stated that in the very near future you will be turning out twelve planes per hour every hour of the day. In the same period you have produced 60,000 tanks, 53,000 scout cars and carriers, 1,100,000 trucks and trailers.

More than 21,000,000 deadweight tons of merchant vessels and close to 3,000,000 tons of armed naval vessels have come from your shipyards during the past eighteen months. What you have accomplished in this country, we, in proportion to our population in the Dominion of Canada, have also accomplished.

We can state here, without fear of contradiction, that if it had not been for the co-operation and the efforts and sacrifices of the organized labor movement these things could never have been achieved. While the workers in the United States of America have protection in the right to organize under the Wagner Act, we, in the Dominion of Canada, have as yet not achieved this right, and while fighting for all-out production for a total war, certain energies have been diverted trying to secure this basic principle and while you, in the United States of America, have been taken into the confidence of the Government of your country and its various Departments, we, the organized workers in Canada, although we are in the fifth year of the war, are still fighting and demanding this privilege. In the past few weeks, since the historic meeting in Quebec, the war news from the various fronts has indeed been encouraging, and while we welcome this encouraging news, we are cognizant of the fact that unless we immediately start to plan our post-war period a state of chaos, such as the world has never known, will exist. I know, speaking for my own country, that there is a sad neglect in planning for this period.

We have to visualize demobilization and the obligations we have to those who have fought our battles. We have to keep in mind the closing down of our munition factories. Hundreds of thousands will be needing employment. We have to keep in front of us also the fact that during the whole of the time that these hundreds of thousands of our citizens have been out of civilian employment they have been maintained in all their requirements and an abundance, over and above, has been created.

In the face of this we state that public works have to be commenced, must, of necessity, be of a magnitude unthought of previously. Full recognition must be given to the fact that we are living in a machine age; that the machine is doing the work and all of our people have a right to participate in the benefits of the machines.

The people of Canada are through with unemployment relief. They want and have a right to expect useful, creative employment, with a decent standard of living in balance with our times and productive ability.

In view of the many who will need gainful employment in civilian occupations and the technical progress that has been made, it is our considered opinion that serious thought will have to be given now to arranging for a distribution of available employment on a far shorter work day and work week basis than previously adopted; that it is unnecessary and impossible for people to have full employment on present day hours.

With such ideas in mind we have advocated the raising of the school leaving age, the shortening of the hours of labor, to thirty hours per week and a retirement age of sixty years. While by such methods distribution of available employment can be accomplished, it is imperative that there be no reduction in real wage levels.

This Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has been seeking social legislation from Governments, as I have mentioned, for over sixty years. At various stages in its history, legislation such as workmen's compensation, old age pension, pensions for the blind, Mothers' allowance and unemployment insurance have been enacted; all of which, in a small way, fill in some of the gaps that tend towards what is now absolutely necessary—a real plan of Social Security.

In the years of 1914-1918 we were told this was the war to end all wars, but nevertheless, twenty years later we are in another war, a war which was created by a group of self-seeking individuals whose thoughts were not on the welfare of the many, but rather on the welfare of the few. When peace is declared this time, organized labor is the Allied Nations must demand a place at the peace conference in order to make sure that never again will the world be plunged into a bloody conflict such as is now being waged, but rather we must demand that a relationship be established on a global basis such as exists between your country and ours.

And in conclusion let me state that we, the international organized workers in the Dominion of Canada, as represented by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, are prepared to go along hand in hand with the organized workers in the Allied Nations to make this world a better world for the generations to come.

Before I leave the microphone I wish to state that I appreciate very much the reception I received in this convention because, as everyone can see, my English is not very good. I come from the most French Canadian city, Quebec, and I fully understand that this honor extended to me to represent our Trades and Labor Congress reflects not only on my own organization, the Carmen. President Green said before that I was a member of the Firemen and Oilers. I was, by doing my best to try to help them to organize. But this honor will also reflect on our French people in the city of Quebec and into the City Council, where I have the honor to represent my people, also my Trades Council, of which I am Vice President. All of these bodies are glad of the honor given to me by the Trades and Labor Congress to represent them at this Federation, and I am glad to say that when I return to my home I will make a really good report of your convention.

President Green: I express to the fraternal delegates who have submitted their messages to you this afternoon your deep appreciation of their visit to the convention and of the messages which they presented in such a convincing and interesting way.

In making just a brief response to those messages permit me to point out that the people of our great country, our great labor movement, and the people of Great Britain and its great labor movement are forced or have been forced by fate, Providence, or call it what you may, into a combination of effort;

costly, tremendously costly, for the purpose of preserving the vital principles of freedom and democracy.

I recall at this moment when the British, with their backs to the wall, fought to save the remnants of a brave and heroic army at Dunkirk. Our great American labor movement, touched deeply by the devotion to heroism manifested on that occasion by the sacrifices which were made, declared in no uncertain terms our unanimous and undivided support of the British trade union movement and of the people of Great Britain in their fight against the Axis powers. That was before America entered the war. We did not regard the battle which Britain was fighting as an imperialistic war. Instead we interpreted it as a great democratic movement and we realized then very clearly and definitely that the issues in the conflict affected very vitally the homes and the firesides and the community life of our own nation as well as our democratic form of government. We have been proud of our relationship with the British trade union movement. It has been of great value to us and I believe it has been of great value to them. It is our purpose to continue that relationship, and as I said just a while ago, to maintain the chain that has linked us so closely and so strongly and unbrokenly all these years, to maintain it so long as life shall remain.

Developments have taken place since the war began that were indeed surprising in some aspects. Do you not recall when Poland was invaded by the cruel forces of joint effort that sought to subdue a free people and to take from that country a large part of her own territory? We do not forget those things, we cannot forget them, because our memory serves us well. There is more in life than opportunism; there is devotion to principle, and our great labor movement has steadfastly called for devotion to principle as above every other consideration in life.

Then we have cherished fondly our own free democratic trade union movement. We place great emphasis upon free democratic movements, and we would resent any government interference in the organization of the workers in America or any government control or domination over the economic life of our people. We prefer to live in a land where the workers can strike against injustice rather than to live in a community that is

classified as a strikeless nation. The right to strike is a common heritage, and we have learned that through the mobilization of our own economic strength, utilizing it in a wise and consistent way, we can lift the standard of life and living of the workers to high and still higher levels.

We want to unite the free democratic movements of the world. We want to maintain freedom of action. We never want to reach the point where it will be necessary for our movement to consult our government as to what we shall or shall not do.

We are a little apprehensive and fearful that we might, through the development of relationships with others who are not free, find ourselves subjected to governmental control and governmental domination, and no worker in America wants that; no worker in America will subscribe to such an economic or political philosophy. And so we are willing to go, with our British representatives, all the way in the development of a free, democratic trade union movement throughout the world, and to join with free democratic movements in the promotion of world unity and world welfare. But we are not ready to join with those who are still under governmental domination and governmental control.

I know that our British friends understand that perfectly well, and I know that they understand that we understand fully the position in which they are placed as a result of the war developments which have taken place.

All of us appreciate the heroism that has been shown by Russia and by the Russian Army. It has challenged our admiration—brave men fighting for their homes and for their homeland, and because they have shown bravery and devotion to home and homeland we have appealed to our government to be the agency through which help, support and as-

sistance, full and complete, may be extended to that brave, heroic army.

Our great movement here is supporting that program. We shall continue to support it and to extend to the Russian people, the Russian government, the Russian soldiers that help and assistance in their efforts to defeat Nazism and Fascism.

Brother fraternal delegates, please accept my thanks for your messages this afternoon and carry home to your colleagues across the sea and to our associates in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress our greetings and our assurance of cooperation and support in the great World War until victory has finally been won.

I thank you.

May the Chair inquire if there are any announcements? Please bear in mind that the newly elected Commander of the American Legion is scheduled to address our convention tomorrow morning. All please be present.

Announcements

Secretary Meany made the following announcement:

The annual meeting of the Executive and Advisory Committee of the Workers Educational Bureau of America will be held at six o'clock this evening in Parlor C of this hotel.

President Green: Inasmuch as we have completed the work of today's session the Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn until tomorrow morning.

Delegate Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers, offered a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn.

The motion was seconded and carried and at 4:55 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 8th.

FIFTH DAY — FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

Boston, Massachusetts, October 8, 1943

The Convention was called to order by President Green at 10 o'clock.

President Green: Dr. William Henry Denney, the Pastor of the Church of the Covenant, of Boston, is here this morning and will pronounce the invocation. I am pleased to present to you Dr. William Henry Denney.

INVOCATION

**(Dr. William Henry Denney,
Minister, Church of the Covenant,
Boston, Massachusetts)**

Almighty God, Our Eternal Father, we bless Thee that Thou hast called us to this new day. We rejoice in our strength to perform Thy Service and in the high responsibilities Thou has cast upon us in this terrible hour of history. Give to each one of us the inspiration of Thy Divine Spirit in our hearts, and hold before us the great Captain of our salvation, The Eternal Worker of Thy Grace, in the consummation of Thy purpose, Jesus Christ, Our Lord.

May we be strong in the love that sets men free and in the truth that enables them to behold Thy face and to see the way ahead clearly before them even when it is yet unknown. Bless, we beseech Thee, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and all the forces of workers of our nation and of the world in this day. Unite all the hearts of Thy people in a larger destiny for this nation and for all mankind. Bring before us a new freedom, free of all license and a new vision of our life as people; more akin to that vast vision of Thy Kingdom which Thou has presented to us. Lay upon our hearts the authorities of Thy Living and Holy Word and may we be men of prayer and character wrought in prayer. In all our propensities, grant us the grace to ask what Thou wouldst have us to be doing, so we may be intent to fulfill Thy Will until Thy Kingdom Come, which covers the earth as the waters that cover the sea. Hear us and help us and support us in this day. Clarify all our thoughts in Thy Spirit, through Jesus Christ, Our Lord. Amen.

President Green: Secretary Meany is recognized for messages.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

Boston, Mass.
October 7, 1943

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Statler Hotel
Boston, Mass.

The Boston Committee of the United Yugoslav Relief Fund welcomes to Boston, historically consecrated to liberty and democracy, the American Federation of Labor on the occasion of its Sixty-third Annual Convention. We wish also to express our deep appreciation of the contribution of organized Labor to our common effort in the interest of heroic Yugoslavia in the cause of her early reconstruction and rehabilitation.

MORTON P. PRINCE, Chairman,
Boston Committee United Yugoslav Relief Fund.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor.

My dear Mr. Green:

May I extend to the officers and delegates, and to their friends, who are assembled in Boston, a cordial invitation to visit historic "Old North Church" (which is open to visitors every day from ten until at least four o'clock) and to the Sunday morning service (Episcopal) at 10:45 o'clock.

The peal of eight bells, which attracted Paul Revere to "Old North", the first peal of bells on the Continent of North America, is played before that service.

It is very possible the Bell Ringers Guild at "Old North", which Paul Revere helped to organize, is actually the first Labor Union in this country.

Sincerely,

ROBERT M. WINN.

Secretary Meany: I would like to announce that we have had printed special pamphlets giving the pages of the proceedings containing the speech of Judge Padway made on Wednesday afternoon. It seems that our proceedings disappeared very rapidly, but now we have about 1200 or 1500 of these little excerpts, which contain the full speech of Judge

Padway, and they can be found at the rear of the hall, so that if anyone wants that speech alone they can secure it. Of course, after the Convention we intend to put it in pamphlet form for distribution, but if you want it now there are a number of copies available.

I wish to announce the Labor Speakers for the Sunday services in the churches here in Boston.

Labor Speakers in Churches Sunday

Through the cooperation of the Massachusetts Council of Churches and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, a number of delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention will speak in Boston churches on Sunday. Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, will speak at the morning service of St. Paul's Cathedral, Tremont Street, and Mr. George Harrison, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, at the morning service at the Community Church, Jordan Hall, corner of Huntington Avenue and Gainsborough Street. Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will speak at a mass meeting of college students at the Arlington Street Church, corner of Arlington and Boylston Streets, at 6:45 in the evening.

A special mass meeting has been called to hear Mr. William Bayliss, President of the Mine Workers Federation of Great Britain, at 4:00 in the afternoon at the First Church, John Eliot Square, Roxbury. Mr. Bayliss, who came from England to attend the American Federation of Labor Convention, and who is active in the cooperative movement in England, as well as in the labor movement, will speak on "Labor Co-operatives, and the Post-War World". Rev. James Myers, Industrial Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, will preside. All services and meetings are open to delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention and to the general public.

I wish to announce a meeting of the Standing American Federation of Labor Committee on Housing under the Chairmanship of Vice President Bates. This meeting will be held Tuesday night in Parlor C. The Committee especially requests that representatives of the State Federations and the City Central Bodies attend that meeting for the discussion of housing problems both at the present time and in the post-war period.

Mr. Walter Price, of the Federal Public Housing Authority, will be at the meeting, eight o'clock, Tuesday evening, in Parlor C.

President Green: I am pleased to present to you just now for a short address Miss Ana-

stasia Kirby, Assistant Director of the Red Cross Blood Donor Center located here in Boston. She will talk to you upon a subject that is very close to our hearts and one in which we are deeply interested and I am pleased to present to you Miss Kirby for a short address.

MISS ANASTASIA KIRBY (Assistant Director, Red Cross Blood Donor Center, Boston, Massachusetts)

Thank you very much indeed, Mr. Green. Today in coming before this group, we consider it a very great opportunity because you men hold within your power something that we particularly need in the American Red Cross Blood Donor Service. Probably never before in the history of the service, which is a very young organization as you know, have we been more desperately in need of blood donors and of people who will go out and recruit blood donors. When we appeal to you today we do so in two or three different ways.

First we speak to you people—representatives from out of town—men who come from localities where there is no Blood Donor Center, where you are unable to leave your own pint of blood at home. We tell you, while you are here in Boston for your convention, of an opportunity to walk just around the corner to the Boston Blood Donor Center—and I might say now that many of your members have already given their donation—and there you can give your very important donation before leaving Boston, because the chances are you won't have an opportunity of this sort again. It will take you just about an hour to do that job, and you can get all of the details you need from the booth which is located just opposite the exit to the ballroom here where one of our workers will be pleased to give you this information and sign you up. Don't forget that this is a chance to make that important contribution while you are here, especially if you are going back to a community where you do not have that opportunity.

Even more important than that is our appeal to you people to go back into your own Unions and do a job there. We really need some good live wires, good smart men, who will go back and carry the torch for this project, because the service needs it when you realize that the Army and Navy have requested from the Red Cross Blood Donor Service four million pints of blood for the year 1943, that makes you realize it is the job of every one of you here today. If perhaps you are too young or too old or not in normal health, if for any of those reasons you can't give a pint, don't feel you are excused, because you are not. You can go out in your own community and do a job there. People today, unfortunately, need to be rounded up and need to be informed

a little bit about the service. Sometimes they need to be led by the hand and that is what we depend upon you people for. The American Red Cross Blood Donor Service has developed a marvelous union program for all kinds of union organizations, and we would like to have each one of you get all of this material at the booth and take back this material to your own localities, and we would like to impress upon you the fact that we need you as co-workers and as organizers.

Right around the corner, it is necessary for us to take six thousand pints of blood every week, and Boston is not the biggest city in the United States, even though we think it is about the best. That will give you an idea of how much is needed, and that is why we appeal to you through this excellent opportunity that has been given to us. Remember, anybody between the ages of eighteen and sixty may be a blood donor if he is in normal health. Remember at the present time, on all our fighting fronts, there is more blood plasma needed than ever before and we have more fighting fronts coming up all the time.

In closing, I would like to quote from a report of the Surgeon General, who said there are three reasons why we are saving such a tremendous percentage of the wounded men on the fronts, three reasons why the mortality rate of battle casualties is kept so outstandingly low. The foremost reason,—the foremost life saving element on our battle fronts today is blood plasma. The other two are quick and efficient skill with which our wounded are treated by our surgeons, and the third, the marvelous power of the sulfanilamide drugs. No. 1 is blood plasma, and remember there is only one place from which this blood plasma can come, and that is from the American people, through the American Red Cross. There is no commercial industry supplying our battle fronts with plasma. It is all done through the American Red Cross Blood Donor Service. We need you and we need you desperately, and we hope you will go out and do a tremendous job in your own unions for this very vital war project. Thank you very much.

President Green: I am pleased to present to you for a short address Brother Adamczyk, who comes to us from Poland. He is a labor member of the Polish National Council in London;—that is the War Parliament—second, he is Chairman of the Polish Trades Union Council; and third, he is a former Chairman of the Polish Transport Workers' Union. He is also an executive member of the International Federation of Trades Unions and the Federation of Transport Workers. I know you will be pleased to receive his message now. I present to you Brother Adamczyk.

MR. ALOJZY ADAMCZYK

(Chairman of the Foreign Representation of Polish Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President and delegates: I am very pleased to have an opportunity to speak to this convention. I have been here in this country for three months and I have had the opportunity to speak to many of the trade union leaders, and I must say I am very impressed over the output of your war industry. But I do not think that is enough; your industries are able to produce much more, if it is necessary. The importance of your work in industry is not necessary to explain. But it will be important, I think, to prepare now for the peace. In comparison with conditions in Poland, your working conditions are very different. The Polish workers have not the same possibilities there since they have invaded our country. They are now working against their will—doing slave work—and if anybody attempts to oppose the invader then they are shot. And if conditions for Polish workers are bad, then the condition of the Polish Jews is much worse. They are murdered en masse.

I think it is very important that we, all together, should try to have better cooperation, and today we must try to build up the organization which will prevent future wars and secure the peace for the future. Your help is very much needed for this work. I wish for this convention the very best results.

President Green: The Committee on Legislation is prepared to submit a partial report at this time. The Chair recognizes Chairman Ornburn, of the Committee on Legislation.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Chairman Ornburn: Mr. President, the Committee on Legislation has met and heard all delegates interested in any resolution or any reference to the committee. Secretary George of the committee, will now submit the report.

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Mr. Chairman and delegates, there were numerous sections of the Executive Council's Report submitted to this committee, also Resolutions Nos. 48 to 60, Nos. 82, 84, 89 to 102 inclusive, 105, 106, 114, 115.

Your Committee has heard the views of delegates on resolutions and other matters before it and has given careful consideration to

them. We now present this unanimous report.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

(Report of Executive Council, p. 59)

Under the caption, "National Legislation," the Executive Council gives a brief resume of the activities of the United States Congress during the seventy-seventh Congress and the first session of the seventy-eighth Congress.

Of particular significance is that part of the report calling attention to the fact that through a coalition of members of both political factions, a number of measures detrimental to Labor and the workers were enacted.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(Executive Council's Report, pages 69-73)

The Executive Council makes a detailed report on proposals to amend or rescind the laws on immigration and naturalization and lists forty-three bills introduced in the current Congress for that purpose.

It is pointed out that under the stress of war and conditions incident thereto, strong appeals are being made to the emotions of the American people to sweep aside important protective measures and safeguards that have been erected out of the necessities in our past experience as a nation and as American workers. We are reminded of the obligations we owe to ten millions of our fellow workers whose re-establishment in the peace-time community life of our country lies before us.

The report calls for continuation of the established position of the American Federation of Labor, as determined by numerous past conventions, against the lowering of immigration safeguards or of naturalization standards.

Your committee recommends adoption of

this section of the Executive Council's Report.

Your Committee also recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to make a thorough study of the question of possible future revision of immigration and naturalization laws as affecting Oriental races.

Secretary George moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Laderman, Ladies Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers: I am very sorry that I must take exception to the report of the Executive Council on this question. I spoke against it before the Committee on Legislation, of which I am a member, and I feel it my duty to speak against it here. I don't think it comes with good grace at the present time to affirm an old and obsolete tradition of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council points out that the Chinese question has been before it since 1881. It is a long time, and a lot of things have happened since then, and I can't see any reason why now, after sixty years, we can't change something which I think many feel ought to be changed. There is no reason at the present time we have an Exclusion Act against the Chinese and declare them an inferior people. This policy of inferior races has been exploited, and we are paying for it now with our blood on the battlefields.

The Executive Council points out that if this Chinese Exclusion Act were eliminated it would only affect 104 Chinese—104 people might come in under the quota, and we say that there is the danger. What is the danger, where is the danger to American labor in 104 Chinese who would come into America? Why can't we liberalize ourselves, why can't we give the Chinese the same equal rights that we give to all others as far as the immigration statutes are concerned?

I think the arguments presented are false. The Executive Council says that China is an Ally. We don't have to accept Russia with Communism, therefore we can't change our policy with China. That is a false argument. There is no such thing as Chైనism, and the 104 Chinese coming in are certainly not going to inoculate us with an foreignnisms.

But most important is the question of our morale. We have heard Under Secretary of War Patterson say that this is not going to be

a war that will end tomorrow, but it is going to be a hard war, another year of struggle in which the Chinese will have to play a big part, because that is where our bases are for attack against Japan. Can we say now to these Chinese people that while they give their blood as they have been giving it for the last six years, now the American Federation of Labor says to them in war time, we cannot change our laws because in 1881 we adopted that law and we have to stick by it? I think these regulations and policies ought to be based upon the need. My son and your sons are fighting this war for survival. This war can only be won if our people know we mean what we say and say what we mean. We cannot intelligently and honestly say to our people that we take this policy of the Executive Council as the policy of the American Federation of Labor, and I am sure a great many workers will want to know what happened on this question. I am sure a great many of our people will want to know why now, when we are one of the most powerful countries in the world, we cannot change our attitude. Therefore, I believe that the Executive Council ought to be big enough at the present time to change its attitude and that the committee's report is not the proper one, and it is not going to help the morale of our people and is not going to work for a free labor movement. It is not going to help in our post-war situation. It is built on prejudice, the whole report. There is no rhyme or reason behind it, and I feel we ought to reject it.

Delegate Reisch, Ladies Garment Workers: I do join with the previous speaker. I don't want to repeat what he has said, but we are a democracy. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has Chinese members, women who are loyal members to the trade union and are active in our trade union. It seems to me that if we are consistent as a labor movement there should not be any dispute here on the question, but that we should have a unanimous vote. Only in that way will be really express the real meaning of the American labor movement and the American democracy. I do not believe that we can at this time do anything else and be consistent. I do hope and wish that this convention will vote in favor of equal rights for the Chinese immigration. That is what America stands for and that is what the labor movement in America stands for.

Delegate Goodman, Poughkeepsie, New York Central Body: I have read, as we all have read, the report and recommendations of our Executive Council on the Chinese Exclusion Act. I want to say that I am opposed to these recommendations on very simple grounds, on fundamental grounds, which are as basic in our conception of trade unionism as anything which we stand for and have stood for these many years.

The Chinese Exclusion Act had its origin because of the flood of cheap Chinese labor to California one hundred years ago. Since when do we, as labor people, propose to answer the argument of cheap labor by exclusion? Our attitude as trade unionists must be organization and not exclusion. Our answer to Chinese cheap labor is not to bar the Chinese from this country.

I don't have to begin to explain to you who know so well the contribution of the Chinese trade unions and the Chinese workers. If they are helping us in a fight against despotism and Fascism, certainly I think they would be material for good trade unionism.

Then I want to raise just one other question, and that is this: when we single out the Chinese for exclusion from this country and we endorse such an attitude, then we are guilty of precisely what we condemn Hitler for. We cannot approach trade union questions on the basis of race, color or creed. A man who works for a living is my brother and yours, he is more my brother if he is a member of a union than if he is not, and if he is not I want to bring him into the union, regardless of his race, his color or any belief which he might have, or any biological accident which makes him different from me.

Therefore, fellow delegates, I urge you to reject this recommendation of the Executive Council on two grounds: first, that it is our trade union duty to organize these people, not to isolate them; second, because we should not be guilty ourselves of raising in any way or in any form or in any manner a question of race or of color. Thank you.

Chairman Ornburn: Mr. Chairman, the previous speakers have confused the situation, and it is my purpose to clarify it, if possible. Delegate Laderman, who spoke upon the committee's report, is a member of the committee, and in all fairness to the committee should have served notice that

he proposed to submit a minority report. It is utterly impossible for a convention the size of this to draft the immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor, and the committee's report does not concur with the report of the Executive Council in full. This is the committee's report upon the subject:

"Your Committee also recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to make a thorough study of the question of possible future revision of immigration and naturalization laws as affecting Oriental races."

The report of the committee directs the Executive Council to study this question, along with our post-war problems, and I concur in part with what the delegates who spoke have said. It does require study, but it is the opinion of your committee that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is better qualified than six hundred delegates to determine what we should do in our future immigration problems. I urge the convention to adopt the report of the Committee on Legislation.

The Report of the Committee was adopted.

TAXATION

(Report of Executive Council, pages 60-61)

Under this caption the Executive Council reports briefly on the course of the Federal tax law (Public No. 68, 78th Congress) in the first session of the 78th Congress and inclusion of the proposal submitted by the American Federation of Labor.

Attention is directed to the proposals for higher tax levies to increase the tax yield from thirty-eight billions of dollars, as estimated for present laws, to forty billions of dollars in the next year. Also that different methods proposed include forced loans to the Government, increased pay-roll deductions, ranging as high as 41 per cent, and a general sales tax.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council for its successful activity in connection with the current tax law and recommends that this convention instruct the Executive Council to continue its efforts in behalf of just and equitable taxation based upon ability to pay and in unremitting opposition to a sales tax. Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to oppose

any increase in taxes levied upon wages or compensation of the workers and that any increase in the amounts withheld from such wages or compensation be in the form of savings represented by Government bonds.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT LAW

(Executive Council's Report, pages 75-76 and Resolutions Nos. 50 and 54)

Increase in Retirement Pay for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under war conditions and the high cost of living the present retirement pay of \$100 a month for Postal Employees is insufficient to provide the necessities of life, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The American Federation of Labor place itself on record as favoring legislation that will provide an increase of \$15 a month for retired Postal Employees for the duration of the war and six months thereafter.

Temporary Increase in Annuities Under Civil Service Retirement Law

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Retired employees are subject to increased cost of living and to increased taxes and other obligations in the present emergency, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, endorse legislation to provide that annuities payable under the U. S. Civil Service Retirement law shall be increased at least fifteen per centum for the duration of the war and for six months thereafter.

The report of the Executive Council tells of the introduction of legislation to provide for a temporary increase of fifteen per centum of the annuities paid to retired Federal employees and to retired police and firemen in the District of Columbia, to be effective for the duration of the war and for six months thereafter. A bill carrying a provision for such increase has been reported from the Senate Committee on Civil Service. This proposal was supported by the American Federation of Labor.

In connection with this section of the Executive Council's report, your Committee also considered Resolutions Nos. 50 and 54 upon the same subject.

Resolution No. 54, introduced by the delegates in this convention representing the organizations of United States Civil Service employees requests endorsement of legislation providing for the increase of such annuities at least fifteen per centum for the duration of the war and six months thereafter.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's Report and the adoption of resolution No. 54.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SENATE CONFIRMATION OF CERTAIN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

(Report of the Executive Council, page 76)

This caption heads the report that a bill to provide that the appointments of all employees of the United States Government whose annual salaries are in excess of \$4500 shall be confirmed by the Senate, has passed the Senate and is now awaiting action of the House Committee on Civil Service.

The enactment of this legislation would annul valuable legislation now on the statute books that extended the classified civil service

in accord with action taken by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report and also recommends that this convention reaffirm its position in favor of inclusion in the classified civil service of all civilian positions except those that are in fact policy making.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

POSTAL SERVICE SUBSTITUTES' CLASSIFICATION

(Report of the Executive Council, p. 75)

On this subject the Executive Council reports the progress in the 78th Congress of a bill to provide a graduated scale of hourly pay for substitute employees in the postal service. The bill (H.R. 2836, by Representative Whelchel of Georgia) has passed the House of Representatives and is awaiting action by the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council for its support of this meritorious legislation and urges its continuation to enactment of the measure.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CANAL BUILDERS' ANNUITIES

(Report of Executive Council, p. 78-79)

The Executive Council reports that, pursuant to the action of past conventions of the American Federation of Labor, legislation was initiated to provide annuities for superannuated civilian employees who were engaged in the building of the Panama Canal. A bill for this purpose was passed by the Senate in the 77th Congress but failed in the House.

A similar bill has been introduced in the 78th Congress, sponsored by Senators Clark, Pepper, Hill, and Davis.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report and also recommends continuance of support for this legislation to its final enactment.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SOCIAL SECURITY

(Report of Executive Council, pp. 80-82)

The section of the Executive Council's report captioned "Social Security" presents an analysis of the legislative proposal, introduced in the United States Senate by Senators Wagner and Murray and in the House of Representatives by Representative Dingell, to amend the Social Security law. This proposal was initiated by the American Federation of Labor and embodies the liberalizations of the Social Security law that have been endorsed by numerous conventions of this organization.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council upon its sponsorship of this proposed extension of protection to millions of American workers and also upon the educational publicity given to it. We recommend that this section of the Executive Council's report be accepted and that the Executive Council be requested to make available to all members complete and current information regarding the Social Security system and all proposals for its modification.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Amendment to Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present plan of financing unemployment compensation is not actuarially sound and is bound to end in insolvency of the fund when an acute period of unemployment occurs, neither is it economically sound, as it places a tax on the payroll of the employer, which in turn creates an inducement for the employer to reduce his working force to the minimum, thereby reducing the tax on the payroll and penalizes the employer by raising his payroll tax by every addition made to the working force, and

WHEREAS, The payroll tax places the burden on the common shareholder of corporation stock and exempts the preferred shareholder and bond holder from the liability of taxation to provide a fund for unemployment compensation while said preferred shareholder and bond holder are being paid dividends and interests from the profits of industry, and

WHEREAS, A tax on the wages of the worker is unjust as such a tax reduces his wages, thereby creating a tendency toward a lower standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The Senate Bill No. 1161, known as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social

Security Bill increases the tax on the employer's payroll about one hundred per cent and the tax on the employee's pay check five hundred per cent thereby giving the employee less actual wages and forcing the workers to a lower standard of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we favor an amendment to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill to strike out all reference to a tax on employers' payroll and a tax on employee's pay check and that the said bill be further amended to provide that Congress shall budget annually sufficient money from the Treasury of the United States to meet the monthly Social Security payments.

Resolution No. 52 proposes an amendment to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill to provide for the elimination of all tax upon employers or employees for the Social Security fund and the substitution of a provision that all funds for the payment of Social Security benefits be provided by appropriation from the United States' treasury.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor for such action as their judgment directs.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor: I did not get the recommendation of the committee on this bill. What is the recommendation?

Secretary George: The recommendation of the Committee is that the resolution be referred to the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor for such action as their judgment dictates.

Delegate Graham: All right.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNEED EMPLOYEES OF CONTRACTORS

(Report of Executive Council, pp. 82-83)

This section of the Executive Council's report recites the efforts made in the 77th and 78th Congress to secure amendments to the laws providing benefits to interned members of the armed forces and civilian employees of the United States, that will extend the same benefits to employees of contractors on public works outside of the United States or

in Alaska. These efforts were pursuant to action taken by the last convention.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report and that this convention reaffirm the endorsement by the American Federation of Labor of this proposed legislation.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CARE OF CHILDREN AND MOTHERS

(Report of Executive Council, p. 85)

The Executive Council reports that a bill (S.1130, by Senator Thomas of Utah) providing for allotment of \$20,000,000 annually to the States for the care of children of employed mothers in war areas in the United States has passed the Senate and is pending in the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives. The appropriations would continue for the duration of the war and for six months thereafter.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

(Report of Executive Council, page 85)

The Executive Council reports the adoption by the House of Representatives of a Resolution to continue the Dies Committee to investigate Un-American activities. This committee and the resolution to continue its activities had the full support of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

POLL TAX

(Executive Council's Report, page 86)

Poll Tax Repeal

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Discrimination against the South's poor white and Negro people has long been a blight on our country's democratic principles, and the poll-tax law in the South is a particularly flagrant manifestation of such discrimination, and

WHEREAS, The Nation recognizes the important contribution the Negro people are making and can make to the nation's war effort, and

WHEREAS, Some of the most anti-labor, anti-social legislation is endorsed, initiated, and pushed through Congress by poll-tax representatives and senators, such as Representative Harvard, Ed Smith of Virginia, and Senator Tom Connally of Texas, authors of the anti-labor Smith-Connally Bill, elected in many cases by only eight per cent of their constituents, and all such legislation impedes the war effort and serves as a severe blow to national unity, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has taken a firm and concrete stand against the poll tax as a requisite for voting; and many people have called the poll tax a Negro issue as it is particularly hard on Negroes because they are the poorest in the South, and yet the fact remains that it disfranchises six whites to every four Negroes, and

WHEREAS, The passage of the anti-poll-tax bill, HR 7, by the House of Representatives was the first step and is now being held up in the Senate, a bill that would serve to more completely involve in the nation's war effort against the Axis those ten million citizens living in seven Southern states, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of the passage of the anti-poll tax bill, HR 7, and urge the passage of the bill and use their influence to have HR 7 reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee without hearings, without amendment, without delay, and to vote for cloture which limits debate, and to continue to vote for cloture until the filibuster is broken, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to U. S. Senators, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, President Roosevelt, urging that they take similar action.

In connection with this subject your Committee considered resolution No. 114 by delegates of the Retail Clerks' International Pro-

protective Association. The purpose of this resolution is served by adoption of the foregoing recommendation. We therefore recommend that the resolution be laid on the table.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Under the caption "Poll Tax," the Executive Council reports the passage by the House of Representatives of a bill to make unlawful the imposition of a poll tax as a prerequisite to the right of suffrage. The bill is awaiting action by the Senate Committee.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its support of this legislation and also commends the State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies that have rendered yeoman service in crystalizing public sentiment in its behalf. We recommend that efforts be continued to secure its enactment.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ANTI-LABOR LAWS

(Report of the Executive Council, pp. 91-93)

The Executive Council, in this section of its report, analyzes the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, the Hobbs bill (H.R. 653), and anti-labor laws enacted or pending in Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, South Dakota, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Texas.

The Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act was passed by the Congress over the veto of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and in spite of the determined opposition of the American Federation of Labor. Its enactment can be attributed only to a hysterical public sentiment engendered by relentless misleading publicity. The facts, which were totally disregarded by Congress, are that the American Federation of Labor and its constituent organizations have kept the no-strike pledge that was made voluntarily at the beginning of the present war and that the loss of man-hours by members of the American Federation of Labor (through strikes, many of which were forced upon them) by unscrupulous employers, has amounted to less than one-half of one per cent.

The Hobbs bill (H.R. 653) passed the House of Representatives on April 9, 1943, and is pending in the Senate. The legislative com-

mittee of the American Federation of Labor is opposing its enactment.

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report and also that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its opposition to the Hobbs bill and to wage a ceaseless campaign for repeal of the Smith-Connally act.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

STATE ANTI-LABOR LAWS

(Executive Council's Report, page 93)

Your Committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report and urges that all delegates and members give it careful study and the widest possible publicity to the end that pending anti-labor legislation may be defeated and legislation already enacted may be repealed.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Program American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates James B. Burns, Berniece R. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program:

1. Computation of overtime pay at time and a half on 1/2080th of annual compensation as in industry.
2. Base pay increase of not less than 15 per cent.
3. Automatic within grade promotions of one step for employees with efficiency ratings of Good or better every 9 months.
4. Preservation of the present civil service retirement system.
5. Payment at the end of each year for accrued annual leave in excess of the maximum accumulation authorized by law. Payment to dependents of deceased employees for all accrued annual leave at date of death. Payment to employees separated from the service for all accrued annual leave.
6. Immediate extension of the Classification Act to the field service.
7. Amendment to the Classification Act

to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof when appeals for reallocation are pending; to afford employees unrestricted opportunity so to discuss their positions with a designated representative of the Civil Service Commission as will apprise him fully of their duties and related circumstances; and to guarantee prompt consideration of all appeals.

8. Continued extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules to cover the entire Civil Service.

9. Establishment of a Board of Appeals with employee representation to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees with authority to enforce its decisions so as to protect fully the rights of employees.

10. Greater participation in personnel matters by employees and employee organizations.

11. Promotion from within the service wherever practicable with seniority as the basis where other factors are equal.

12. Improvement and standardization of efficiency rating system and provisions of adequate appropriation to accomplish this purpose. Establishment of local efficiency rating committees with employee representation throughout the field and departmental service.

13. Equitable application of the night differential to all positions in all agencies where night shifts are required.

14. Uniform application to all government positions of the longevity pay principle whereby an employee who has reached the top of his grade may, after a prescribed period of time, receive an additional pay increase.

15. Provide for pay and grade commensurate with duties performed for all employees with special reference to general revision upward of salary rates for all positions under the Classification Act.

16. Payment of compensation on duly authorized pay days, not on later dates, expeditious payment of expense accounts, and prompt issuance of bonds.

17. Amendment of the Hatch Act to permit the Civil Service Commission to fix penalties for violations of the Act commensurate with the gravity of such violations.

18. Creation by law of a wage board for per diem employees of the Government of the District of Columbia, with adequate employee representation thereon, such Board to meet at designated times at least twice a year.

19. Shorter hours, adequate compensation and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans Administration facilities, Federal penal institutions and the Public Health Service.

20. Optional quarters, subsistence and laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such services, and employees to be charged for only such meals as they actually receive.

21. Defraying by the Government of the cost of traveling by employees and their dependents and all other costs, including the transportation of household effects incidental to the transfer of employees from one duty

station to another for the convenience of the Government.

22. Providing all employees of the Government with uniforms and necessary equipment in those cases where the wearing of uniforms and use of special equipment are compulsory.

23. Compensation during required training and study courses when conducted on other than Government time.

24. Straight eight-hour shifts for all nurses working in Government hospitals.

25. Legislation making it possible for Government employees engaged in hazardous work to obtain insurance at normal rates.

26. To materially reduce absenteeism and improve efficiency, provide for emergency medical attention for civilian Government employees where dispensaries are available or may be made available.

27. Establishment of the United States Employment Service as a permanent Federal agency and the continuance of efforts to bring the salaries and working conditions of the employees of this agency on a par with other classified services.

28. Inclusion in the Postal Service of Post Office Custodial Employees and extension to them of Postal Service rights and privileges.

Post War Objectives

29. Permanent overtime pay plan for Government employees.

30. 5-day 35-hour week with no decrease in pay.

31. Minimum compensation of \$1,500 a year for all full-time employees.

32. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service. Unqualified disability retirement regardless of age and continuance on the annuity rolls until reinstated, of persons who have recovered from disability. Elimination of the tontine charge.

33. Full protection of the rights of all members of this Federation who are War Service employees and their retention in the service after the emergency where such action does not conflict with existing law covering restoration of veterans and the provisions of the Executive Order under which employees transferred into war jobs are entitled to reemployment; such protection to include the establishment of a reemployment list for these employees upon separation in order to give them maximum opportunity for reemployment in the Government service wherever their skills may be best utilized.

34. Establishment of adequate transfer facilities offering employees opportunity to seek positions for which they are best suited and at locations where they can render the most efficient service, these facilities to be made available to War Service employees in offices where separations are imminent by reason of reorganization or curtailment of activities.

35. Dismissal wage equal to half pay for six months for employees with five years of service who have been dismissed without prejudice.

36. Protection to the fullest degree of the rights of all members of this Federation who transferred to war jobs, with respect to return to their former positions, salary advancements to which they would have been entitled, and opportunities for promotion they would have had, to insure that employees shall in no way be penalized for patriotic endeavor; reinstatement in the most nearly comparable positions if original positions are abolished.

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, endorse aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

This resolution requests the endorsement by the American Federation of Labor of the legislative program of the American Federation of Government Employees. It lists thirty-six proposals for improvement in the working conditions of federal government employees, all of which have been previously endorsed by conventions of the American Federation of Labor or are not inconsistent with its aims.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Civil Service Retirement System

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John

Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers,

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Retirement System was established through the efforts of organized Federal Government employees, and

WHEREAS, Its scope has been extended to embrace all employees of the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, All employees make contributions of five per centum of their basic pay to the U. S. Civil Service Retirement fund, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, go on record in favor of maintaining the U. S. Civil Service Retirement system as a separate and independent retirement system for employees of the United States Government.

This resolution provides that the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of maintaining the U. S. Civil Service Retirement system as a separate and independent retirement system for employees of the United States Government.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt,

Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor now embrace employees in all branches of Federal Government service, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at successive conventions, has adopted resolutions endorsing the efforts of Government employees to secure improved working conditions, relating particularly to:

The establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent tribunal for review of disciplinary charges, with employee representation thereon.

Employee representation on all personnel boards.

Establishment of satisfactory observance of seniority in promotions and assignments.

Extension of the classified civil service to all positions except those that are policy-making in fact.

Liberalization of sick leave and vacation laws.

Reduction of night work and establishment of adequate differential for night work.

Elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices.

Extension of the shorter workweek principle without reduction in pay.

Equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees.

Extension of the classification principle to those groups that would be benefited thereby and who desire it.

Improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions.

Prompt payment of salaries.

Elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems.

Higher rates of compensation for overtime and for night work, and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and objectives of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for private employers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution requests reaffirmation of the endorsement by the American Federation of Labor of numerous objectives consistent with

the policy and program of this organization and affecting government employees.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Twenty-Five Year Optional Retirement for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th Session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code; June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, 25 years of service, and with full annuity, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to present legislation which will provide for an earlier retirement age with full annuity for years of service for the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company.

This resolution requests the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor with the employees of the Panama Canal and of the

Panama Railroad Company in securing an amendment to their retirement law to permit employees to retire at their own option upon reaching fifty-five years of age and having performed twenty-five years' service.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Free Hospitalization for Civilian Government Workers on the Isthmus of Panama

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Military personnel were provided with free hospitalization during the war, and

WHEREAS, Many civilian employees of the Government on the Isthmus of Panama are doing work considered as vital and necessary to the war effort in their Government positions, and

WHEREAS, Many of these employees, because of arduous duties, long hours of overtime, unusual working hours, and the effects of the tropical climate, are suffering from maladies not directly traceable to their occupation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, give consideration to legislation which will make it possible for all Government employees considered as engaged on war or defense work to obtain free hospitalization in Government hospitals.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Public Service Hospitalization for Marine Employes

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In order to be eligible for hospital treatment through public health service facilities, a seaman must either be employed on board in the care, preservation or navigation of any registered, enrolled, or licensed vessel of the United States, or as provided in the Act of March 21, 1936, otherwise known as the "Bland Act", be employed on Government vessels not in the military or naval establishments, and

WHEREAS, This Bland Act specifically excludes personnel of such vessels belonging

to the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, and

WHEREAS, In general the Public Health Service considers vessels of the Panama Canal or Panama Railroad to be public vessels, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, assist any attempt made by representatives of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union to obtain authority, either by legislation or Executive Order, which will provide that licensed officers and American seamen of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad will be furnished free hospitalization in Canal Zone hospitals.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Marine War Risk Insurance

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department..

WHEREAS, Serious marine accidents have occurred in waters under control of the Canal Zone Government, and

WHEREAS, Life insurance becomes inoperative when a marine employee enters a danger zone such as a mine field, and

WHEREAS, A seamen's war risk policy is issued by the War Shipping Administration, and

WHEREAS, Marine men working for the United States Government on the Isthmus of Panama should have similar protection when working through danger zones, and

WHEREAS, Such positions should include pilots, towboat personnel and those of dredges, cranes, derricks, barges, and allied positions, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to furnish every possible assistance to labor representatives from the Canal Zone who are attempting to have such marine war risk insurance apply to Government personnel in tropical service on the Isthmus of Panama.

This resolution requests the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in securing for employees of the United States Government the same war-risk insurance provided by the War Shipping Administration to seamen.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The present National Administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location, a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War, to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

This resolution requests the assistance of the Executive Council to the Canal Zone Central Labor Union in securing unrestricted leave of absence for the legislative representative of that organization when performing the duties of his office.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Panama Canal Employees Substituting in Supervisory Positions Should Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from re-

ceiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Pay While on Leave

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Panama Canal regulations provide that hourly employees on leave may receive only six days' pay for every seven days of leave, and

WHEREAS, Each day per week is paid for at the regular day's earnings except Saturday, which is considered a "G" or non-work day, and

WHEREAS, Hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are being penalized to the extent of one day of leave for every seven taken, and

WHEREAS, Attempts to correct the situation through decisions from the Comptroller General have failed, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do everything in their power to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union to obtain by legal means payment for every day of leave taken by hourly employees, or authority for granting the additional day without charge against leave credit.

This resolution requests the assistance of the Executive Council to the Canal Zone Central Labor Union in securing legislation to correct a condition whereby employees paid on an hourly basis and who are entitled to annual leave with pay now receive only six day's pay for seven days' leave.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Amendment to Communications Act

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In its 1942 report, the Building and Construction Trades Department pointed out in detail the vast potential possibilities of post-war building trades employment in the indicated development of the television, frequency modulation and electronic industries, and

WHEREAS, The expansion of radio broadcasting, television, frequency modulation, facsimile, and allied electronic services can best be furthered through the broadest possible application of the traditional American free enterprise principle, and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court, in its decision of May, 1943, has so interpreted the present Federal Communications Act as to empower the Commission to take practically any action it chooses with reference to radio program material and the business relationships of broadcasters, with a resulting serious threat of governmental domination of broadcasting content, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges that the Congress of the United States should, at the earliest possible date, assure the preservation of freedom of speech on the air waves by enacting changes in the present Communications Act prescribing the limits of government supervision of the radio and allied industries, and definitely safeguarding broadcasting from any actual or implied government censorship authority over program content. By such reconsideration of the Act, we believe, a secure foundation may be laid for the post-war expansion of the radio, television and other new electronic industries upon a free and constructive competitive basis.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension of Civil Service to Special Delivery Messengers

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate

Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to the employees, and

WHEREAS, The position of Special Delivery Messenger in the Postal Service still remains unclassified, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its sixty-third convention does unqualifiedly endorse either legislation, or the issuance of an Executive Order, the purpose of which is to promote or effect the extension of the classified civil service to the position of special delivery messenger in the Post Office service.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Replacement of Aliens by American Citizens After the War

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In Panama Canal, Panama Railroad, and allied positions on the Isthmus of Panama there are thousands of aliens holding positions in both "gold" and "silver" categories (United States citizens and aliens) in skilled, semi-skilled, and office work, and

WHEREAS, After the war emergency is over a reduction of force will be due, and

WHEREAS, A similar reduction in force will take place about the same time in Government institutions in the United States, and

WHEREAS, There would be no object in sending personnel back to the United States from the Canal Zone to swell the unemployment lists in the United States, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure enactment of legislation which will give United

States citizens preference in all skilled, semi-skilled, and office positions on the Isthmus of Panama when the war emergency is over.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Commander of The American Legion is here, prepared to address the officers and delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention. I want to assure him that he is welcome at our convention. We are pleased to have him here and we will listen with a deep interest to the address which he will deliver this morning.

Commander Atherton was elected as the new Commander of The American Legion at a great convention of that organization held at Omaha, Nebraska, just a few weeks ago. I feel sure I am correct when I say he is now filling his first assignment, so far as delivering an address as Commander of The American Legion to a Convention such as this, and it may be of interest to you to know—I am sure it is—that Mr. Atherton has long been a member in good standing of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. He has never permitted his membership to lapse. He has never been delinquent. He has paid his dues regularly every month and he is a member of that grand organization, so we welcome him in that dual capacity, not only as Commander of The American Legion, but as a member of organized Labor.

I know you will listen with deep interest to the address which he will deliver here this morning. He is our guest, and we are pleased to have him here. We are grateful to have him here. We are grateful to him for making the trip from California, where he lives, and Indianapolis, his headquarters, to Boston for the special purpose of delivering an address to the officers and delegates in attendance at this Convention.

Now, I present to you Warren H. Atherton, Commander of The American Legion.

NATIONAL COMMANDER WARREN H. ATHERTON (The American Legion)

I am indeed happy to be with you at this meeting because to me it represents an opportunity to get two great organizations of

this country—two great American organizations of this country—in the harness together to work for the best interests of this country. I feel personally a deep obligation to organized labor because I worked as a switchman for three years, in 1909, 1910 and 1911. The money that I obtained at that time enabled me to complete my education. I was appreciative enough of the things that I obtained through my organization to remain an active trainman from 1911 to this date. I come before you today as the head of the American Legion, and of course in presenting our honest views and convictions to you I will do my best to present them as the Legion would have them presented; but I present them also with a deep understanding and sympathetic consideration of a man who has worked and is proud of the fact that he is a member of an affiliated labor organization. Before going into the words I wish to say to you today I want to announce that at our recent convention I was authorized to set up a committee to consist of three members of organized labor and three members of business and one man with no affiliation with either business or labor—for the purpose of considering the problems of employer and employee and to make available the influence of our organization in attempting to bring them to a practical solution. And I want to announce my first appointment to that committee today. Mr. James B. Burns, a fellow Californian, a long time friend—the National President of the Federation of Government Employees.

I noticed in the press yesterday that one of the resolutions you have for consideration here is a matter upon which we acted in Omaha. Perhaps you have not yet acted upon that resolution. I will tell you what our action was. It was to urge that the abuse of the franking privilege by members of Congress be stopped. We think it is poor consideration to the postman to break his back carrying around loads of lousy propaganda and sweet stuff for the graping geese. At the Omaha Convention a million and a quarter surviving soldiers of World War I pledged themselves to service before self. They didn't waste any time asking for pensions or concessions for themselves, instead they renewed their pledge of service to God and to country and backed that pledge with the offer of money and manpower. They went all-out for buying bonds, putting blood in the Blood Banks, collecting scrap and in mobilizing manpower for universal service in winning the war, in doing everything that is humanly possible to keep a flow of food and medicine and ships and guns and tanks going to your sons and our sons who are fighting at the front and in making provision for collaboration with other nations after this war in order that this catastrophe may not visit the world again within our lives, or if ever at all.

We considered and renewed our position on the subject of universal service. I am sure every one of you here is familiar with the fact that for twenty long years we have asked to have introduced into the Congress of the United States a measure which, in the event of a crisis in this nation, would place at the service of the President, as its Commander-in-Chief, every man, woman and child and every

pound of material, and which would freeze every price on a basis of a four-year average preceding that emergency, until the emergency was over.

The men who wore the uniform in the last war thought sure that if war should come again to this country that it could be more efficiently won; that the cost in lives and in money would be very much less, than on "M" Day the President could command the services of every American and that he could freeze as of that day every price.

I think it has been our experience during the last two years that there would have been greater justice done to every group in this country, there would have been a lessened burden upon the back of generations yet unborn if prices had been fixed on Pearl Harbor Day. Some time ago in a meeting at Chicago, I served with a representative of your organization from Kansas City, and we were considering then the possibility of inflation coming to this country, and this man said it has been a historical experience that in the event of inflation wages never rise as fast as the cost of living. I think that has been proven in the past two years, so I urge upon you serious consideration of the Austin-Wadsworth Measure now pending before Congress, in order that we may fill the gap that yet remains in placing governmental control upon every activity within the border of our nation for the duration of this emergency.

Today there are in the hospitals of this country 120,000 soldiers and sailors who have been wounded in this war. Those men have been to one of the many fronts in the steaming jungles or the freezing cold. They have faced an enemy. They have paid a terrible price to protect you and me. I am sure that you will agree with me that the service of every organization in these United States should be placed at their disposal. They have suffered terribly on the field of battle. Many of them have lost limbs or suffered other serious handicaps. Every one of them should be helped, should be trained for jobs, should be given a chance, or the price of war will make them unfit to carry on the things they knew before they left this country. We must train them to do the thing that they can do. We must make it possible for them to have a job and a home and a useful place in their community so that they can go down Main Street with their chin up and the feeling that they are respected and useful citizens who can meet the world and whip it and take their place with you men in the economic life of this nation. We ask your assistance, your aid in backing every measure for the rehabilitation of those men that is now pending before the Congress of the United States and that will be placed before the Congress of the United States, so that everything that is possible within the great heart of this nation can be done to restore their lives, as nearly as possible as it will be to restore them, to them.

Twenty-seven years ago, when President Wilson warned the Kaiser to cease his attacks upon our ships and to respect the United States as a nation his warning fell on deaf ears, because the Kaiser knew we had no

Army, no Navy and no reserves, and that we were weak. So the Kaiser kept on his merry way and there are over 10,000 crosses on Flanders Field to mark the price of America's weakness. Four years ago President Roosevelt warned the international gangsters not to precipitate a World War, but his words, too, fell on deaf ears, and little Schickelgruber knew President Roosevelt had no Army, that he had an ancient Navy and he had no reserves. And because we wanted peace, we were weak. And we were again plunged into international warfare. Now there are thousands of crosses at Oran and in New Guinea and Pearl Harbor, Casablanca, Sicily and Attu which mark the price of our weakness when we wanted peace.

Since we took off those uniforms of khaki and blue twenty-three years ago, we have said to you and to the American people and to Congress that we should have a settled policy of preparedness on the part of this nation; that there should be provision for universal military training, so that every young man and woman who grows up in the United States would know that the privilege of American citizenship entails an obligation, the obligation of maintaining this government of ours and, if need be, of defending it. Such training would give stronger bodies, would teach the value of sanitation, would teach the working of our government, and would promote governmental discipline which, I believe, we could use to advantage in this country of ours and it would build a solid wall of reserves behind the armed forces of the United States, and the Little Schickelgrubers of the future would respect us, so that when our President said, "Let's keep the world at peace, let's obey the Biblical injunction of brotherly love, let's sit down around the table and thrash this out with justice to nations, no matter what their size or their beliefs," those words would be heeded and this world might then look forward to an era of peace and security and good will and international progress.

The Gurney-Wadsworth Bill is now before Congress to declare as a principle of the United States that we should have universal military training. We of the Legion respectfully urge your serious consideration in supporting that bill, in order that we, who fought a war a quarter of a century ago, and whose children are fighting another war, might not see such a catastrophe again threatening as it would the very life of civilization. We at Omaha voted that this nation should collaborate with the other nations of the world in preventing a recurrence of the present tragedy. We said, however, that America should place its first reliance upon its own strength and not rely too much upon the promises of others. Let's be ready to back our position and let's keep that position always one of desiring peace and justice among nations.

I want also to tell you about the Americanism Foundation that the American Legion proposes to further. Almost our first act, twenty-four years ago, was to pledge ourselves to support the Constitution of the United States and to maintain law and order, and to promote the ideals of Americanism. We began by the awarding of medals in the

schools and by the sponsorship of Boy Scout Troops until we were furnishing leadership for three thousand, by fostering and promoting oratorical contests upon the subject of American history and good government, and by opposing those who would tear down the machinery of this government. And so we have decided that there should be in this land of ours an agency that will make it its business to impress upon the mind of every person who has been fortunate enough to come to this land of ours in the past, and upon the mind of every individual who is lucky enough to get that kind of an invitation in the future, and upon the budding manhood of every young American that grows up, that government by town meetings, city councils, town boards, state legislature and the administration of that government by constable, mayors, sheriffs, governors and the President is the kind of government that is designed to protect the rights of individuals, to guarantee our personal freedom, and all the privileges that we enjoy in this great land; that the kind of government that has picked us up and moved us farther and farther ahead over a century and a half, until we have surpassed the progress made by all other nations, in all time is a worthy kind of government to keep and to better and to perpetuate forever and ever.

The I. W. W. and the Communists in the past year have spent huge sums of money to tear down America. We propose to start a fund to build it up. We are going to allot the raising of that fund to the 48 States. We are going to put a maximum on the gifts that can be given, but no minimum. Every American who loves his country will be invited to join. The fund will be administered by persons from every walk of life, including those who are making the greatest sacrifices of all, in New Guinea and Italy, to manage it for the best interests of America, for studying American problems, for suggesting remedies to better this government of ours by orderly means within the framework of the Constitution of the United States of America. I know that is a problem in which you and I and all the members of our great organizations are going to have a very, very deep interest.

Our country is in pressing need of manpower and womanpower, and in order that the materials of war may be supplied to the men who fight at the front and in order that we may continue to be the arsenal of democracy, children who have not finished their education, mothers and other citizens have left the school, have left their homes and have left the fire place to respond loyally to their country's needs. Today they stand at the bench and at the machines, hammering out the shells and the machine guns and the things that are winning this war. I take my cap off to them. I pay them a tribute for their loyalty and for their splendid performance, and at the same time I want to pay a tribute to all American labor that is doing so much to make it possible to win this war. This organization, time after time, has gone on record against child labor, as has the American Legion. I think that both of us believe that the sacred place of a mother is with her family at her knee, and I think that all of

us are committed to give our elder citizens the security that will enable them to retire in comfort in their declining years.

Many of those are now in business and in industry. They are members of organized labor. They are paying dues to you. In future days, millions of returning citizens will come back to take their places in the business and economic life of this country. I hope that you believe with me that those who are now abnormally in business and in industry should go back to the school and to the home and to the fireplace. I hope that you agree with me that service should be given to American soldiers first. Those will be trying days of transition. It will call for the understanding and the loyalty of all good Americans, and I hope that our organizations can stand together in finding an orderly and a just means of re-establishing the economic balance of this country so that our boys who come back, bloodied and battered, from war will be able to have jobs, will be able to establish homes, will be able to take their part in making the provisions that will make it possible for those children to continue in school, for those mothers to have happy homes, and for those elder citizens to have fireplaces.

Now I want to speak very plainly about the greatest problem which faces you and faces the nation as a whole. When your President came to our convention, where he is revered and respected, and was received as one of our most distinguished speakers, he gave it to us straight from the shoulder. That is the way we like it. I hope that is the way you like it. I want to present objectively to you the Legion's viewpoint on the need for continued production; the need for the prevention of stoppage in war industry—and today that means the prevention of stoppage in anything and in any and every industry because every single thing we are doing is having some bearing on the fight on the other side.

Of course labor and the American Legion have much in common. We stand for the maintenance of American government, we have fought against attacks by subversive elements. We both want to improve the plane of living of every American. We both want to make the highest kind of democracy possible for all the people of the world. To do that requires understanding and cooperation. You are one of the great organizations of this nation. We have opened our ranks to those who are fighting this war, many millions of them. We want them to become Legionnaires, regardless of their creed, regardless of their occupation, regardless of their affiliation. If they come in with us we will become as great in number perhaps as you. Together we will represent the strongest influences in American life, if we understand each other, if we work together for the preservation of this country we love, we can make a great contribution to that country, to our children, to the future of the nation.

Today the subject of strikes is a very controversial one. I think that men who call strikes or who participate in them under present conditions are rendering labor a very great disservice. It was my privilege to go to South America and to North Africa in

the spring of this year. I talked to many hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of men in the ranks over there. Since my return I have talked to men in hospitals everywhere throughout this country. At Omaha it was my privilege to interview before the audience a corporal—Corporal Alfred Martin. He was but lately returned from Africa. He was one of those men who sailed from England to land on the shores of North Africa at Gibraltar, he was put in a cutter with about one hundred other men, and they were sent to break a boom across the harbor of Algiers. As they got almost to the boom, French artillery opened up on them and sank the cutter and 89 per cent of them were lost. Martin swam ashore and as he reached shore he heard one of his buddies struggling and calling back in the inky black waters. He swam back and found him wounded and pulled him into shore and saved his life. For that Martin was given the silver star. The two were captured then and put in a French prison camp for three days. They were then rescued and released and rejoined their units, and they were at Gafsa, Faid Pass, and at Kasserine Pass and at Maknassy. For three long months he was up there on that high plateau where they suffered the worst kind of cold—where for three months they were not relieved, and were under constant fire. At that time the Axis had air superiority and enemy planes were strafing and dive bombing their positions continually. And he saw the men with him carried away on stretchers every day and saw men blasted to bits, and finally the day came when shrapnel burst near him and three pieces entered his arm, and now six months after he is still carrying that arm in a cast. His chances for complete recovery are not good. He is the son of working parents in the Middle West. He is just an ordinary average American boy. After his experiences on the other side, when he came home, he just couldn't understand, he said, how people seemed to be leading natural lives; that they seemed to be carousing about and having just as good a time as though they were at a county fair. The people did not seem to be much inclined to sacrifice—that is sacrifice until it really hurt, after he had seen men go through, day after day, all the suffering and tortures of the damned, and sacrifice beyond almost that that we would feel the right to call upon anyone to suffer or sacrifice. He felt, he said, that surely the people over here should be ready to act differently and to do without things, to work harder, to buy more bonds and to pay more taxes. He couldn't see how we could go along as we were—that we must alter our lives, that we must get along with less, until we get through shooting the billions of dollars that represent American energy and that is today going into destruction. He said, "I don't see how the fathers of sons who are fighting on the other side can stop their work that affects the production in this country."

General Arnold said a couple of days ago that we had barely enough airpower at Salerno. To you men who have been in uniform, you know what that means. If there had been ten less planes perhaps we would have lost the Salerno beach-head, and we would have lost thousands and thousands of men, and later we

would have lost tens of thousands more when we tried to land again. That is pretty close—that is figuring it too close. And there will be more Salernos, unfortunately. There will be more beach-heads, and if at that Salerno of tomorrow—if at that beach-head of tomorrow—there is barely enough airpower, God help the boys that are there.

In my own home state, just two weeks ago, a group of men who work on the Pacific Electric stopped work. I don't know why. The great American public doesn't know why. But they stopped. They are serving the ship-building plants and the plane factories of the Los Angeles area, as crucial a spot as exists in all the United States today. In production we lost more planes and ships in those few days than the enemy knocked down that week, and may be that difference in production could have been the difference in air superiority at the beach head of tomorrow. That lack of air superiority might mean the death of one of my two sons or might mean the death of one of your sons, or it might be the difference in whether or not the son of George Danfield, who was reported missing at the Omaha Convention, is found or not. It is that close to us. I don't know anything about the merits of my brother trainmen's demands. I am perfectly willing to concede that they were absolutely just. That isn't the point. This administration, professedly friendly to labor organizations, has established machinery for the settlement of labor disputes during this war. They have a forum or a court where both sides can be heard. In the instance of the trainmen's case that forum made a decision—it might be that they made a wrong decision—I don't know, but when the Umpire calls a man out, he is out. Sometimes he is wrong but he is nevertheless out, and vice versa. Those things about even up in the course of men's lives. If we stopped to fight it out on the ball ground every time an umpire made a decision, there would be no ball game, there would be no World Series. If we stopped and got a gun every time a judge or a policeman made a wrong decision, there would be no law and order. If every time the tax collector made a mistake in our bill, and we didn't pay our taxes, we would either lose our property or go to jail. That is the American system, and so long as there is a forum to decide a question of that kind there is where it should be decided—once and for all. And loyal Americans, whether they are in your organization or mine, are under a bounden duty to support the government of the United States and its lawfully promulgated order. I understand that that is the position of your organization. If it isn't correct, inform me, but President Green and your officers have said to the United States of America that labor will support it in the winning of this war—that labor will obviate stoppage in defense industries.

Apparently then, in spite of all that President Green can do, and you can do, something is haywire, because the Bureau of Labor Statistics told me just last week that there had been 1,855 strikes, authorized or unauthorized—men didn't go to work, since the first of 1943, and that it affected 1,900,000 men in that period of time—and that isn't hay, to

use a popular expression. It represents a great loss in production. And that includes the strike of the coal miners, and you men know—you have read—of the number of thousands of tons of steel that was lost by that interruption of production. I say to you as a man who believes in labor organizations that the general public does not understand how that can be, if the heart of every American working man is in support of his country and in winning this war. I believe that it is. If it is, then your organization and our organization want to work together—shoulder to shoulder—to cure this haywire stuff that is causing these disruptions, that is giving labor a blackeye, that is putting labor in the position of interfering with the country's war effort—and, here and now, President Green, I tender the services of the American Legion and join with you in taking any step that can be taken to prevent those things which are keeping the guns from the men who need them to save their lives. If it is treason for the man at the front to refuse to use his gun, then, too, it should be treason for any person fortunate enough to be here on the home-front, to do things that keep him from getting that gun.

We are a long, long way from Berlin. The war is not won. Our sons are beginning to win it by their courage and their sacrifices. They can only continue to win if they get an uninterrupted flow of food and medicine and guns and ships and planes. In order that they may have that it necessarily follows that profits, wages and comfort must be sacrificed to continue that flow. We must put every ounce of strength, every pound of material, every heart-beat in our bodies into the service of the men who are fighting and dying in New Guinea and in Italy. Every American must continue to be willing to give his all if need be, until the forces of oppression and dictatorship are buried in the ruins of Berlin and Tokyo.

We ask you to join us in service to God and country. Let us continue to buy bonds, let us continue to put our blood into the banks, let us continue to sacrifice until it hurts and hurts more; let us live our daily lives, let us perform our daily tasks so that we can look the legless and the armless and the maimed in the face and say, "I, too, am doing my part."

President Green and members of this convention, I thank you for the privilege of addressing this convention. Your members believe in the ideals of organized labor; you have made it your life work. I have made the Legion my life work, as have a million others. We stand for those ideals, we love those organizations, but above and beyond them there is a bigger organization—the United States of America—and President Green, I invite you and your great organization to go down the road of life shoulder to shoulder on the road of "America First."

President Green: First of all may I extend to Commander Atherton in your name and your behalf, our sincere thanks for his visit to this convention and for the address which he delivered. He was right in his

conclusions when he stated that we welcome a frank discussion of all subjects and all questions affecting the American way of life and affecting our economic, social and industrial interests. In fact, the American Federation of Labor conventions are open forums of discussion. We speak with frankness. We act in the same way. We face all issues courageously. We proclaim our virtues and we admit our faults.

It appears to me that I can with perfect propriety point out to the Commander that those who seek perfection in an imperfect world are doomed to disappointment, but he who follows the pathway of logic and reason, looking above and beyond the inconsequential faults of a small minority, will realize that after all we are making a fine record in a most imperfect world.

The American Federation of Labor did not hesitate or wait a moment. Immediately after receiving over the radio, through the press and otherwise, information that the Japanese had treacherously attacked America at Pearl Harbor we stepped out and acted at once. A conference of the representatives of this great movement was assembled to meet in the City of Washington. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor met at the same time and there, after solemnly, seriously and carefully considering the whole situation, we announced our pledge to the President of the United States of cooperation and support. That came from the honest hearts, frank consciences of those men, representing as they did the heart and conscience of American labor. And then in conformity with the program there developed, we pledged to the President of the United States a no-strike policy for the duration of this cruel war. That was made voluntarily, and you must understand the real value of the use of the strike weapon in order to understand the pledge that American labor made to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. In other words, the mobilization of our economic strength and its use, after all, is the last resort, the protection of labor, the means that it uses to lift its standard of life and living and to protect its own interests. It is the weapon it uses in defense of its interests, and when it agreed to place that behind the door and leave it there until the war was over it honestly pledged itself to support the Government to the bitter end.

Now, Mr. Commander, what has been the record? Examine it, will you please? The President of the United States, who keeps the record and studies it carefully day by day and month by month, has spoken to us in a convincing and eloquent way and said, "Men you have kept that pledge 99.9 per cent in the United States of America." (Applause.)

And that pledge was kept by imperfect men. I maintain that it is an amazing record made in an imperfect world.

We hold business management and those connected with business, Mr. Commander, in high regard. We feel that business as a whole has made a good record during the war—and in referring to business I mean the owners and managers of industry. We do not denounce industry as a whole at any time because of the sins committed by some manager or some directors of a corporation or the owners of some industry or a minority of industry. Consequently, we do not denounce industry as a whole because some steel corporation in America supplied our Government during this emergency with defective armorplate. Nor do we denounce industry as a whole because some wire corporation supplied the Government with inferior wire. Nor do we denounce industry as a whole because some greedy employers of labor have sought to make profits that are unreasonable out of this war emergency. We say to such individual employers, "You have sinned against the Government," but industry as a whole does not approve of what you have done.

Is this a world without sin? Do the members of the Church always live up to the high standards set for them? Do the fraternal organizations maintain their standards of righteousness always? Do you find perfection in family life, the most sacred organization in America? I will venture to say that there are sinners in The American Legion.

The American Federation of Labor has never officially ordered or approved a strike of one, five, or ten men, or a hundred men since the dastardly attack was made upon us at Pearl Harbor. We have kept the faith and we are keeping the faith. We are producing the planes, the guns, the tanks, the ships, the war material so necessary in order that our brave men on the battlefields of Africa, in the Southern Pacific, in Italy, and wherever the war is being fought may be adequately supplied.

And, Mr. Commander, it might be of interest to tell you that since Pearl Harbor—since Pearl Harbor—while the soldiers of production represented here in this convention have been giving their skill, their lives, their training, their genius, and their American service in the production of materials in order to make this war a success, 80,000 of them have been killed and we have buried them, many of them in unknown graves. Seven million have been injured. Does that mean that we have measured up, or have we not? I have repeatedly referred to that fact—we buried them—80,000 killed—killed while serving as soldiers of production in the mills, the mines and the factories of these United States. Does that count for anything or does it mean anything? No workers in the world have ever made such a record as American workers have made in the United States of America since Pearl Harbor.

I ask you, Mr. Commander, to look high, look above the petty things, look above the human imperfections, the incidental things of life, and behold portrayed like the new day's sun before your eyes the virtues of American workers. They are the best in the entire world. We are proud of them. They have done wonders and they will do more.

Now, may I say that we are in accord with many of the objectives you outlined here this morning—the protection of the children, the return of those who have temporarily been permitted to leave the schoolrooms and the homes to work in the mills and the factories. We have supported the regimentation of workers during this war in a very large way, because the winning of the war stands over and above every other consideration. But we intend to work with all like-minded people in bringing about a reconversion and a readjustment when the war ends. The children must go back to the homes and to the schools. The wife and the mother must take her place in the home as a wife and mother. We are opposed to the exploitation of women workers and children during normal times. We will stand with you in carrying out that program.

Then, Mr. Commander, there are 2,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor in the armed services of the nation. We have planned and are planning for their return, as well as for the return of others who are serving on the battlefields. It is our firm determination to see that the seniority rights

of all these members of our great union are protected when they come back to America, and if necessary we will compel employers to give them their places back where they were before they went away.

Then we shall serve in a like capacity in trying to find the way by which every man who enlisted in the service of the nation may find an opportunity to resume his normal life, to live in the American way, working and serving his family and society and the nation as well.

I have spoken in response to your address, Mr. Commander, in a sincere and honest way. I have spoken to you in the kindest manner. I want you to get our point of view. It is my wish that we may all see this situation as it is. Perhaps when Gabriel blows his trumpet in the morning and the dead shall rise from the earth, and those who are living shall be assembled as Holy Writ tells us, for the purpose of ascending into Heaven, we may then construct a perfect world out of imperfect material. But until then, Mr. Commander, we must deal with the imperfections of human nature and serve as best we can.

I thank you.

President Green: We will continue the report of the Committee on Legislation until the hour of adjournment arrives.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

(Continued)

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

The committee reports jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 51 and 56, which are as follows:

Bonus for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A Salary readjustment for Postal Employees has been a major objective of the National Association of Letter Carriers for several years and even under the stress of the present extraordinary advance in the cost of living the only relief to date has been the enactment of a \$300 a year war bonus, and

WHEREAS, Past experience shows that following the end of hostilities we have no reason to expect an immediate reduction in the cost of living, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, place itself on record as favoring legislation that will make permanent the present \$300 per year war bonus for Postal Employees.

Salary Increase for Government Employees

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Government employees have had no permanent increase in compensation in many years, and

WHEREAS, Temporary increases granted by the 78th Congress to Postal and other Government employees are inadequate to meet the increased cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Organizations of Postal and other Government employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are endeavoring to secure permanent upward revisions of salary, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-16, 1943, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations of Government employees in securing an equitable upward revision of salaries commensurate with service rendered and instruct the Executive Council to support legislation for that purpose to the fullest possible extent.

These resolutions request the endorsement of and cooperation with the efforts of

United States Government employees to secure an adequate upward adjustment of pay, commensurate with service rendered to supplant the present temporary increases.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of Resolutions Nos. 51 and 56.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions 49 and 57, which are as follows:

Overtime Payment for Postal Employees

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Time and one half for overtime has been an established rate for overtime in most trades in organized labor for many years, and

WHEREAS, Time and one half for overtime is within the Little Steel Formula, and

WHEREAS, Postal employees are now paid a scale for overtime figured on the basis of straight time for a 306 day year, while the basic year under present law is only 260 days, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor place itself on record as favoring legislation which will establish an overtime rate of pay for Postal Employees at time and one half based on a 260 day year.

Overtime Pay for Government Employees

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horibeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Deliv-

ery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Government employees, and particularly postal employees, are required to work in excess of regularly scheduled tours of duty when conditions warrant, and

WHEREAS, Present conditions compel overtime service regularly, and

WHEREAS, Time and one-half for overtime is the generally accepted practice and recognized as the standard in federal legislation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, go on record as endorsing the demands of Government employees for legislation providing that all overtime be compensated for at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular hourly rate of pay, computed on the basis of actual working hours.

Both of these resolutions request the support of the American Federation of Labor to Government employees in their efforts to secure enactment of legislation providing for payment for overtime at the rate of one and one-half times the regular hourly rate, computed upon the basis of actual time worked.

Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolutions Nos. 49 and 57.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

BANKHEAD AND PACE FARM BILLS

(Report of Executive Council, pages 83-84)

This section of the Executive Council's report relates the passage of the Bankhead farm bill and its veto by President Roosevelt. There is quoted the letter sent by President William Green to each member of Congress urging support of the President's veto on the grounds that enactment of the legislation would tend to circumvent efforts toward stabilization of prices and control of cost of living. The bill was recommended to the Committee on Agriculture and to date no further action has been taken on the Bankhead or Pace bills.

Your committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice President Woll for an announcement on behalf of the Committee on International Labor Relations.

Vice President Woll: The Committee on International Labor Relations would like the privilege of reporting on Resolution No. 73 immediately upon the convening of the afternoon session. If granted, thereafter the Committee on Resolutions will meet in its

usual place, Parlor B, at three o'clock, or as soon as Resolution No. 73 has been disposed of.

Chairman Delmonte, of the Local Committee on Arrangements, made an announcement with reference to the entertainment planned for Friday evening in Cambridge.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

October 8, 1943

The Convention was called to order at 2:45 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

President Green's Reply to Commander of The American Legion

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Mr. President, I wish to offer a motion which has to do with your response to the address of the Commander of The American Legion.

I move that the response of President Green to the address delivered by the Commander of The American Legion be printed in pamphlet form for distribution.

Delegate McGowan, Boilermakers: This may not be a strictly parliamentary amendment to Delegate Brown's motion. I am in full accord with his motion but I desire to present the following:

That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take under advisement the possibility of reproducing President Green's speech in full page advertisements in selected daily papers throughout the nation, and, if necessary, to call upon the International Unions to voluntarily contribute to the expense in order that labor's answer to its traducers may be presented to the American people.

I present that, Mr. Chairman, as an amendment to Delegate Brown's motion.

President Green: You have heard the motion offered by Delegate Brown and the amendment offered by Delegate McGowan. Are there any remarks?

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: That is in addition to the original motion by President Brown? Do I understand that if the motion carries it will not kill the motion made by Delegate Brown?

President Green: No. The question will recur upon the amendment offered by Delegate McGowan. All in favor will say "aye." Those opposed will say "no." The motion is carried and the amendment is adopted.

All in favor of the motion offered by Delegate Brown, which was to authorize the publication and distribution of the answer made to the address of the Commander of The American Legion will please say "aye." Those opposed will say "no."

The motion is carried unanimously and it is so ordered.

Now the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on International Labor Relations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Chairman McSorley: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on International Labor Relations

has considered several subjects and is now in a position to make a partial report at this particular time on Resolution No. 73.

The report will be submitted by Secretary Woll.

Vice President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Protesting Nazi Extermination of Jews in Europe and Proposing Measures for Rescue of Survivors

Resolution No. 73.—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, Michael F. Greene, Max Finger, Nellie H. Gallagher, I. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, Newspaper dispatches from Europe, and the documented reports of the State Department tell a horrible story of the atrocities to which the conquered peoples of Europe have been subjected. In Czechoslovakia the destruction of Lidice was but a symbol of the calculated plans of the Nazis to break the spirit of an entire nation. In Poland the best minds of the country, the leading spirits of all classes, the leaders of the labor movement, have been executed as part of the planned Nazi policy to leave the Poles a people without leadership and without direction. In Holland the Nazis loosed their bombs on Rotterdam after the city had surrendered, and thousands of women and children were butchered to strike fear into the hearts of their fighting men. Today Nazi soldiers are bayoneting Italian civilians on the streets of Italian cities to satisfy their lust for revenge against their former ally, and

WHEREAS, Horror piles upon horror. Terror is the lot of all, and

WHEREAS, It has been reserved for the Jewish population of occupied Europe to be marked for mass extermination. History knows no parallel to the bestial cruelties by which the Nazis are carrying out their resolve to destroy the entire people. Herded into walled ghettos, they are denied food and drink until life departs from their bodies. Crowded into specially constructed gas chambers, they are asphyxiated to death by their Nazi executioners. Hunted like animals through the streets, they are shot down or clubbed to death when their torturers have tired of their sport, and

WHEREAS, The world has seen more than 3,000,000 Jews in occupied Europe starved, hunted, gassed, clubbed and machine-gunned. Today there remains but a tiny remnant of an ancient people in lands where their fathers and forefathers have lived for centuries, and

WHEREAS, The conscience of the civilized world recoils with horror at the fiendish crimes perpetrated by the Nazis on a defenseless people, and

WHEREAS, Civilized humanity owes it to its own conscience to undo, so far as can be undone, the inhuman plans of the Nazi barbarians and to save those who can still be saved from the fate that has been suffered by 3,000,000 of their people, and

WHEREAS, To this end, the American Federation of Labor calls upon the United Nations to take immediate steps to rescue the remaining Jews of occupied Europe. We call upon the United Nations, and our own country, to provide for them temporary havens in their territories. We urge that where immigration restrictions impede the work of rescue they be temporarily lifted, and that in our own country quotas be enlarged where necessary so that those Jews who can still be snatched from the bloody hands of the Nazis may find a temporary resting place until the war is over, when they may once more take up their abode in their native lands, and

WHEREAS, We urge that our Government in the meanwhile, together with the governments of our Allies, warn the men by whose orders these inhuman deeds have been perpetrated that they will be treated as outlaws from humanity, and outcasts from the world; and that they will be punished for their crimes against the helpless and the down-trodden, and

WHEREAS, The Nazis, as part of their plan for world domination, have introduced into Europe a calculated chaos. They have uprooted millions of Frenchmen, Norwegians, Hollanders, Belgians, Russians and Poles from their homeland. They have looted everything movable in every land where they have set their heel. Victory will not be complete until the monstrous skein of planned chaos is unravelled. The United Nations, as the trustees for the conscience of civilization, must resolve that these millions shall return to their homes, shall recover their property, shall be able once more as free men to live on the fruits of their toil. And precisely because the Nazis spent their greatest efforts on the uprooting and extermination of the Jews above all other peoples, the United Nations must make a special effort to foil the Nazi plans, and enable the Jews, who have suffered most at the hands of the Nazis, to return to their former residences and occupations, with all their political, economic, and civil rights restored, and

WHEREAS, When all this has been done, when charity and kindness and human decency have bound up the wounds left by our enemies, there will still be those among the Jews who will have no home, no nation, to which they can return. The American Federation of Labor has in the past expressed its profound sympathy with the national aspirations of the Jewish people. And today, more than ever, the American Federation of Labor calls upon the world to fulfill its long-standing pledge to the Jewish people by enabling them to build up their own homeland, and by

opening wide the doors of Palestine to the victims of the Nazi terror, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has observed with admiration the reconstruction of the Jewish homeland since the Balfour declaration recognizing the special claim of the Jewish people to the soil of Palestine. It has watched with pride the great role played in the upbuilding of Palestine by the forces of organized labor there, and

WHEREAS, The world is fortunate that there exists a Jewish homeland, whose sons stood at the gateway of the East and held it against the Nazi war machine until the full forces of the United Nations could be brought to bear to expel the Germans from Asia and Africa. It is fortunate that there will exist tomorrow a Jewish commonwealth to which may turn those victims of Nazi oppression who have no other homeland, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges upon our Government and upon the Government of Great Britain, which has a special responsibility in the matter, that the Balfour Declaration be fully implemented, that the right of the Jewish people to a national home in Palestine be reaffirmed, and that every aid and encouragement be given to enable the victims of Nazi persecution to settle upon their ancient soil and make it bloom once more as it did in the days of the prophets.

Your committee had before it Resolution No. 73 Protesting Nazi Extermination of Jews in Europe and Proposing Measures for Rescue of Survivors. In addition to recommending its adoption your Committee presents the following for your approval and endorsement.

We are saddened by the terrible atrocities which have been perpetrated by the Nazi on the peoples of conquered Europe. We call attention to the fact that successive conventions of the American Federation of Labor, even before the outbreak of war in Europe, warned the world to be on guard against the blood lust of the Hitlerian hordes. The American Federation of Labor viewed with horror the massacres of the Jews that followed Hitler's rise to power, recognizing that the total suppression of human rights by the Hitler regime, the destruction of the labor movement, the murder of the leaders of labor, and the pogroms against the Jews, were all part of a pattern which must inevitably lead to even greater violations of the laws of God and man.

The whole world is suffering today from its refusal then to recognize the indivisibility of the moral law. Oppression of one group led inevitably to oppression of others; aggression against one nation led inevitably to

aggression against others. Failure to act against the Nazis before they consolidated their power through brutal suppression of every instinct of humanity and decency led to the present world holocaust.

Millions of men and women and children in occupied Europe suffer unbelievable cruelties today at the hands of the Nazis. Violated, kidnapped, murdered, the peoples of Poland, Belgium, Holland, Russia, Luxemburg, France and other countries have seen their food taken away, their homes looted, their families deported, their religion mocked, their very humanity assailed and destroyed. Terror, brutal insensate terror, first used by Hitler as a weapon of politics, has become for him a weapon of war, and no one of the peoples of Europe has been spared.

But one among them suffered uniquely, for the Jews of Europe have been marked by Hitler for mass extermination. The mind reels at the thought of 3,000,000 human beings done to death, not as an incident of war, not under the guise of military necessity, but as part of an open, frank and brutal design to exterminate an entire people. New methods of killing unparalleled in their ferocity, divorced from the least vestige of humanity, have had to be designed to murder such a huge mass of human beings. Mass torture, mass starvation, mass asphyxiation, and mass shooting—these have been the lot of the Jews of Europe, and 3,000,000 of them have already been murdered in cold blood by the Hitler barbarians.

To the American Federation of Labor, which has always been the champion of the oppressed everywhere, the cry of the broken remnant of the Jewish people of Europe for rescue comes with particular poignancy. For such exceptional horror as has been suffered by the peoples of the lands invaded by Hitler, exceptional means must be adopted by civilization to rescue them from further suffering. Every effort must be made to save those that can still be saved. Free access to the territories of the United Nations must be permitted, and the victims of Hitler's persecution must be given temporary sanctuary until the war is over and the lands across the seas are once more open for their return.

It is the moral obligation of the civilized world to provide temporary havens for those Jews who can still escape from Hitler's inferno.

Meanwhile, we note with satisfaction that President Roosevelt and Prime Minister

Churchill have already sounded solemn notes of warning to the Nazis and their satellites that on the day of victory they will be called to account for their transgressions against the weak and the helpless. We believe that this warning should be reiterated, and strengthened, for fear may still move those who are moved by neither justice nor mercy.

And the day of victory is approaching. Under the hammer blows of the United Nations, the edifice of hate and terror and brutality that was built up by Hitler is beginning to crumble. But military victory alone will not be enough. Civilization will still face the task of underlining the defeat of the barbarians by defeating their design to make of Europe a chaotic continent, swept by disease, racked by hunger, inhabited by millions of homeless wanderers. Frenchmen, Russians, Belgians, Hollanders, Poles—even Italians, erstwhile allies of Hitler—will need to be rehabilitated, returned to their homes, and helped to resume their occupations. And because the Jews of occupied Europe were the victims of the utmost refinements of Nazi sadism, because Hitler in his plan to wipe 6,000,000 human beings from the face of the earth took special pains to destroy their rights, their homes, and their means of subsistence, the United Nations must in their turn take special care to assure to them full and complete restoration of their civil, their political, and their economic rights.

And in the making of the peace treaties, the right of the Jews to repatriation, rehabilitation, and equality with their fellow citizens in the lands where they have lived for generations must be guaranteed and protected, so that never again may anti-Semitism, or persecution of any racial, religious, or ethnic group be used by those who would profit from a world in turmoil to mask their designs upon freedom, democracy, and peace.

In 1941, the gravity of the plight of the Jews in occupied Europe moved the American Federation of Labor to declare, at its Seattle Convention, and it reiterates that declaration—that it is "urgent that this suffering people, the greatest of all sufferers at the ruthless hands of the enemies of freedom and democracy, be accorded real hope and aid through a restoration of rights long overdue it—rights to a full development of Palestine."

How much more urgent is the need for full development of Palestine today, how much more urgent will that need be when

civilization emerges victorious over the barbarians. For Palestine is the one country in the world that is prepared to give refuge and asylum to the victims of Hitlerite oppression, not on a temporary, but on a permanent basis.

Since the rise of Hitler to power in 1936, this tiny country has welcomed and absorbed almost 300,000 Jewish refugees from Nazi and Fascist oppression. The American Federation of Labor urges that its doors be immediately opened to the countless thousands more who have no other home, no other hope, but Palestine.

We urge that the United Nations create the possibilities that will permit these victims of oppression to build their own lives anew on their own soil through their own efforts.

The American Federation of Labor welcomed from the first the Balfour Declaration of 1917 recognizing the special rights of the Jewish people to the soil of their ancient home in Palestine. At many conventions we have reiterated our profound sympathy for the Jewish people in its efforts to restore the plains and deserts of Palestine to their ancient bloom. It was in consequence of that sympathy, and as a logical outcome of our belief in the essential justice of the desire of the Jewish people to build their own commonwealth in Palestine, that the American Federation of Labor at the 1942 convention in Toronto urged that with the conclusion of the war, steps be taken "to guarantee freedom and equality for them in their adopted countries, as well as their independence under the Balfour Declaration on the soil of Palestine."

Surely, the least that the civilized world can do is to carry out the pledge so freely given by Great Britain in 1917 affirmed by the League of Nations when it accorded to that nation the Mandate over Palestine in 1922, and approved by our own American Congress in the same year. The American Federation of Labor urges that the restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement contained in the British White Paper of 1939 be withdrawn, and that the Balfour Declaration be so implemented that the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people to build their own commonwealth in Palestine may be realized. Thus will this ancient people be enabled to take its rightful place among the democratic nations of the world, and make its full contribution to that progressive world

order which we all pray will emerge from the horrible sufferings of this global war.

The eyes of the American labor movement turn with special confidence to Palestine as a haven of refuge for the homeless Jews of Europe, because it has observed with pride the splendid role played by the organized workers of Palestine in the upbuilding of their land. The American Federation of Labor greets Histadruth, the Federation of Labor in Palestine, and expresses its pride in the accomplishments of its sister movement across the seas. We know of the magnificent part that has been played by the sons and daughters of Jewish labor in Palestine in defending the gateway to the East against the Nazis. We wish for Histadruth greater strength in a greater land, in a land which has received full justice from the United Nations, in a land where every suffering, persecuted Jew who sought refuge found it, who sought the right to toil secured it, who sought human dignity and human freedom achieved it.

Secretary Woll: I move the adoption of the Committee's report, including the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Goldberg, Hatters: Mr. President and fellow delegates: I rise at this moment in support of the motion to adopt the report just submitted to this convention. I am greatly appreciative of the opportunity given me at this time to make a few observations in relation to this splendid report. I ask for your indulgence for a few brief moments, and I hope you will lend me your sympathetic attention.

This report comes before this convention at a time when the Jews of America and the Jews throughout the world are in deep sorrow and anguish over the fate that has befallen the Jewish people in Germany and the Nazi occupied countries. This report will serve them as a source of inspiration and encouragement to carry on in the hope of ultimate victory over the Nazi barbarians.

It is a reaffirmation of the past position taken by the American Federation of Labor, whenever persecution of any people was called to its attention. It is a reaffirmation of the position taken by the American Federation of Labor at all times as the champion and defender of the under-privileged and oppressed at home and abroad.

It is most timely now for the calamity and the tragedy of the Jewish people has at this time reached its very height. It is unprecedented and unparalleled in the history of mankind and in the history of the Jewish people, who have a record of persecution and suffering throughout the ages. The emergency now is so great that at times one wonders whether those who still remain alive in the Nazi occupied countries will live to see the day of triumph and rejoice together with the entire world the overthrow of Hitlerism, Nazism and Fascism.

All of you know the facts in the case. It is common knowledge to every citizen of the United States that the Nazis have vowed to annihilate and exterminate every single Jew on the European Continent. They are not satisfied with pillaging and robbing and destroying their homes; they are not satisfied with degrading them into slaves; they are not satisfied with herding them into Ghettos. They are not satisfied to leave them there, exposed to starvation, to pestilence, to slow death; they have vowed to exterminate them en masse, and tragically so, they are carrying out their promise.

Thus far they have succeeded in slaughtering three millions of them and this slaughter still continues unabated. Only today I read this item of news in the New York Times: "All-Europe Purge of Jews Reported. Hitler said to have ordered Continent cleared before end of the war." And storm troop leader Eichmann, who has been designated as the "Jew Dictator of Europe," said: "Whether we win the war or not, one thing is sure—not a single Jew and very few Poles will be left in Europe."

This is the fate of the Jews of Europe. I have read a document recently, a document which was compiled by the World Jewish Congress, and the representation of Polish Jewry, based upon facts submitted by eye witnesses and by escaped refugees from Nazi-land and Nazi occupied Europe. This document, I am sure, was also submitted to the State Department of the United States and to the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. When you read it your blood curdles and your heart stops beating, and you are about to collapse and break down because you cannot believe as a civilized human being that such atrocities are possible. It is inconceivable to think that the Nazis have degraded themselves and divested themselves

from all traces of humanity. I am not going to read to you this document, however, I will just read one excerpt, which is very brief. It tells the story of Treblinka. It is the name of a Polish village where the Nazis have erected death chambers and there are many more similar Treblinkas in various parts of Poland, to accommodate the executioners so that they can speed up the slaughter of millions of Jews, and do it collectively and en masse. After they were herded into the ghettos and they were driven there from all parts of Poland and other occupied countries, the order came in July of last year that these Jews of the ghettos be deported to other parts, under the guise of a promise that they be deported to camps of labor where they will do some work and be permitted to live. They ordered that each day at least 10,000 of the Jews in the ghettos be deported—deported in quotation marks. It would be more correct to state—to be “liquidated” at Treblinka.

And what happens there? Just one paragraph and please bear with me. It is a gruesome story. It is a tale of horror. It is not pleasant to read or even listen to, but these are the startling and shocking facts. I quote. “The terrorized mass of men, women and children starts on its last road to death. At the head, a group of women and children is driven, beaten by the accompanying Germans, whips in their hands. Ever quicker is the group driven, ever heavier blows fall upon the heads of the women, mad with fear and suffering. The cries and laments of the women together with the shouts and curses of the Germans interrupt the silence of the forest. The people finally realize that they are going to their death. At the entrance of death-house No. 1 the chief himself stands, a whip in his hand in cold blood, beating them, he drives the women into chambers. The floors of the chambers are slippery. The people slip and fall; they cannot get up any more for new groups of forcibly driven victims fall upon them. The chief throws small children into the chambers over the heads of the women. When the execution chambers are filled to the brims, the doors are closed hermetically and the slow choking of living people begins, brought about by the steam issuing from the numerous vents in the pipes. At the beginning, stifled cries penetrate to the outside, gradually they quiet down and 15 minutes later the execution is complete.”

This is repeated day after day. In 1942, during the three months of July, August and

September, close to 300,000 have been deported from the ghettos of Warsaw to Treblinka to await this fate in the death chambers, and it continues—it keeps on—until, as Hitler has vowed, there will not be a single Jew left in Europe. There is no escape from it except one and that is suicide. Hundreds, thousands have committed suicide. The very same document I referred to tells of horrible incidents of the Warsaw ghetto describing mothers throwing their children out of the top floors and then following them, in order to avoid this dreadful fate at the hands of the executioner. The President of the Jewish Council in Warsaw, Adam Chernak, who was given the order to deliver 10,000 Jews each day for Treblinka, he also committed suicide as did many other leaders of Jewry in Poland.

This year there was a ray of light emanating from the ghetto of Warsaw. We have all heard of the revolt by the remaining Jews in that ghetto. It is the only consoling feature of this mass execution. They could not tolerate it any more and decided, knowing very well that they faced certain death, to resist the Nazi gangsters and to die in the attempt, but while dying in the attempt they took arms in their hands and fought the Nazis in the ghettos so that the Nazis had to send tanks and fly planes over the ghettos in order to subdue this revolt.

This was the last chapter of the Warsaw ghetto and in connection with this, I want to put on the record a paragraph of a letter written by a leader of Polish Jewish Labor who was delegated as a representative of the Jewish workers of Poland to the Polish National Council in London. His name is Samuel Zygedlbaum, formerly a prominent Labor leader in Poland and a prominent leader of Jewish labor there. He was fortunate enough to be a refugee who reached the shores of our great Democracy and from here he was appointed to go to London as the representative of Polish Jewish Labor in the Polish National Council. He committed suicide in London and left a letter—a letter that points the finger of the 3,000,000 dead—a finger of accusation that will not and cannot be erased unless the perpetrators of this tremendous crime get their due punishment when the day of reckoning comes. It is also a challenge to the conscience of humanity and I quote one paragraph from this letter: “I cannot be silent—I cannot live while remnants of the Jewish people of Poland, of whom I am a representative, are perishing. My comrades

in the Warsaw ghetto took weapons in their hands in the last heroic impulse. It was not my destiny to die there together with them and in their mass graves. By my death I wish to express my strongest protest against the inactivity with which the world is looking on and permitting the extermination of my people."

In view of this great tragedy of the Jewish people it is encouraging to hear this report just submitted by Vice President Woll on behalf of the Committee on International Relations. It re-states the position of the American Federation of Labor, the position which had been taken since the rise of Hitlerism when the American Federation of Labor issued a warning to the world to beware of the coming of this aggressor, and when the American Federation of Labor inaugurated and maintained the boycott against Nazi goods—and we will not forget that—the American Federation of Labor has had vision and very few then paid attention to its warnings. The American Federation of Labor then said, "you cannot do business with Hitler," and very few paid attention. The world at large had to wait until 1939—until that period there was a policy of appeasement, unfortunately. And it is in keeping with this historic background and historic mission of the American Federation of Labor that this report comes before this convention.

It offers three proposals with which I am confident we are all fully in accord, proposals which, if put into effect, will serve as a solution to the grave Jewish problem.

No. 1—that the United Nations secure havens of refuge—temporary havens of refuge for those who can still be saved from torture and death. The world owes this obligation and duty to the Jewish people. To those helpless and defenseless people who haven't committed any crime but one—that they were born Jews. Yes another one—that they have followed the teachings of the Bible and believe in the Jewish and Christian philosophy—"Love thy neighbor as thyself." The world at large owes those who still remain alive to grant them temporary havens of refuge and there are still hundreds of thousands who can be saved from the clutches of the Nazi executioner.

No. 2—that when the day of triumph comes and the peace is written, the Jews be granted at the hands of the United Nations by incorporating in the peace treaties full, equal,

civil, economic and political rights—as equals in the lands where they live with all other citizens of those lands and that they be given the opportunity to reconstruct their lives—to be repatriated and brought back to the countries where they and their forefathers have lived and worked for centuries.

And No. 3—to recognize the historic rights of the Jewish people to Palestine, where they have determined to build their homeland and where they want to live in human dignity and in freedom as equal members of a brotherhood of nations.

And in connection with Palestine, it is important to note that right now and since 1939 when the "white paper" was issued by the British government restricting immigration and purchase of land in Palestine by Jews—that since then these restrictions are still in effect, and ironically so, that paper was issued in the year when appeasement ended because of the outbreak of war and was a direct offspring of that appeasement policy. Were it not for these restrictions, not only would Palestine have saved in the past ten years, as it did, close to 300,000 Jews who escaped certain death, but probably twice or three times as many. This white paper must be abolished, must be immediately withdrawn and the gates of Palestine thrown wide open for large scale Jewish immigration, in order to save as many as still can be saved from the Nazi hangmen.

I am wholeheartedly in accord with these proposals contained in the report by the Committee on International Relations, and it is highly significant that this report comes before this convention on the eve of Yom Kippur, the Jewish holy day of atonement. Tonight and tomorrow the Jews of America and of all the world, including those Jews who are wandering about the forests of Poland, hiding from the Nazi executioner, including those Jews who are protected—and this should be noted—protected and safeguarded by our Christian friends and neighbors, the Poles, the Danes and in every other country of Nazi occupied Europe; hidden in their houses and in their basements at the risk of death. All of them will, during this night and day, pray—pray for the dead; pray for the success of the armed forces of the United Nations; pray for a speedy victory and pray that the day of reckoning will come, the day of retribution will come when the millions who were done to death—their blood will be avenged by the

United Nations in accordance with the warning that was issued by our great President and subscribed to by the other members of the United Nations. Many of them will, in their hour of anguish, pray with the psalmist, who in Chapter 94 says the following: "They gather themselves together, against the soul of the righteous and condemn the innocent blood. But the Lord is my defense and my God is the rock of my refuge and he shall bring upon them their own iniquity and shall cut them off in their own wickedness. Yea, the Lord our God shall cut them off."

Yea, they will be cut off, because the day of triumph is at hand. Already we receive the glad tidings from our marching armies on the battlefronts—the marching armies on their road to victory. The sons of righteousness, the children of God are marching to total victory over the hordes of Satan. That day is at hand, and when that day comes the American Federation of Labor—and we hope it will be at the next convention in 1944—will receive the blessings and the eternal gratitude of all the oppressed peoples of the earth who will once more be restored to their independence and liberty, and of the Jewish people particularly on whose behalf the voice of the American Federation of Labor was heard so loudly and effectively during this great crisis; and together with all the liberated nations, the American labor movement will participate at the peace table to frame and formulate such kind of peace that will assure to the world a new license and a new meaning and a new interpretation of genuine democracy; of international brotherhood; of freedom; of lack of fear and lack of want; an international brotherhood that will rejoice in the re-creation of a world devoid of hatred, of racial and religious bigotry.

I am confident that that day is near, and I hope that we shall all rejoice in the coming of that day at our next convention in 1944.

President Green: The question now recurs upon the adoption of the Committee's report. Those in favor of adoption will please say "aye" and those opposed "no".

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We will now proceed with the report of the Committee on Legislation which was interrupted, and the Chair recognizes Secretary George.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION (Continued)

Secretary George, on behalf of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Compensation for Death or Injury in Line of Duty

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States vetoed H.R. 1712 (A Bill to provide relief of families of two Government employees killed in line of duty because of the war effort), and

WHEREAS, The President in his veto message stated, "If it should be the feeling of Congress that additional benefits beyond those provided by the present Employees Compensation Act should be made available to civilian employees of the Federal Government who are engaged in the performance of unusually hazardous duties, it would appear that these benefits should be provided by way of general legislation which would accord uniform treatment in this respect to all civilian employees," and

WHEREAS, It is to be expected that during this session of Congress some legislation will be considered providing for the relief of families of Government employees killed under unusually hazardous conditions in line of duty due to the war effort, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to take the necessary steps so that such legislation as may be enacted covers the families of Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama.

This resolution provides that the Executive Council be instructed to see that employees of the United States Government on the Isthmus of Panama be included in the provisions of any legislation providing benefits to the families of employees killed in line of duty while engaged in war activities.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension of Existing 40-Hour Week Law

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The present 40-hour week law is only temporary, with a provision that it continue in effect only until June 30, 1945, and

WHEREAS, A similar law, known as Section 23 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1935 (Thomas 40-Hour Week Amendment), afforded great relief of unemployment in certain classes of positions during the depression, and

WHEREAS, Similar unemployment conditions can be expected on the cessation of the present war, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, take steps to insure a continuation of the shorter work week, not to exceed 40 hours, for all Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama who are citizens of the United States.

This resolution requests the American Federation of Labor to take steps to secure legislation to provide that the forty-hour week now in effect on the Isthmus of Panama, and the authority for which expires on June 30, 1945, shall be continued indefinitely.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Overtime Pay Regulations on Panama Canal

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Timekeeping regulations on the Panama Canal provide that when an hourly employee is prevented from working on a holiday occurring during the regular five day work week from Monday to Friday, and then works on Saturday, he receives overtime pay for the Saturday worked at the rate of time and one-half, and

WHEREAS, When the same employee works on a holiday occurring during a regular work week, he is paid at straight time for that holiday, but when required to work the Saturday at the end of the same work week he is also paid only at straight time, and

WHEREAS, The hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad desire that regulations be adopted which will include holidays in the 40-hour work week, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to render all possible assistance to provide that a holiday worked within a regular work week be considered as a 9-hour period in the regular 40-hour week.

This resolution requests the Executive Council to assist employees of the Panama Canal in securing an equitable adjustment of holiday regulations for employees paid on an hourly basis.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Retirement Benefits of Government Employees in Armed Forces

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Government employees inducted into the armed forces of the United States are on leave of absence, without pay, from their civilian positions, and

WHEREAS, In order to receive full credit for such service in computing benefits under the Civil Service Retirement law, they must make contributions to the retirement fund in amounts equal to five per centum of their base pay while in the armed service without deductions from pay while in the armed service, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, record itself in favor of legislation to provide that Government employees who are inducted into the armed forces during war time shall be credited with all time served in such armed service in computing benefits under the U. S. Civil Service Retirement Act

and the District of Columbia Firemen's and Teachers' retirement acts.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension of Voting Hours

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The reactionary and anti-labor forces are conducting a nation-wide campaign, through their kept press and radio and through their powerful lobbies in Congress to discredit labor unions, defeat through legislation, Acts favorable to labor and enact in their place restrictive laws unfavorable to labor, and

WHEREAS, In our last Congressional Election, great numbers of workers were unable to vote on account of their working long hours and far from their homes, making it difficult to get to the polls in time, and finding the polls crowded, and

WHEREAS, The most critical time in our Nation's history is before us, with the interest of the common man at stake, we must see that all who want to vote shall have that opportunity, and that all organized labor work collectively to elect our friends and defeat our enemies, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor petition Congress to pass a law making it mandatory to keep the polls open between the hours of 5 A.M. and 10 P.M. at election in November 1944, and be it further

RESOLVED, Should Congress fail to enact such a law organized labor should declare a nation-wide labor voting holiday for its members.

Your Committee is in full sympathy with the end sought by this resolution but is of the belief that the method proposed is impracticable.

We recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to use every means at its disposal to insure every citizen of the United States an opportunity to vote at each election.

It is also recommended that State Federations and City Central Bodies be urged to cooperate in securing modification of voting laws or regulations in order that all workers may have free access to the polls.

It is further recommended that the Executive Council, the State Federations, the City Central Bodies, and all National and International Unions urge all workers to make

full use of the right of franchise at all elections.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Amendment to Existing Compensation Laws to Aid Ex-Servicemen

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate H. S. Jordan, Niagara Falls Federation of Labor, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

WHEREAS, After the cessation of hostilities the members of the armed forces will be looking for re-employment, and

WHEREAS, Due to curtailment of War Production, the manpower problem will no longer exist, and

WHEREAS, Management will again resort to pre-war conditions of not hiring men over the age of forty and increase the physical requirements prerequisite to employment, and

WHEREAS, Many members of the armed forces will not be able to meet the requirements brought about by the State Insurance Fund and other private Insurance Funds in relation to Workmen's Compensation Benefit, now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at Convention convening at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record during the enactment of Federal Legislation supplementing existing laws relating to Compensation Insurance Fund, etc., thereby, making it possible for the members of the armed forces to meet their Post-War Requirements.

This resolution deals with the question of re-employment and rehabilitation after the war of the men returned from the armed forces.

Your Committee recommends that it be referred to the Post-War Planning Committee of the American Federation of Labor for appropriate action.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Increasing Injury and Death Compensation for Government Employees

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Injury and death compensation

in Government service is based on average earnings of Government employees, and

WHEREAS, The Compensation Act was amended February 12, 1927, increasing the monthly compensation for total disability from \$66.66 to \$116.66, and

WHEREAS, Organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad believe that compensation for injury and death should follow the general trend of increases, both in wages and cost of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to secure the enactment of legislation which will follow out the purpose of this resolution.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be amended by striking out all of the last paragraph following the word "Resolved" and inserting the following:

"That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to initiate and to seek the enactment of legislation to provide that benefits under the United States Employees' Compensation law shall be increased in conformance with increases in compensation for services performed.

With this amendment your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Liberalization of Local System of Government in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, His Excellency the President of the United States recommended to the United States Congress in the month of March of this year to liberalize the local system of government of Puerto Rico, and to the effect appointed a Committee composed of Puerto Ricans and Continental Americans to make recommendations to him on changes of our Organic Act, a Committee on which no representation was given to the organized workers of the Island, and

WHEREAS, We understand that recommendations (which are unknown to the people) were made already to the President, and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement in Puerto Rico and in Continental United States has been always on the watch when liberty and freedom of our people are involved, the American Federation of Labor having cooperated to a large extent to the

establishment of the rights and liberty we enjoy at the present, and being responsible for these achievements under our Organic Act as may be seen by the following:

1.—The first Civil Government established in Puerto Rico on May 1st, 1900, was through an Act of Congress known as the Foraker's Act. There was not much that labor could do 43 years ago to have a more liberal Government established in our Island, because of our limited influence, but thanks to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor we were fortunate at least in incorporating in the Foraker's Act a "Bill of Rights" which did guarantee the free exercise of our economic and social rights, freedom of speech and the enjoyment of other constitutional rights and guarantees which enabled us to fight for better conditions for our people in general.

2.—Changes were effected by Congress on March 2nd, 1917, when a new Organic Act became operative in our Island, known as the Jones Act. This new Act was more liberal inasmuch as it did separate the functions of the three branches of Government, the executive, the legislative and the judiciary, and in some other respects. But the reasons why this new Organic Act was made more liberal, was not because of the intentions of those originating it. Those originating the changes would have deprived nearly 250,000 workers of their voting franchise, a privilege that they were enjoying since the year 1900. The "literacy test", the "poll-tax", "property tax" and other qualifications and restrictions would have placed—if not fought by the American Federation of Labor—practically all the power in the hands of a group of the so-called chosen few. The same people sponsoring the changes also intended that people to be eligible to our Insular Legislature should own property and pay taxes, and in that way workers could not be expected to be elected to our Legislature. No provision had been made for free and compulsory education; no limitation had been established as to the age of children to be employed; nothing to prohibit compulsory servitude.

3.—We had to keep in Washington for a long period of time the founder of this organization, our late brother Santiago Iglesias to be on the watch and to enlist the effective support of the American Federation of Labor, so that a real more liberal Act could be passed by Congress for our people. Our late President Gompers, realizing the danger threatening our rights (since he knew very well the tendency and medieval education of our latin political bosses); the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor under his instructions, and many other officials of the American Federation of Labor willing to assist, "took up the cudgels" and all reactionary measures intended to be put in the Jones Act were defeated.

4.—And again, thanks to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor the Organic Act of Puerto Rico effective March the 2nd, 1917, was in reality more liberal than the Foraker's Act, and the rights and protection for labor and for all the people in general were greatly improved, and

WHEREAS, It is under this Act that we have been developing our activities for the last 26 years, and it is to this very Act that changes will be made by Congress according to the recommendations of the Committee appointed by the President if the President sees fit to accept such recommendations and have them transmitted to Congress as his own, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor having been instrumental to such an extent in the framing of our previous Organic Acts, it is our duty to continue to render these services so that the proposed liberalization of the Organic Act of the Island be a reality and to prevent that under a disguised so-called liberalization plan the people might be deprived of the true liberal measures now enjoyed and of all those rights now in existence and consecrated under the Jones Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in harmony with the policy and traditions of the American Federation of Labor, and the mission of this progressive institution during the past toward Puerto Rico, be, and it is hereby instructed, to watch all movements intended to make changes in the Organic Act of Puerto Rico and to take any steps deemed to be necessary to secure for the Island those measures that would effectively assist in the normal development and free exercise of all rights accorded to labor by democracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be also instructed to watch the situation and to appear before the Committees of both the House and the Senate, of competent jurisdiction, to present the views of organized labor on amendments presented to the Organic Law of Puerto Rico, in case bills to the effect are presented in either of the Houses.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Permanent Food and Milk Program for School Children

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States enacted Public Law No. 320 on August 25, 1935, section 32 of which law makes available annually to the Department of Agriculture 80% of all monies collected as import duties to be used by the Department of Agriculture for relief of farm food surpluses and said Department did, as one method of using up farm surpluses, sponsor a nationwide school lunch and school milk program, and

WHEREAS, The 78th Congress did on July 5, 1943, pass the Annual Appropriation Bill for the Department of Agriculture which included a provision that, notwithstanding the fact that farm surpluses no longer exist, a sum not to exceed \$50,000,000.00 could be spent during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, for the continuance of the school lunch and school milk program. At that time Congress made it plain that the provision was for one year only and that worthy as the school lunch program is, some other means should be developed rather than to charge it to section 32, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of the school lunch and school milk program is of a benefit to the health and welfare of the child, which was brought to light during the induction of selectees for the armed forces of the United States when large numbers of men were shown to have suffered from malnutrition and poor teeth as a result of inadequate food. Encouraging better nutrition is basically an educational function and school lunch rooms offer an ideal place for teaching this subject, and furthermore, despite vastly increased industrial activity, there is still a considerable percentage of families in need of some assistance to provide nutritive foods in adequate quantities for their children, and

WHEREAS, The continuance of this program will permit more than 6,000,000 school children of the nation, to have available daily, a complete dietetically well balanced school lunch at very low cost, now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record recommending to the Congress of the United States that the school lunch and school milk program be perpetuated, and that Congress enact suitable legislation to effect this purpose, beginning July 1, 1944, and to appropriate sufficient monies to finance it from any unincumbered funds in the United States Treasury. These funds to be made available in direct grants to local School Boards or Districts until such time as this obligation can be absorbed by the local communities.

Resolution No. 84 requests endorsement of a proposal that legislation be enacted to provide that Congress appropriate sufficient funds to continue the free milk and lunch program for school children and that such fund be allotted to local School Boards or Districts until such time as that obligation can be assumed by local communities.

Your Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to work out an equitable plan for needed assistance to school children and to initiate the appropriate legislation.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary George: There are two resolutions, Resolution No. 55 on the caption

"Political Rights", presented by the delegates representing the Civil Service Organizations, and Resolution No. 89, under the caption, "Hatch Act", presented by Delegate John P. Frey, of the Metal Trades Department. These resolutions are as follows:

Political Rights

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Laws have been enacted and regulations promulgated to protect the integrity of public elections and to prevent the use of public office to influence elections by coercion of public employees either by threat of retributive action or promise of reward, and

WHEREAS, Such laws have imposed undue restrictions upon the free exercise by Government employees to freely express opinions, and to participate in political campaigns, and

WHEREAS, Recent laws have provided unwarrantably severe penalties for the slightest violation, either intentional or inadvertent, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, instruct the Executive Council to initiate legislation to amend existing statutes in such manner as to restore to public employees the right to full and free exercise of citizenship rights and to insure their protection against compulsion or coercion from supe-

riors in employment or office or from persons in position to influence either their tenure of employment or opportunity for advancement.

Hatch Act

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The right of the citizen to vote, freely express his opinion on political questions, whether it be in private conversation or in public discussions, and to join with his fellow citizens in organizing for political purposes, must be regarded as a right never to be abridged, if we accept the theory that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the government, and

WHEREAS, By means of the abridgement of the right of the citizen to fully exercise his citizenship, small but powerful economic groups have succeeded in many instances in controlling elections, and

WHEREAS, Government employees for many years have been subjected to a constant and increasing encroachment upon their rights as American citizens by the enactment of laws which have restricted their right to participate in political activities vital to their interests, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Mass., in October, 1943, go on record as urging the restoration to all government employees of full citizenship rights, including the right to vote, the right of free speech on public questions, and the right to join with their fellow citizens in organizing for political purposes, and be in further

RESOLVED, That to this end this convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the repeal of the so-called Hatch Act, and other legislative restrictions placed upon political activities on the part of government employees.

Your Committee considered these resolutions at length, and in view of the fact that the sponsors of one of these resolutions has indicated a difference with the decision arrived at by the Committee, I move that both resolutions be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that the Executive Council hold a hearing of parties interested and take appropriate action on the information secured.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Chairman Ornburn: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of the Committee on

Legislation and it is signed by the following members:

I. M. Ornburn, Chairman
 Leo E. George, Secretary
 Emanuel Koveleski
 B. M. Jewell
 Foster J. Pratt
 James M. Duffy
 James T. Moriarty
 Francis O'Toole
 James B. Burns
 Thomas V. Green
 Joseph F. Landis
 L. V. McGuigan
 Nellie H. Gallagher
 Christian Madsen
 Henry Rosendale
 James Mowatt
 Samuel Laderman
 Frank B. Field
 Clifton Vogt
 Frank X. Martel
 John J. Falvey
 Patrick Leonard

COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION.

Chairman Ornburn moved the adoption of the Committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Labor's Conference on Food and Nutrition

Delegate Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I desire to make what I regard as a very important announcement. It is common knowledge with all members of labor organizations that food is Topic No. 1 on the Home Front and for that reason we have called a conference in this hall tomorrow morning beginning at 10 o'clock. I want to read the program in order that you may know who will appear on it: President Green, Secretary Meany, Dr. Graubard, Director of Labor Education, Food Distribution Administration; Roy H. Hendrickson, Director, Food Distribution Administration, War Food Administration; Chester Bowles, General Manager, Office of Price Administration; Paul H. Appleby, Under Secretary United States Department of Agriculture; E. J. Riches, Acting Chief, Economic and Statistical Section, International Labor Office.

In the afternoon we will have James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union; Nathan Shefferman, Labor Relations

Associates; and then there will be a panel and discussion participated in by a number of delegates from National and International Unions and State Federations and Mr. Haakon, leader of the Norwegian Labor Movement. All delegates and visitors are requested to attend.

We shall discuss such problems as price ceilings upon all necessary commodities, rationing, rent control and every other problem coming before us on the Home Front having to do with food.

President Green: I hope all will please take note of this very important announcement and arrange, so far as it lies within their power, to attend at least a part of these conferences that will be held tomorrow, as announced by Brother Ornburn.

Statement of Vice President Tobin on Observance of No-Strike Pledge

President Green: I want to present to you Vice President Tobin for a statement to the convention.

Vice President Tobin: Mr. Chairman and delegates, you heard a good deal this morning about labor and strikes and work for the government, brought about by the address of the Commander of the American Legion in his reference to strikes by labor unions in violation of our pledge to our government.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has had perhaps more unjust publicity in matters of this kind than any other organization in recent months. The most thoroughly organized lobby that has existed in Washington in all the years during which I have been acquainted with the methods of procedure down there has been operating since the beginning of the war, in the Capital of the nation. With unlimited money from insurance companies and gentlemen farmers they have been successful not only in spreading all kinds of unfair and unjust propaganda against the toilers of the nation, but they have been somewhat successful—I might say substantially successful in convincing our legislators as to the evils of labor men. In all of this, labor has patiently gone on doing its job and endeavoring 'to keep

its pledges to the government. But there is almost a limit to endurance.

If the International Brotherhood of Teamsters have 35 men out on strike in New York, although there are 54,000 union men there, great capital is made of it. The next day it is brought on the floor of Congress and every newspaper in New York, with few exceptions, headlines the fact that the Teamsters have broken faith in their pledge to the government. That is true of many of your organizations.

This system of poisoning the minds of the American people against the trade union movement is now enjoying its greatest reward. They are in the heights of their greatest glory, and unfortunately many of the bureaus and tribunals of government are unthinkingly aiding and helping them.

As one of the associates of President Green, and being a member of the Executive Council, I helped in the creation of the War Labor Board. It has done a great deal of good, but it is getting to the point where it is becoming almost antiquated and its functions are not what they were intended to be at the time of its creation. The personnel of the Board is all right, but for some reason or other they are swamped with cases that are piling up and they don't seem to understand the human side of the question. Now, working men and women are human beings, and there is no rule, there is no law unless it is based on what they believe to be justice, that can work successfully.

I am going to read to you a telegram in answer to telegrams that I have received in the last three or four days. This is a telegram I sent to the Chairman of the War Labor Board last night. I think many of you down there on the floor have had similar experiences. If the Board would use a portion of the enormous amount of money they spend in telegrams to send somebody out on the road to adjust some of these grievances they would get better results. I get about eleven telegrams on almost every insignificant question, just as you do. I received a complaint from the Board about a strike somewhere in the Southern States, and in the telegram I have endeavored to explain our position.

Boston, Mass.
October 7, 1943.

Hon. William Davis, Chairman
War Labor Board
Washington, D. C.

Am endeavoring in every way possible to keep our people at work in accordance with

our pledge to our government, but conditions are becoming more difficult daily. Recently in Providence, R. I., I had printed on first pages of daily papers paid advertisements denouncing stoppages of work by over-the-road truck drivers. This action of ours was responsible for the return of the men to work. In New York milk drivers strike I gave statements to the press denouncing strike and advising men to return to work. In Nashville, Tennessee yesterday striking Teamsters were ordered back to work or their Union charter would be revoked by International Union. Today we have received information that men loading and unloading trucks, members of another local of Teamsters in Tennessee have stopped work and have advised me of the cause of their trouble and that Local Union officers cannot handle rank and file. I now notify you and the War Labor Board that both myself and my associates find it impossible to convince our membership immediately in many places of the necessity of observing our no-strike pledge because of what they and I consider an unnecessary delay in endeavoring to make decisions in cases submitted by those unions to the War Labor Board. In several instances there are cases pending, awaiting action and decision by the War Labor Board, as long as ten, eleven, twelve and thirteen months. I am sure that the President of the United States never intended or expected, nor did any leader of labor expect, that any governmental tribunal would hold up a case for a period of twelve months, where men are suffering and have requested an adjustment of their conditions, wages and hours. I earnestly suggest that the panel or Commission handling this end of labor, trucking transportation, be ordered to expedite immediately all cases submitted and waiting for adjustment not longer than three months. If any representative of this panel or sub-commission cannot give his entire time to this work then he should be removed or substituted by another. The war situation is becoming more intense. The labor situation is becoming more difficult and the workers having just grievances that should be adjusted, will not be easily controlled. Personally, while I am willing to make any and every sacrifice humanly possible, I believe the workers in many instances have just reason for resentment against the awful unnecessary delays of the War Labor Board and its constituted representatives.

Daniel J. Tobin, General President,
Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters.

I sent that telegram for the purpose of trying to explain some of the things that we, the men of labor, have to put up with. I was very much impressed, as were all of you, with the statement made by President Green in his answer to the Commander of the American Legion just before we adjourned at noon. President Green has some knowledge of what is going on, but we seem to be getting into a condition down in Washington where they are really lacking a full understanding of the problems of you men down there on the

floor. Of course we are for our government and for our war effort; we have to win the war. Whose war is it? It is our war, it is the war for the continued emancipation of the toilers. It is not the war of a few millionaires. We, the toilers of this and other countries have millions involved. We must make sacrifices. We will be called upon to make more. The picture is not quite as rosy as we would like to have it, but we must not be obstructed by governmental bureaus.

Your no-strike pledge was given by the Executive Council of the Federation, but the Executive Council had no more power than a child to put it into effect, were it not for you men representing your Local Unions and your International Unions. Our Federation is a federation, and as a member of the Executive Council I know how faithfully you have tried to carry out your pledges. But without the aid of the business agents and the International Officers, our pledge to the government could not be carried out. You have kept your pledge as we have, and you deserve and will, I am sure as time goes on, and history is written, receive the gratitude of a great, freedom-loving citizenship of our country.

We were going along splendidly with our pledge, and again Congress in Washington stepped in when we were telling men that they could not strike and put through legislation telling our people that they could strike. I refer to the Smith-Connally Bill. And believe it or not, I have had over one hundred requests for permission to strike in accordance with the laws of the United States since the Smith-Connally Bill became a law—requests that we would not have had and that we would have refused were it not for the tampering of legislation, were it not for the tampering of Congress, aligned with the bureaus, the tampering with our machinery in handling our people through our no-strike pledge.

Now, men are working night and day. They are getting tired, they are getting nervous with the continued speed-up of machinery. Go into any of these factories, those great big airplane plants and look into the faces of these people. That continuous grind of doing the same thing every hour of the day, every day of the week, is gradually breaking down the nerves of the toilers of the nation, as it has done in England. England has endeavored to take care of it, and still we

have bureaus that instead of helping us, in many instances overlap each other, with jealousies prevailing, and when we are doing a fairly good job they put through legislation that has set us back for nearly a year from where we were.

Now the rule that applies in our Union is that most of our local organizations sign contracts for a period of two years, and in some instances for a period of three years. In one instance the contract of the Union had expired. It had been signed and agreed to two years before that, and that case is pending now before the War Labor Board for nearly thirteen months.

That is one of the reasons those men went on strike. Of course we will order them back to work. That is about all we can do and that is not the answer always. We may threaten to take away their charter, and they will walk over to somebody else and get a charter, without any question. We can suffer that, too, for the sake of our government.

But there is another thing, there is the shortage of labor. Men and women are becoming tired. We can't put men with rifles beside truck drivers to run those trucks, and we can't find other truck drivers to take their places. This is the human side of the question that those who operate those bureaus seem to fail to understand.

I know this government has the right and it is in duty bound to do anything within reason that is necessary to win this war. If they could freeze wages they would also have to freeze prices. They pursued a wiser course that has brought results.

And so that you may understand our position when you read in the papers of the Teamsters breaking their pledge to the government, I thought I would make this explanation, because I think that in a small way, perhaps in a larger way many of you have been confronted with similar conditions and will be crucified, if it is possible, by language, by the press of the nation, maybe by some governmental official because you failed to do the impossible.

The men and women of our nation deserve credit. The national and local officers are the backbone of this war. We have an unnecessary turnover in labor because of the unjust conditions obtaining. We are short of certain kinds of bombers because of certain unjust decisions made by certain boards. The

idea of giving men two cents an hour more in a decision by a government tribunal, when the cost of living has gone up 45 per cent in that particular district over a period of four months!

But we must go on, we must suffer being misunderstood, we must bear more. We are in for more difficult days as time goes on, all of which we are prepared to endure. But we must have proper consideration, proper understanding of what we are doing. We must have our cases heard and decisions made, just decisions by our government, if the nation expects us to be able to continue to hold the men and women of labor at the wheels of industry until this conflict ends.

The greatest surprise I have had, a pleasant and joyous surprise, is the fact that we have had such magnificent success as we have had. In England, a small nation compared to ours, with a population of 40,000,000 as compared to our population of 135,000,000, with very strict laws, a nation that has been in the war four years—I haven't the exact statistics, but within a few days there are more men and women on strike in England than there were in our country—striking sometimes against unfair consideration of their cases.

I don't want to place the stamp of approval on any kind of a strike during this period of the war. I don't want to be understood that way, but I do say that the International Officers cannot continue indefinitely unless we get the help to which we are justly entitled from our government—I mean continue indefinitely to keep men and women working.

There is a great responsibility on the men and women of Labor today. We have been impeded by certain decisions and certain bureaus—not by the head of the Government itself—it is impossible for that man or any other man to handle all these different things. But when they charge labor with being negligent in observing its pledge they are wrong. Labor has kept its pledge, you have kept your pledge, but they have not kept their pledge with Labor.

President Green: The Chair will present to you now for a brief address the fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League. It was customary for many years for us to listen to an address delivered by a representative of this movement. We are pleased now that we have resumed that custom

of having accredited delegates from the National Women's Trade Union League, and I am going to present to you now its president, Miss Rose Schneiderman.

MISS ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN

(President, National Women's Trade Union League)

President Green, Secretary Meany, members of the Executive Council and Delegates: I am delighted to be here this morning and bring fraternal greetings from the National Women's Trade Union League. This convention marks the historic epic to us of the National League because 40 years ago during the conference of the American Federation of Labor held in this same city of Boston, The National Women's Trade Union League was born. Our erstwhile and revered President, Samuel Gompers, was present at the birth of this new organization and gave it his blessings. The organization was started by a group of social workers among whom were the late Mary Kenny O'Sullivan, a member of the Book Binders union; William English Walling, known by many of you; Jane Adams; Mary McDowell; Mrs. Henry Henken and a number of labor leaders—all since passed to the Great Beyond. It was thought then that an organization similar to the Women's Trade Union League in England could be formed here for the purpose of bringing to the working women of the nation the message of trade unionism, and these people who were not workers at the bench pledged their support and their activity.

Mass production was just beginning and the American girl showed no interest in trade union organization. Working conditions were deplorable; the 12 and 14 hour day were the rule and not the exception; wages were pitifully low; 3, 5 and 7 dollars a week. It was thought at the time that the newly established National Women's Trade Union League could draw public attention to these conditions; give its cooperation to the local unions in the industries where women were employed and spreading the gospel of Trade Union organization amongst the increasing number of women entering the work shops, factories and stores of the Nation.

At the first National Convention held in 1905, President Gompers addressed the gathering and congratulated the promoters of the movement and those who participated in the Conference. He expressed his satisfaction that the "work is now so seriously and so intensely taken up that the future of your effort and of your movement is assured." We told of the trade unions' efforts to better the conditions of working women to the full limit of their ability and power, and that the trade union movement stood steadfastly for equal pay for equal work.

For 40 years, the Women's Trade Union League has brought the message of unionism

to women. In the needle trades, laundries, hotels, restaurants, textiles, service industries, etc., we have gone to the foreign-born and taught them our language and knowledge of our institutions. We have helped to make them into citizens and good loyal trade unionists. We have set up classes and trained women for active participation in the labor movement; taught them the history of our land and the labor movement.

The League has been in the forefront in the struggles of labor legislation, minimum wage laws, hours laws, one day rest in 7, unemployment insurance, health and factory regulations, unemployment insurance and social security. Although many of these laws pertain to women only, the beneficial effects have extended to men as well. For years, the Women's Trade Union League, with the support of the American Federation of Labor, has led the fight successfully against the so-called "Equal Rights" amendment, which would take away all of the safeguards that have been erected in recognition of the basic differences between men and women. Far from giving women equality, this amendment would result in grievous inequality. Opposing this amendment, we have had the added support of some of the most outstanding women's organizations in the country such as: The League of Women Voters; The American Universities Women; National Consumers League; The Catholic Women's organizations; National Council of Jewish Women; National Y.W.C.A. You will be glad to know that this week the House Judiciary Committee put its stamp of disapproval on the amendment.

The needs of the war have not only brought unprecedented numbers of women into industrial life, they have also demanded unprecedented sacrifices. We have been especially concerned that the standards for women, safeguarded by legislation, shall not be broken down unnecessarily, and that the needs of the war are not used as a pretext by unscrupulous employers to exploit the patriotism of our women workers. No one can deny that the woman wage earner is much better off today than she was in 1903. Right now three million of them are protected by strong and powerful trade unions, minimum wage, maximum hour laws, social security and unemployment insurance; but equal pay for equal work has still to be obtained. Sixteen and a half million women are now gainfully employed. There is no industry, no occupations however difficult and strenuous that women are not engaged in right now. Testimony from employers tell us that the women are doing a splendid job in building planes, ships and tanks. They are working on railroads, in steel mills and on farms.

It is impossible to try to deal with the gigantic problems of women in war industries without looking ahead to what women's place will be in peacetime industries after the war. Obviously it is too early to see the whole pattern, but even at this time certain basic things are clear. Equal pay is not only necessary for women's morale now, but if women are not paid for the same jobs that the men they are replacing were paid, the value of the jobs will go down and will be down when the returning soldiers come back into industry.

We must definitely resist the trend to pay women less, or the standard of living for all workers, both now and in the post-war period, will be lowered.

The right of women to work at any sort of a job where they have established their capacity must be recognized now and in the future. It must be assured in an orderly and equitable fashion, applying equally to all workers and apart from sex consideration.

We sincerely hope that our post-war world will offer employment at a decent living wage to all who want and are fit to work, and that our peacetime employment possibilities will be broad enough to offer full employment to the returning soldiers and to women who need or desire work. That many women war workers will return to their homes, there is no doubt. On the other hand, economic necessity underlies most women's desire for a job and this necessity should be treated with as much respect and consideration as is given to men.

Perhaps, one of the outstanding contributions during the past forty years the League has made to the labor movement is the interpretation of its principles and problems to the people outside our movement. I do not hesitate to say that through our effort the labor movement of America has gained countless numbers of loyal and understanding friends. We hope to tell our story to an ever wider audience in making clear some of the underlying causes which lead to disagreement and controversy between employers and workers, and show the constructive efforts of the unions and the signal contributions by the workers to industrial progress and to our country.

Given your support, as requested in President Green's letter, we hope to expand our work this year by undertaking an effective public relations job in the women's field designed to offset some of the untoward and downright false publicity directed against all labor.

I take this occasion to express our appreciation for the encouragement we have had from the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and some of the outstanding International Unions in the work we are doing. We congratulate the American Federation of Labor and its leaders on the tremendous strides forward the organization has made in the past years. In 1903 we could not possibly envision that today there would be 7,000,000 members under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

However, there are still huge numbers of unorganized workers who must be organized, and I think they are ready to get the message of trade unionism right now. There are at least a million office workers in the country who are sort of forgotten men and women. Their wages have always been stabilized and frozen, and it is about time we made a drive to give them an opportunity to join our movement. Then the retail stores hold another million men and women of America who have made certain progress in joining organizations, but by far the great majority of them are still unorganized. In the hotels and restaurants there is a beginning, too, but there

has to be a complete and vigorous drive in order to get them in. The service trades unions could have at least a million more women, because there are that many domestic workers and they should be approached and asked to join our forces.

My firm belief is that an organization drive started amongst these men and women would yield a tremendous number of new members, Mr. President, so that the next time you meet, in 1944, instead of 7,000,000 members we could easily have 10,000,000 members.

The National Women's Trade Union League and its Locals stand ready to cooperate with you in every way possible. However, I must say this—and I say it with sadness, because I am a trade unionist of long standing myself—that in only two Leagues have we been able to afford paid executives. Most of our local units are run on the voluntary plan, and there the women are giving not only of their time where they can least afford to do it, but they are paying their own way in addition. With a little more financial help from the trade union movement we could do a swell job. I don't mean that we want to undertake any of these drives ourselves, but we could give you all the cooperation and all the help we could in ways which are important to keep the story of the organization drive before the members. We could do picketing, distribute literature, do everything in our power to help any drive that you would undertake.

We glory in the success that the labor movement has met with in the past year. However, we feel that it is imperative that we solidify our movement now. We must close ranks and restore peace and unity to the labor movement, a labor movement that will be invincible no matter what the attack.

We pledge you, President Green, that the National Women's Trade Union League and all its component parts will carry on. We stand ready as always to serve the wage earning women of our country and the trade union movement which is so close to our hearts.

I am sure, Mr. President, that your deliberations will be of the greatest importance to all the workers of our country, and especially to the men and women in our ranks. I thank you very much for this opportunity to greet you and to greet the delegates at this convention.

President Green: I thank Miss Schneiderman for her visit to the convention and for the address she delivered. I hope she will find it possible to remain with us until the convention adjourns.

Now the Chair calls for a report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, and recognizes Vice-President Birthright, Chairman of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Vice-President Birthright, Chairman of the Committee: The report of the Committee will be presented by Delegate Quinn, Secretary of the Committee.

Delegate Quinn, Secretary of the Committee, presented the following report:

Recommendation of the Committee

The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies had no resolutions referred by the Convention. However, your Committee wishes to submit the following report:

There is usually in each city a Central Labor Council chartered by the American Federation of Labor which is the coordinating body for that locality and has at all times through co-operative actions of its affiliates been able to give added support and strength to the locals of the International Unions and Federal Labor Unions.

In view of the many war activities there are many local activities where Central Labor Unions are called upon to participate. The Officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are mindful of the work that can be accomplished by the various Central Labor Councils to cooperate to the fullest with the various Government agencies by having representation on various Boards and Committees as set up by our Government Agencies. We are in receipt of information from the various localities that members of our various unions are giving their time in serving on the various Boards as established by the Government. One important Board is that of the Selective Service, which is the Draft and Appeals Boards in which our members have given valuable service. Knowing of the importance of these Boards, we encourage the members of our various unions to continue by serving on these important Boards. Other important Boards are the Rationing Boards, and labor in the various Central Bodies has set up advisory committees to work with the office of OPA, also with the Defense Committees and with the Committees on sale of war bonds and

stamps. Your Committee believes that the various Central Labor Councils are very important in this work and we therefore request that they continue this work in our all-out effort for Peace and Victory.

May we therefore recommend that the International Unions call upon their local unions to affiliate with their Central Labor Council to coordinate their activities in the various localities, also the affiliation of all Federal Labor Unions to the Central Labor Councils.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Committee Secretary Quinn: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

W. C. Birthright, Chairman
James C. Quinn, Secretary
C. C. Coulter
Joseph Marshall
A. Adamski
R. E. Woodmansee
Bertram W. Kohl
Wm. J. Moran
Alfred Rota
Wm. McGuern
J. W. Van Hook
Lloyd Klenert
John Lundergan
Arthur J. Strunk
Israel H. Goldberg
Frank P. Converse
Thomas A. Lenehan
Nathan Solomon
Michael J. Mongovan
Patrick McHugh
Edward W. Kaiser
Richard B. Erwin
John E. Briedenbach

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies

Committee Secretary Quinn moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Bugniazet, Chairman of the Committee on State Organizations for a report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Vice-President Bugniazet, Chairman of the Committee: The Secretary of the Committee, Berniece B. Heffner, will make the report.

Delegate Heffner, Secretary of the Committee, presented the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Committee on State Organization has the honor to report on the following portions of the Executive Council's report which were referred for consideration:

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION EMERGENCY LEGISLATION ON HOURS OF WORK

(Pages 86-87, Executive Council's Report)

Under the guise of the war time emergency there is a grave tendency to suspend or lower the protective labor standards.

We must be vigilant to oppose any such relaxation and press for permanent legislation raising standards. Where such laws already exist they should be protected zealously.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

CHILD LABOR

(Pages 87-88, Executive Council's Report)

There is a grave danger in the widespread effort to lower legal child labor standards, and the committee concurs wholeheartedly in the recommendation of the Executive Council that administration of laws granting power of relaxation should be carefully watched.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

SAFETY AND HEALTH

(Page 88, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee calls to the attention of all State Federations of Labor the provisions of the Norton Bill—HR 2800, which would give

Federal aid to State Labor Departments to protect the health and safety of workers, and urges their active support pressing for early passage.

The section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

WAGES

(Pages 88-89, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee urges State Federations of Labor to be ever alert and vigilant to oppose any legislation which discriminates against Labor. While no harmful legislation may be proposed, we must be prepared to fight for and defend the benefits which we are now receiving.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

(Pages 89-91, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee commends this portion of the Executive Council's report in which great advances were made by the 1943 legislatures.

We urge State Federation of Labor to follow the example set by these States to the end that all States may have a uniformity of law giving the greatest protection and benefit to the worker.

In conclusion your Committee repeats its warning that the greatest possible interest should be taken in all laws introduced in State Legislatures which would have for their purpose the detrimental restrictions of labor unions or protective labor laws, or the setting aside of any existing laws under the guise of the war emergency, which would render them ineffective and weak. We should resist vigorously restrictive legislation and press unceasingly for remedial and beneficial legislation.

Your Committee calls to the attention of all National and International Unions as well as the American Federation of Labor the necessity of all local unions being affiliated with the various State Federations of Labor. This is essential to the defense of labor in procuring favorable legislation in the legislatures of their respective states and would supply

the necessary cooperation to foster the enactment of laws beneficial to the workers.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Heffner, Secretary of the Committee: This concludes the report of the Committee on State Organizations and it is signed:

G. M. Bugniazet, Chairman
Berniece B. Heffner, Secretary
William E. Walter
Walter F. McLoughlin
Joseph A. Mullaney
John Clinton
Rudolph Heintz
Phil Hannah
Charles T. Crane
C. J. Haggerty
W. S. Gross
Thomas A. Murray
Phil E. Ziegler
Gust Anderson
G. F. Williams
Louis Koenig
E. J. Shave
Bernard Quinn
James D. Graham
Claude O'Reilly
John J. Hauck
Harry W. Acreman
Frank Clark Ellis
Walter Collins

Committee on State Organizations

Vice-President Bugniazet, Chairman of the Committee: I move the adoption of the committee report in full.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Doherty, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, for a report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Vice-President Doherty, Chairman of the Committee: Mr. President, the Committee on Organization is now ready to report. Several sections of the Executive Council's Report were referred to this Committee for action. Additionally, some six resolutions were referred to this committee for recommendation. The Committee held several meetings and at those meetings, every member of the Committee was present. We spent considerable time in preparing this report, and Secretary Buzzell of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council will read the report.

Delegate Buzzell, Secretary of the Committee, presented the following report:

Organizational Assistance in Peninsula of Upper Michigan

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Dexter D. Clark, Central Labor Union, Marquette, Michigan.

WHEREAS, There are many small local unions in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan that have been chartered by American Federation of Labor Internationals for many years, and

WHEREAS, Due to many natural obstacles such as great distances and small membership they have been unable to bring many of the large industrial plants in the district into the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Rival labor organizations have in the past year been able to organize better than three thousand miners and hundreds of woodworkers and chemical employees through having several active representatives in the area, and

WHEREAS, We of the American Federation of Labor are fast losing our power to demand the necessary representation in government and civic affairs, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send a qualified representative into the area to assist in organizing an Upper Peninsula Federation of Labor so we may in the near future be in a position to protect our position.

The organization of a State Federation of Labor as proposed by this resolution would create a dual or duplicate federation in the State of Michigan where an efficient state federation already exists. Therefore, your committee recommends that the resolution be not concurred in.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Charter for Office Workers

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many resolutions were introduced into the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Tampa, Florida in 1936, proposing that an International Union of Office Employees be formed, and

WHEREAS, While the 1937 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Denver, Colorado, did take the preliminary steps toward the formation of this Interna-

tional; however, nothing was done to promote the progress, and

WHEREAS, The 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Seattle, Washington, insisted that steps be taken immediately to form this International Union of Office Employees, and as a result of the action of this Convention a meeting was called in Chicago in August of last year, and permanent officers were elected, and a Constitution and working rules and regulations were set up, and

WHEREAS, We find as many as eight international unions chartering office employees, some internationals having withdrawn from the American Federation of Labor taking these people with them, other international unions contemplating withdrawing from the American Federation of Labor and intending to take still larger numbers of office employees with them; in other instances dual charters being issued by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Since the formation of the international council in August, 1942 the membership on the Pacific Coast alone has practically doubled and are working under contract, and

WHEREAS, In every instance where contracts have been secured, such contracts have provided for substantial increases in pay and improved working conditions for office workers and these gains were accomplished in the most part by local organizations acting locally and by themselves, and have proved by their actions that they are capable of having an International Union of Office Employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, go on record in favor of such a charter being granted to the office employees.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the purpose of this resolution and further recommends that the President and the Executive Council proceed with the granting of an International charter for Office Employees at the earliest possible moment and that the President and Executive Council render all assistance possible in the construction of a constitution and otherwise.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

State Organizer for West Virginia

Resolution No. 46—By Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly, Wheeling, West Virginia.

WHEREAS, The State of West Virginia has been neglected as to the efforts put forth by the American Federation of Labor to organize

the unorganized laboring people within the State, and

WHEREAS, By reason of this State being neglected, the CIO and District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America have commercialized within the State and have been successful in organizing large numbers of the unorganized classes, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assign a State Organizer from the American Federation of Labor to organize the unorganized in the State of West Virginia under the American Federation of Labor.

The information before your committee on this subject indicates that the American Federation of Labor now has a full time organizer in the State of West Virginia in the person of the President of the State Federation of Labor in that state, and that other organizers are being temporarily assigned there. We, therefore, recommend that the matter be left in the hands of the organizational department of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization of Government Employees

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horibeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Bernice B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchardt, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The sixty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the organizing department to inaugurate a

campaign of organization among Government employees, and

WHEREAS, Many City Central Bodies have rendered valuable cooperation to affiliated organizations of Government employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, October 4-15, 1943, commend the organizing department and the city Central Bodies for their efforts and urge that the campaign of organization among Government employees be continued and enlarged.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Special Conference of National and International Unions to Assist in Organization Drive in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Federation of Free Workingmen.

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 168 as unanimously approved by the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor fully authorizes the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to financially assist the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico in carrying out the work which is necessary to improve conditions of the workers of the Island, and

WHEREAS, The situation that has been confronted by the workers of Puerto Rico for so many years makes it imperative that such financial assistance be rendered now through the combined and effective efforts of the American Federation of Labor and various National and International Unions, so as to enable the Insular labor movement to carry out an organization campaign, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Director of Organization of the American Federation of Labor be instructed, subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to call a Special Conference in Washington, D. C., of representatives of various National and International Unions having potential members in Puerto Rico, this special conference to discuss plans and ways and means to carry out such an organization drive as may be deemed necessary and convenient, and be it further

RESOLVED, That, if deemed advisable by the President of the American Federation of Labor, the Director of Organization of the American Federation of Labor be also instructed to invite to this Special Conference

a representative of the Puerto Rico State Federation of Labor to present the views and plans of that body and to make those suggestions believed to be practical to carry out the purposes of this resolution, and be it further

RESOLVED, That among others that could be called to this special conference by the Director of Organization of the A. F. of L., we suggest representatives of the following National and International Organizations: International Ladies Garment Workers' Union; Cigar Makers' International Union of America; International Longshoremen's Association; Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; American Federation of Teachers; Electrical Workers' International Union; Retail Clerks; Plumbers; Hotel and Restaurant; Barbers; Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Truck drivers; Railroad workers.

The problem presented in this resolution, as well as the statements made to the committee by its author, prompts the committee to express deepest sympathy for our fellow trade unionists in Puerto Rico. However, the solution of them seems to present the necessity for a great deal of planning and, therefore, your committee recommends that this be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to give all cooperation possible to the labor movement on that island.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Financial Assistance to Seafarers International Union in Organ- izing Workers in Fishing Industry

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Harry Lundeberg, Partick McHugh, John Mogan, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The members of the Executive Committee of the Seafarers' International Union of North America has petitioned the American Federation of Labor for assistance in organizing a large group of 30,000 workers in the fishing industry from Brownsville, Texas, at the Mexican Border to Norfolk, Virginia, and throughout the Pacific Coast and Alaskan territories, and

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International Union of North America has established local unions throughout the Nation, some of which have been operated with only partial success, while local unions in the New England states and Pacific Coast Ports have been operated with total success, and

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International Union has striven diligently to organize the fishing industry, and

WHEREAS, Their financial ability is so limited as to prohibit an organizing drive on a large scale, due to the fluctuating operations such as confront the seamen, fishermen and fish cannery workers during the war period, and

WHEREAS, They have extensive information regarding the fishing industry, and

WHEREAS, They have definite proof that wholesale exploitation is taking place relative to the fishermen who deliver the catch, and

WHEREAS, Large groups of these fishermen live on incomes which are actually lower than those of the sharecroppers of the deep south, and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, further petition the American Federation of Labor to lend assistance in a problem involving Towboatmen, which problem has arisen in the past few months and is due solely to the war effort and enemy submarine activities, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has constructed some 500 new tug boats and large numbers of oil barges which are to be operated on our inland waterways, and

WHEREAS, They have been successful in establishing a Towboatmen's Union in New Orleans, Louisiana, with some of the major operators in the peacetime period, and

WHEREAS, It now develops that these new oil barges are to be operated on a twelve-hour work day basis, and

WHEREAS, They find that the Government agencies have awarded these barges to companies having a twelve hour work day and no union relations, and

WHEREAS, The Seafarers' International Union is unable to attempt this widespread organizing campaign at this critical time, and

WHEREAS, Their sea-going members are being shifted from one part of the nation to another, and

WHEREAS, Because of the war they are compelled to establish temporary offices and move out to little ports never before heard of, which has involved an increase in personnel and a corresponding increase in overhead expense, and

WHEREAS, They find that the amount of revenue the international has on hand with which to operate renders the situation to an impossible status, and

WHEREAS, They further feel that unless the American Federation of Labor can come to their rescue in this war emergency that some dual or would-be dual union is likely to intervene, and

WHEREAS, A Federally owned Corporation known as Federal Barge Lines, which operates all traffic on the Mississippi River

has established an eight hour day with overtime in excess of eight hours, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor now in convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record to give the Seafarers' International Union of North America the necessary financial assistance to carry through to a successful conclusion an organizing campaign among the fishermen, bargemen, and towboatmen in the above mentioned field.

Your committee gave considerable attention and time to this resolution and had before it the sponsors, as well as Director of Organization Frank P. Fenton.

The work outlined in the resolution covers a tremendous area, practically the entire salt water shore line of the United States, but apparently the most needs seem to be in the Gulf area.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council and the Director of Organization assign organizers to the Gulf Coast area to attempt to work out an organizing program among the fishermen and tow-boatmen in that territory on a trial basis.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES — NEW UNIONS — FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS—CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS

(Page 37, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee had referred to it that section of the Executive Council's report captioned—"Organizing Activities," "New Unions," "Federal Labor Unions" and "Central Labor Unions." The Executive Council points out that the staff of the American Federation of Labor is participating in a wide field, many of the staff members serving on the War Labor Board, the Man-Power Board, etc. and cooperating with the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, in figuring costs of living; in the development of labor management programs for the purpose of increasing production in the war effort and, in the bond drives of the Treasury Department.

In addition, staff members are cooperating with International Unions in their organizing

campaigns in many ways and, that the Organizing Department of the American Federation of Labor is being called upon by International Unions for the services of organizers to a greater degree and, that many organizing campaigns, where a number of International Unions were involved, have been headed by American Federation of Labor organizers, at the request of International Unions.

We note also that the staff members in the field are being called upon by International Unions to handle matters before the War Labor Board, the Man-Power Board and the National Labor Relations Board for International Unions, City central bodies and local unions.

We note the comment in the Executive Council's Report concerning the assistance that the Organizing Department has received from the Building Trades department and the Metal Trades department which has been invaluable.

Your committee feels that the Organizing Department and its Director and the members of its staff should be commended upon this evident expansion of the work of the department. We also feel that the Executive Council should do everything in its power to assist in developing the spirit of cooperation and understanding between the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor and the representatives of the International Unions, particularly in the field where new industries are springing up, which in themselves present new problems in organizing technique. This committee feels that this will, to a greater and greater degree, bring about the understanding on the part of the International Unions of the necessity of organizing federal unions among people whose work does not bring them directly within the jurisdiction of established national or international unions, to the end that organizational drives would be complete and not wind up with the organization of various crafts in their International Unions and the miscellaneous workers be left unorganized.

Your committee is convinced that the statement of the Executive Council on the subject of Federal Labor Unions, to the effect that 32 such unions have been transferred to International Unions during the past year, is an indication of the desire on the part of the Organizing Department of the American Fed-

eration of Labor to, not only recognize the jurisdictional claims of national and international unions, but to protect them and, we believe that if matters of this kind were properly handled in their inception, during organization drives, it would prevent later complications and difficulties.

Under the sub-caption "New Union Reports", the Executive Council reports splendid progress in direct organizing. It is significant that out of 291 federal labor unions organized within eleven and a half months, 250 of them are active and apparently will become permanently established.

Your committee recognizes the extreme difficulties faced by the Organizing Department in many of the new fields, not the least which, as presented in the report of the Executive Council, comes through the necessity of dealing with many Government Agencies which to new organizations presents a formidable problem. The Organizing Department is to be commended for the work that its staff members have done in assisting new unions in this regard, as well as in negotiating and formulating contracts with employers, etc.

We think too that the Organizing Department is to be commended for the patience with which it has worked with such new unions, especially in view of the difficulties which are presented when increases in wages, or other improvements in working conditions are sought, including the so-called "Little Steel Formula" and other handicaps, which make the acquiring of such improvements difficult.

It is also significant that this portion of the Executive Council's report points out that in the organization of 291 federal labor unions in one year they have not transcended the rights of International Unions.

We desire to comment also, upon the reported increase in membership through this method of organization in federal labor unions of nearly 20,000 during the year, which is a continuation of the steady growth of membership in the last seven years indicating a total membership of 258,313 in July of 1943 as compared with 83,153 the same period of 1936.

The Executive Council's report also outlines the progress being made in the development of National Councils of federal labor unions in given industries and occupational fields of

which there are seven: Chemical, Aluminum, Fabricated Metals, Grain Processors, Railway Patrolmen, Office Workers and Beet Sugar Workers. It is also worthy of notice that in many instances these councils of federal unions are paying the organizing expenses in their own field and employ their own organizers and work in cooperation with the general organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor.

Under the caption "Central Labor Unions" the report of the Executive Council indicates that the Organizing Department has made splendid progress in the development of co-operation between its department and Central Labor Unions and volunteer organizers. We commend the department on its work in this line and, we note with satisfaction the continued development of the self-helping plan between the Organizing Department and the Central Labor Unions where, by matching funds, the Central Labor Unions, which means the local labor movement, is assuming its share of the financial burden as well as the work of organizing.

Your committee believes that this should be developed more and more and that Central Labor Unions should be impressed with their importance in the organizing activities of the American Federation of Labor and also that they should be impressed with the necessity for helping themselves.

On this point your committee had a number of delegations representing central labor unions appear before it. These delegates had no resolutions before the convention but they felt they wanted to relate their organizing difficulties and they all seem to center around the point of the activities of central labor unions and their willingness to do some of the work themselves. From these interviews your committee gained considerable insight on the value of this cooperative plan of the Organizing Department.

The committee was also favored with the presence of Director of Organization Frank P. Fenton with whom the committee discussed all of the problems before it as well as the general subject of organizing in itself.

Director Fenton's presence before the committee was highly instructive and the committee desires to express its great appreciation for the patience with which he explained the many details and problems with which his department is confronted.

To sum up, your committee feels that the organizing work of the American Federation of Labor has made splendid progress; that the collaboration and cooperation between representatives of national and international unions and general organizers of the federation is developing to the benefit of all concerned; that there is a greater understanding by central labor unions of their responsibilities in this work which cannot but help to redound to the benefit of the Federation and all the working people of this country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Buzzell, Secretary of the Committee: This completes the report of the Committee on Organization, and it is signed by:

Wm. C. Doherty, Chairman
J. W. Buzzell, Secretary
Frank Duffy
V. O. Gardner
John P. Burke
Paul Dullzell
Patrick H. Reagan
Jess Fletcher
Vincent Castronovo
William J. Riehl
Edward I. Hannah
Leon Williams
John B. Prewitt
Earl W. Jimerson
A. Philip Randolph
Wm. F. Schnitzler
John J. Griffin
John F. Towle
Stephen W. Fardy
Ray Nickelson
Jerry Aldred
Vincent J. Kane
John J. Scully

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Buzzell, Secretary of the Committee: I move the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Bates, Chairman of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Vice-President Bates, Chairman of the Committee: The report will be made by the Secretary of the Committee, Brother John M. Fewkes.

Delegate Fewkes, Committee Secretary: President Green and fellow delegates, your Committee on Executive Council's Report has met and studied those portions of the Executive Council's Report submitted to us for consideration and now present the following report:

OFFICIAL CHANGES

(Page 37, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports the resignation last January of Brother Edward J. Gainor as eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and the selection of Brother William C. Doherty to the membership on the Executive Council as thirteenth Vice-President.

We deeply regret the loss of the services of Brother Gainor, who has devoted a lifetime to the furtherance of the trade union movement, and who for the past nine years has served as a member of our Executive Council. An orator and a profound student of labor problems, Brother Gainor has been above everything else a servant to the cause of trade union achievement. His contribution to the betterment of conditions of postal service employees, his work toward the achievement of a shorter work week, and his services on our Executive Council will always remain a milestone in the annals of the American Federation of Labor.

Exercising the authority vested in it by our constitution, the Executive Council selected the president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Brother William C. Doherty, to fill the vacancy on the Executive Council. We commend the Executive Council in its wise choice in drawing upon the resources and experience of Brother Doherty to take part in the stewardship in the affairs of the American Federation of Labor in these crucial times.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRINTING TRADES- LITHOGRAPHERS

(Pages 42-43, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports its inability to bring about an adjustment in accordance with the previous convention decisions in the differences between the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. We regret that no adjustment in conformity with convention action could be reached, and recommend that unremitting efforts be made to reach an early settlement of all differences. Under the existing conditions of rapid and profound changes in the graphic arts industry, the achievement of complete harmony in the ranks of the printing trades is urgent and imperative.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

(Pages 46-50, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee calls special attention to the notable benefits derived by wage earners directly from their trade union membership. According to the Executive Council's summary, nearly twenty-three million dollars were paid out by standard national and international unions in 1942 in the form of unemployment, sickness, death and other benefits. These benefits comprise an important protection to workers against the economic hazards of unemployment and disability and add credit to labor's economic security. The benefits reported are paid by the national and international unions pertaining to their respective constitutions. The figures reported do not include the benefits paid by local unions of our affiliates. Although it is known that such local benefits present a still greater amount paid out than the benefits reported, no provision has yet been made for complete reporting of all benefits extended by our affiliated organizations to the membership.

Your committee recommends that the national and international unions of the American Federation of Labor be asked to instruct their local unions to furnish complete and uniform reports of benefits extended by them, and request that these reports be in turn made available to the American Federation of

Labor for presentation of a complete and comprehensive summary of all trade union benefits to the next convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS

(Page 85, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports the extension by Congressional action of the authority to negotiate and maintain reciprocal trade agreements with other nations. Your committee recommends the acceptance of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

THE A. F. OF L. AND WAR SERVICE

(Pages 116-117, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on the services rendered by the American Federation of Labor representatives and representatives of our unions in providing labor representation on government agencies engaged in war administration and in the formulation of war policies of our government.

Labor is gratified at the progress made during the past year to further and strengthen direct labor participation in war administration. In a number of key government agencies labor has not yet been accorded a status commensurate with labor's interest in and contribution to the war effort. Advance consultation on pending policies and direct participation in the formulation of administrative procedures are essential to assure effective and democratic participation by wage earners in carrying out the extraordinary services they are called upon to perform.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council secure information from all affiliated labor unions of the representatives designated by them to serve on war agencies of the government nationally and locally so that a complete report on labor representation secured by the American Federation of Labor may be rendered to the next convention.

Your committee recommends further that all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to furnish as promptly as possible a complete list of the A.F. of L. members serving in the armed forces to the end that a complete roster of labor's participation in the service to the nation and in the war may be made available.

Your Committee wishes to make a special commendation of the services rendered by Joseph Keenan as Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board in charge of the office of labor production. Equal commendation must also be made of the high statesmanship shown by A.F.L. representatives in other war agencies of the government whose efforts have made an outstanding contribution to democratic administration of national affairs in time of war.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMBINED LABOR WAR BOARD

(Page 117, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee recommends the approval of the portion of the Executive Council's report in which is summarized the work of the Combined Labor War Board in counselling and advising the President of the United States on war policies of special concern to labor.

Your Committee recommends that steps be taken to keep the officers of national and international unions clearly informed of national developments affecting labor with which the Combined Labor War Board deals from time to time.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

(Page 155, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on the appointment of the fraternal delegates of the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress held at Southport, England, on September 6th, and to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada held at Quebec last August.

Through the medium of fraternal delegates it has been possible for us to strengthen the bonds of understanding and cooperation with the free trade union movements of our sister nations.

Your Committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

WAR BOND CAMPAIGN

(Pages 159-160, Executive Council's Report)

The statement contained in the Executive Council's report on the leading part played by labor in helping finance the war is amply supported by facts. The American Federation of Labor has established an outstanding record of intensive cooperation and notable initiative in backing the American fighters in their battle for victory. The American Federation of Labor was the first to suggest voluntary payroll deductions based upon a payroll savings plan, and to set a definite quota for its members. The pledges made in the Seattle and Toronto conventions and the quotas set have been more than fulfilled. This success is due to the concerted effort by the American Federation of Labor unions to carry on war bond campaigns through organized trade union channels. An important additional contribution has been yielded by the special campaigns sponsored and promoted by unions to underwrite or guarantee sufficient amounts of bonds to purchase specific articles of war materiel.

It is a matter of special importance to organized labor to be able to render a complete account of the contribution made by our unions toward the financing of the war. To this end, your committee recommends that national and international unions be asked to furnish the American Federation of Labor with complete reports on purchases of war bonds made by local unions as well as national and international unions. The purchase of war bonds on the large scale in which it has been made has been a matter of hardship to a great many workers whose resources have been severely taxed by war conditions. Labor must see that adequate information is available so that labor receives due credit for pur-

chases made as a part of already heavy sacrifices on the part of labor.

Your committee recommends that this convention endorse the fine work already performed by the large number of our unions and urges our entire membership to increase their contributions and intensify their zeal.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

(Pages 168-169, Executive Council's Report)

The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has made important advances in developing closer cooperation among the national and international unions whose membership is carrying the burden of the nation's work in war production and war construction in war plants, shipyards, and on military projects.

Your committee recommends special commendation to the leadership of the Metal Trades Department as well as the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

(Pages 173-184, Executive Council's Report)

We note the substantial progress reported by the Executive Council in the work of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, and its affiliated organizations, under war conditions. The railroad workers of the nation have assumed a heavy responsibility for the movement of war transportation on the railroads of the nation. Lack of experienced manpower and inequities in the wage structure have made the task of the department in safeguarding the interest of railroad workers and in mobilizing their skill and experience in the service of the nation especially trying.

Your committee recommends that this convention commend the officers of the department for their outstanding record and approve this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Fewkes, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. President, this concludes the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report and it is signed:

Harry C. Bates, Chairman
John M. Fewkes, Secretary
Robert Byron
F. A. Fitzgerald
Wilfrid T. Connell
Leo J. Buckley
George Q. Lynch
Charles M. Rau
William Campbell
Frank J. Coleman
Irvin Barney
Arthur Huggins
A. C. D'Andrea
John J. Regan
M. J. Sexton
Luigi Antonini
Thomas Martin
Lloyd A. Thrush
E. E. Longley
John J. Walsh
William J. Reynolds
Paul Fournier
G. Leo Abernathy
William Burke

Committee on Executive Council's Report

Delegate Fewkes, Committee Chairman: I move the adoption of the Committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany for announcements:

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Labor Mass—Sunday, October 10, 1943

Secretary Meany: I wish to announce again the Labor Mass at the Cathedral at Washington and Waltham Streets, at ten o'clock on Sunday morning.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Harrison, Chairman of the Committee on Education, for an announcement.

Vice-President Harrison: The Committee on Education will meet tomorrow morning at nine o'clock in the Hancock Room on the Mezzanine floor. In addition I would like to

announce that if there are any delegates who have any business with the Committee, I urge that they come tomorrow morning shortly after the committee convenes at nine o'clock. We would like to hear those that wish to appear in regard to the business before the committee. I hope all the members of the committee will attend. I have been late in

convening the committee because I did not arrive in the convention city until yesterday and that will explain why we have not heretofore had a meeting of the committee.

At 5:30 o'clock p.m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a.m. on Monday, October 11, 1943.

SIXTH DAY — MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Boston, Massachusetts, October 11, 1943

The Convention was called to order at 10:15 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: Chaplain Earl L. Grose of Camp Langdon, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, will pronounce the Invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Chaplain Earl L. Grose, Camp Langdon, Portsmouth, New Hampshire)

Our Heavenly Father, we come to Thee today to ask Thy Divine blessing upon those who gather here to discuss business which we trust will be for the betterment of humanity. We ask that Thy gracious spirit may guide these in their deliberations and out of these moments, hours and days may there come much good.

We pray for divine guidance and may Thy Holy Spirit be the leader. In these moments may we also remember we are at war, and we would pray that America and her Allies shall have peace and that there shall be a great victory for that which is true and righteous.

Strengthen the hands of every one of us and may it be Thy Divine Will that the enemy has been defeated and that victory has come to us. God bless us and give us the strength and give us the vision and give us the patience we need in the days which are to come. We ask these things with the forgiveness of our sins in the name of our Lord. Amen.

Committee to Escort War Manpower Commissioner McNutt

President Green: Governor Paul F. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, is in the city and is prepared to visit with us and address the Convention at eleven o'clock today. The Chair will appoint as an Escort Committee to escort Commissioner McNutt to the hall, Vice President Bugnizet, President Dubinsky, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Brother Elmer Milliman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. I request that the com-

mittee just named get in touch with the Commissioner and bring him to the hall for his address at eleven o'clock.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary Scholtz of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Scholtz, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend the seating of following delegates:

Raymond Leon, representing Stenographers, Typists and Bookkeeper's Union No. 20422, Fort Edward, New York, 1 vote.

In accordance with request of President Roy Horn of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, we recommend the seating of Walter W. Cenerazzo to serve as a delegate from that organization instead of A. J. Eberhardy, previously reported, with 33 votes.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote and the delegates were seated.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following message:

New York, N. Y.

October 8, 1943.

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Care Statler Hotel
Boston, Mass.

National Labor Committee for Palestine greets and congratulates you upon your splendid achievements past year. Accept our deepest gratitude for your generous cooperation in cause of rescuing martyred Jewish people in Nazi controlled countries and in cause of Jewish homeland in Palestine. Your warm support of Histadrut Organization of Jewish Workers in Palestine has been source of great encouragement. We have confidence in your continued solidarity.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, National Chairman
ISAAC HAMLIN, National Secretary.

President Green: We have with us a distinguished visitor this morning who came to the United States all the way from Palestine. He has long been associated with the Palestine trade union movement, and he brings to us a short message from that movement this morning, a movement which has cooperated with us there fully and with which we have cooperated steadily day by day.

Brother Israel Maremski, whom I am about to introduce, has been a member of the Executive Council of the Histadrut in Palestine for seventeen years. During that period he has served as its General Secretary and Secretary Treasurer. He was sent to the United States by the Histadrut as its official representative for the duration. During the four years of his stay in this country I have corresponded with him on many occasions.

I have asked Brother Maremski to be here as our guest, and I have the pleasure of introducing him to you. He will speak to us in his mother tongue and we shall hear through him the voice of Jerusalem in the language of the Bible, and after he has spoken, his very dear wife, who is here, will be introduced to interpret his address in English.

I present him to you now.

MR. ISRAEL MAREMSKI

(General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine)

Dear President William Green, defender of oppressed peoples, and delegates of the American Federation of Labor—the forgers of tomorrow's world of just and lasting peace:—

It is with feelings of deep responsibility toward the Palestine workers whom I represent that I bring to your 63rd Convention our fraternal greetings and best wishes for the victory of democracy in the war, and the victory of the workers' cause in the peace.

This is the first opportunity that the Histadrut—the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine—your sister movement for the last 22 years in the International Federation of Trade Unions, has had to send its delegate to greet your Convention in person.

It is not easy for me in these times to find suitable words to express, either in my mother tongue, Hebrew, or in English, our heartfelt gratitude for your many expressions of encouragement and solidarity.

You have been as a fortress of strength to us in all our hours of trial—and particularly since the rise of Nazism and Fascism in Europe and the world.

I am deeply moved as I stand before you, the representatives of organized labor in the United States. I am deeply aware that the persecuted people of the world, and my nation

in particular, have never had truer friends and more fearless champions in any other organized body in the country.

After the last World War, the A. F. of L., the Organized Workers of Great Britain, and the Belgian, Hollander and Scandinavian workers, now fighting for their very lives, were among the first to demand redress for the wrong done us.

They were the first courageously to support the demand of the Jewish masses to immigrate to Palestine, as of right and not as of sufferance. They were the ones to follow with the closest interest and encouragement the progress of our pioneers in translating the words of our ancient Prophets into new, social forms of living and colonization.

Dear Brothers, just as it is difficult for me in a few words of greeting to describe all that we have achieved during the two decades of the Histadrut's existence in Palestine by the sweat of our brow and the labor of our hands, so it is difficult for me to describe adequately how much your brotherly interest has sustained us in the upbuilding of our home as a Cooperative Labor Commonwealth, and in the incorporating of the teachings of the Prophets of Israel in our day-to-day work.

We shall not forget that you were not content with the mere support which you, together with your Government, gave 26 years ago to the Balfour Declaration and to the Mandate. We in Palestine shall not forget that you were, and still are, among the first to demand the fulfillment of the lofty promises of equal rights in all countries and the opportunity to build our homeland in Zion.

We shall always cherish in our hearts the fact that you are the ones who have always fought and continue to fight with all your might and main against the restrictions which prevent uprooted Jews from reaching a haven and settling on our soil.

We shall never forget how you raised your voice in righteous indignation against the folly of letting millions of acres of land in the hills of Judea and the plains of Sharon lie idle, when our pioneers have amply proven that there is no land in Palestine for which the hand of the homeless Jew cannot bring forth bread to eat and water to drink.

Others may see the boundaries of Palestine and measure its dimensions. We see our Mother Land. We know every inch of its earth. We have learned to uncover the secrets of its springs. We know how to terrace the rough sides of its hills, and to discover the seeds that will thrive on every layer of its neglected soil. On this land we have found our creative selves. . . . And there are still untold opportunities and untapped resources which the experience of the Jewish workers and pioneers can develop to give new life to the millions of our brethren still under the Hitler menace.

Generation after generation will remember your solicitude for every oppressed nation, and will not forget all your efforts to help us turn the native hills and desolate shores, the wasted and neglected land of Palestine into an arsenal of new life and hope for my people, and a bastion of peace for the world.

One with you in our determination and devotion to the war effort, the workers of Palestine want you to know, in this hour, how

very far we are from our goal. Absorbed as we are in the fate of your boys and ours, fighting in the Mediterranean and at the gates of Europe, we still cannot forget that, at the advent of Hitler, you would not compromise. You were the first to proclaim an economic boycott. You were the first to demand the utter destruction of this cancerous growth. You were the first to foresee that, a world indifferent to the persecution of Jews as Jews, would, with the outbreak of the war, witness similar atrocities against Poles, Czechs, Greeks, Serbs, Hollanders, Croats, Lithuanians, and freedom-loving Italians and French.

You saw things in their true light because your President and your members are united, not only in a labor organization, but also in your common vision of a just society—a family of free peoples, imbued with the ideals of equality and the dignity of work.

Since we are both imbued with the same principles of labor and democracy, you appreciated our pioneer efforts when we were but 4,000 workers laying the foundations of the United Labor Movement.

In all our trials, we have felt your sympathy and encouragement—to this very day when we number 136,000 creative trade unionists, who, together with their families, constitute one-quarter million souls, or over 40% of the Jewish population—and all this in the space of 22 years!

Fifteen years ago, the Histadrut represented but 35% of the organized workers of the country. Today, 78% of rural and urban workers are found within our ranks.

Eighty per cent of the Jewish military units who have fought at Dunkirk, Greece, Crete, Syria, El-Alamein, Tobruk, Tripoli, Sicily, Italy, are members of our Histadrut.

Eighty per cent of those engaged in war industries are members, either of Histadrut unions or cooperatives.

Today, 70% of the citrus fruits, vegetables, milk products and honey, which my country supplies to the Allied soldiers and its civil population, is grown by our cooperatives.

In transforming the waste-lands of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth, we have used methods which are unique and have hitherto not been used by stronger and greater powers. We are building Palestine, not by exploitation. We have never stolen a poor man's lamb. Not a dunam of land has been taken by us from its workers. We have not used natives to swell the coffers of feudal land owners.

On the contrary, if there is the beginning of a workers' organization in the Near East, we have organized it in Palestine.

If the standard of living in one country in the East has been raised, and the Arab's wage is approaching a decent minimum, it is our doing.

If labor legislation has appeared on the statutes, we were responsible.

The first labor newspaper in Arabic has appeared in the Eastern Mediterranean. We have brought it to life.

We are paving the way in Palestine for equality between man to man, and bringing together Arab and Jewish workers in the Palestine Confederation of Labor.

That is our role as workers, our message as Jews, our function which we share with

you for the emancipation of the world from barbarism and chaos.

Fellow workers, it is not easy for me to speak about the world of tomorrow and about the future of my people and my country, when masses of my brothers have already been slaughtered and the remnants of Israel still wander about in the forest of No-Man's Lands, with no assurance that they will see the tomorrow which promises security for all.

Your past Conventions have repeatedly demanded the abolishment of the White Paper Policy, and I am proud to learn that this Convention has once more unanimously reaffirmed this demand. And I am proud that it is also the decision of the British Labor Movement in its Convention to fight with you and with us against this policy.

And may we, the workers of Palestine and of the United Nations, live to see the dawn of peace and justice for the world, and Palestine as the Commonwealth of Israel.

We shall fight together with you until we have brought the enemy to unconditional surrender and assured for the Jewish people unconditional survival.

I feel sure that when at the end of the war your children return from the Mediterranean and European fronts, they will tell you not only about the dangerous battles that were fought days and nights without end, but will share with you the joy of their week-end and furlough visits in the workers' settlements of the Holy Land, and then I am strengthened in my hope that the Histadrut shall realize its fervent wish to greet you and your leaders in the land of Israel with a hearty Shalom.

President Green: And now we will be pleased to listen to a translation of this interesting address by the good wife of Brother Mareminski. I am pleased to present to you Dr. May Bere-Mareminski, who is collaborating with him and is active in the Palestine labor movement. She is Canadian born and will translate his statement from Hebrew into English.

(Mrs. Mareminski gave the above translation of Mr. Mareminski's address.)

Mrs. Mareminski: Now it gives me great pleasure to present to the President of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Green, a historical atlas of the Holy Land, which portrays the Jews wanderings from the days of Ezra and Nehemiah to those of the Bar Kochba revolt. This atlas was made in the Holy Land and is a small token of the deep esteem of its organized workers for the President of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Green.

President Green: I express to Brother Israel Mareminski and his very dear wife our sincere appreciation for the instructive and illuminating addresses which they delivered this morning. They come to us as spokes-

men of a genuine trade union movement, established solidly and permanently in Palestine, and I am pleased to report to this convention that the great labor movement in Palestine is based upon the same sound, eternal principles as those upon which our great movement here rests. They have patterned after us. They are following us, they gain inspiration from our movement, from its teachings and from its philosophy. We know of their trials and of their tribulations, of their persecutions and their sufferings. We sympathize with them, and it is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to serve in every possible way to help them solve their racial and social problems.

I thank you for this beautiful atlas which you have presented to me.

Now I am pleased to present to each one of them a guest badge. Take this badge back with you to Palestine as a remembrance of this convention.

We have a real treat for you just now. A highly honored and beloved representative of a great International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor visited the South American Republics along with representatives of the Government and others for the purpose of meeting with the labor movements located in the South American countries. He is prepared to make a report to you of his experience while making the trip to South America. I know he has an interesting story to tell and will tell it in his characteristic fashion, and in a very impressive and a very pleasing way.

I refer to Brother Edward J. Brown, President of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, who will now report to us.

MR. EDWARD J. BROWN **(President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers)**

Mr. President, delegates to the convention, ladies and gentlemen: Before I go into this little address and report I would like to take this opportunity to publicly thank Ambassador Bowers of Chile, Ambassador Wilson of Panama and Ambassador Brayton of Cuba, and the staffs of the Ambassadors to Peru, Colombia and others, along with Mr. Rockefeller, of the Coordinator's Office and his staff; also the United States Governor of the Canal Zone, the Generals and their staffs of the Caribbean Defense, together with Admiral Van Hook, who is also in the Caribbean Defense; Charles Wall, the Chairman of the Central Labor Union in Panama, and Brother Long,

representative of the American Federation of Labor in Panama, and others of our movement in that Zone.

In the latter part of July President Green invited me to represent the American Federation of Labor on a tour of the Latin-American Republics, to convey to the peoples of those countries our appreciation of their cooperation in this war effort. The peoples of South America are keenly interested in this war; they are anxious to see Hitler and the rest of his partners exterminated from the earth. These people are very anxious to cooperate with us in this country. The purpose of our trip was to congratulate the workers there for their fine effort in contributing raw materials so essential in the war effort. It was labor in the various countries of South America, cooperating with the government agencies and others, that helped to bring about this break with the Axis powers.

Chile was one of our main objectives. We spent about ten days there. The Chilean Federation of Labor, which is comparable to ours, has a membership of well over 300,000 people. Their organization goes into the mines and the factories of that country. They are set up somewhat differently than we are here. Whenever the workers of an industry in Chile figure that they have sufficient strength to organize and they can show the government agencies that they represent the majority of the workers in that industry, the government sends a representative into that mine or factory, whatever it might be, and a vote is taken. When that vote is taken, if it shows that 51 per cent of the workers in that industry care to be organized, a charter is issued by the State, if you please, which gives them the right to a closed shop and a checkoff system.

That checkoff system and the closed shop is automatic when they show they have 51 per cent of the workers of that industry. So, you see in that regard they have a set-up that exceeds what we have in this country. While it is true that in Chile and other countries the government controls to a certain extent all of the various industries and various organizations, nevertheless they have a liberal government. The President today of Chile is a very liberal man. He received us most graciously. At the time he received us it was a little bit cold in Chile. It was so cold that the President himself, when he received us in his palace, had his overcoat on. Chile lacks coal. They have but one mine and that runs out under the sea for about a mile and a half. That is their only mine. They pray for coal from this country and they pray for other things from this country which have been curtailed due to the war.

We visited Peru and while in Peru we had the opportunity to discuss various labor situations, and to our astonishment, we found many things that the people of this country would be surprised to know existed. Living conditions in Peru and throughout all of the countries in South America are very poor. In answering some of the questions we put to them, some of their representatives of labor told us that housing conditions are deplorable. We visited some of those homes. We visited some homes where two rooms was the extent of a dwelling place for three families con-

sisting of maybe eight, ten or twelve people. There wasn't much privacy and toilet facilities and other facilities are lacking.

In Peru we found out that with a total of 1,464,660 children eligible for school, between the ages of six and fourteen, 949,821 received no education whatsoever. I hope we realize what a terrible thing that means. I believe, and I know that you believe, the reason that labor has advanced in this country is due to the fact that the working men are educated to the extent at least that they have a common school education. They know how to think, they know how to talk and to speak for themselves. That is not true with the peoples of South America.

I don't want to take up too much of your time and I am going to talk generally on some of the conditions.

From my own observations I found that the majority of the leaders of labor throughout the South American countries are Communists. That is not true, however, of the peoples of South America. They are not communists, but they have no other leadership—no one seems to want to help them. Education has been lacking, and that is true in all of the countries we visited—education is lacking. Now education is necessary throughout those countries, and I believe that the American Federation of Labor must do something about those conditions. We, the neighbors of those peoples, the neighbors of the peoples that live to the south of us on land that has been joined together by God himself, should cooperate wholeheartedly with the other peoples of this Continent, to help them in their plight.

In Mexico City, the labor movement received us most graciously. They did everything they could for us. I found, and the other delegates also found, that conditions there—many conditions that governed labor—are far superior to what we have here in this country in some respects. One thing that is lacking, however, in Mexico as well as all of the other countries that we visited, is wages. It is true they have good working conditions, but their wages are terrible.

For example, in some of the countries I visited, in the sheep shearing business for instance, a man who is shearing the wool off of a sheep would not receive on an average more than five cents a day of our money for his wages. A mechanic in any one of these countries, even up to and including Mexico—mechanics in the various trades we represent—would receive around ninety cents a day and that would be high wages.

In discussing some of these things with the Minister of Labor in Mexico, and we talked about various things, we stressed the fact that while some of the conditions they had there might be better than some we had here—in so far as Labor legislation is concerned—wages were deplorable. And, we called to his attention the fact that even some of the immigrants coming to this country from Mexico and working under war conditions are better off than the Mexican in his own country. We told him that any one of those immigrants, after one day's work in this country, could go out and buy a pair of shoes; which, of course, is not true in Mexico. The Minister spoke to us and brought out the fact that they

sent into this country around 15,000 people to work on the railroads and tracks, to safeguard our lives in traveling, and that while they had been promised they would receive a wage similar to the wages paid to the Americans working on like jobs and doing similar work—and I believe that wage was 48 cents an hour—the Minister complained that conditions had changed; that the railroads are now paying for contract labor 81 cents per hour but the Mexicans are still receiving 48 cents per hour. He asked me what we could do about that and I told him I would take it up here before this group. I told him it was a matter he should take up also with the Government of the United States; that that was a contractual relationship between his government and our government that had been entered into when this contract was agreed upon to send those people into this country to work.

The reason I am stressing these things is to show you that these people, our neighbors to the south, do not want to come into this country and take wages lower than the standard set up by us, and I think they should have the support of the American Federation of Labor in seeing that they do get the same wages paid to others for doing similar work. I know that is our policy. Down through the years you and I have agreed that people coming into this country take lower wages. It has been an opportunity for the employers to keep wages down. These people want to be neighborly and they want to be friendly. They want to help and we must give them our help.

We hear a lot about what is going to happen after this war is over—in the post war days. You and I are anxious and we would like to help and I see vast opportunities for all of our organizations in the post war days—if the Atlantic Charter and all of these other things are to be carried into effect. South America lacks homes. They lack clothes. They lack shoes. I have talked to several of our women since I have been back here and have told them a few of these things: a pair of stockings that any of the ladies in this room are wearing today would cost, down in South America, anywhere from \$6.00 to \$12.00. A lady's hat down in any city in Peru or Chile would average around \$25.00 or \$30.00. The people there are without clothing; the factories and machinery are antiquated. All of those things open a vast market to us and I hope that our employers and our government will take this opportunity to see that the people of these countries are supplied with some of those materials. The people of South America need our help. I say that the American Federation of Labor owes a duty to Labor in order to maintain the standard of the working people of this country, and we must help to raise up the standards of those people, our neighbors to the South. Those people are very anxious for the cooperation of our organization. I visited with many of them and I went to meetings of organizations that should be affiliated with our great organization and I find those people are most anxious for cooperation. They told me, and they told the others in our party, that our people seemed to neglect them—seemed to forget them. And I

know that sometimes we do get to a point where we forget the people that should receive assistance from us, and I hope that the President of the American Federation of Labor, together with those people who are interested in inter-American affairs, will do something to bring about better conditions among the working peoples of those countries because, after all, if we in this country are to maintain our standards of living and to keep on going and having better conditions, we cannot forget the peoples that are oppressed. These people are oppressed in so far as their living conditions are concerned. You would be amazed if you made a trip, such as we have just completed, and saw for yourself all of these things—the deplorable conditions under which peoples of South America and Mexico live. I hope that if you have an opportunity that you will make that trip. You should see for yourselves these things, and I know that you would come back with the same feeling that my associates and I did on that trip. We should do everything we can to impress upon our people the need of better cooperation. The Minister of the Interior of Mexico said to me that while the cooperation that is extended between the governments of both countries has been of the highest degree, that cooperation cannot last unless the people of this country have a better understanding of necessities of his country and strive for a better friendship between our people. I should like to go into this longer but I know you have other speakers of prominence and I hope that some day we will associate more closely with the Labor Movement in Latin America. Thank you.

President Green: We are very grateful to Brother Brown for the high standard of excellent service he rendered our movement when he made this trip to South America. I have received reports from those who were associated with him as well as from the representatives of labor in a number of the Latin-American countries which show that President Brown measured up to the high standard we set for him and rendered service of high value to our great labor movement. We were pleased to receive this report. It enables us to understand better and more fully the economic, social and industrial conditions prevailing in the countries to the south of us.

I heartily agree with his suggestion that the time has arrived when there should be developed a very close fraternal relationship between the labor movements and the working people of South America and the American Federation of Labor. It is our purpose, the purpose of the Executive Council—and I know you will support it—to take such steps as we may find possible to establish a sound, constructive, cooperative labor relationship between our great movement here and the movements in South America.

I repeat again, Brother Brown, that I thank you for the service you rendered and for the message you brought us this morning.

Now we are honored by a visit of a great American, a distinguished representative working with our government, one who has been honored very highly by the people of his own State and by the people of our country. He works very closely with us. We regard the agency which he represents, which is under his supervision, as close, very close to the economic life of the working people of our country.

In like manner he touches industry in the service he renders and in the policies which are applied during the existing international emergency. I think it is appropriate for me to say that the agency which our distinguished visitor this morning administers is the only agency in the government whose policies are shaped altogether, at least largely, by a labor-management committee. I know from my association with him that he has endeavored to carry out in spirit and in letter the policies originated and formed by the labor-management committee. He came all the way from Washington to meet us and visit with us and to deliver an address.

I have the honor to present to you Honorable Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

HONORABLE PAUL V. McNUTT (Chairman, War Manpower Commission)

You and I in this last eighteen months have come a long way together.

It was on the 18th of April—the anniversary of Paul Revere's ride—in 1942 that the War Manpower Commission was established.

And on May 25th the Management-Labor Policy Committee of the Commission was formed to advise and counsel with me on the problem of mobilizing American manpower for total war.

Labor did not have to ask for that committee. Labor had no long fight for recognition in the War Manpower Commission. I asked for the committee.

I asked for the committee because of a deep conviction that only through the cooperation of labor and management could a manpower policy be formulated that would have roots in the practical necessities of American wartime industry. I asked for it because I knew that no voluntary system of manpower mobilization could succeed, save it had the support and the understanding of labor and management and the support of their representative organizations.

Since that morning of June 9 when Frank Fenton, Clint Golden, John Frey, George Masterton, Walter Reuther, John Green, Martin Miller and Julius Luhrs, sat down with representatives of management, at the first meeting of our committee, we have come a long way.

We have come much further than those who look at only the problems of today generally realize. And much of our progress along the way must be credited to the work of the National Management-Labor Policy Committee and your distinguished representatives who sit with us on that committee.

It was, for example, the Management-Labor Committee that on July 16th attacked labor pirating.

Shortsighted employers, practicing the time-honored traditions of the auction block, were bidding against one another for needed workers. Turnover induced by such pirating was paralyzing production. The committee saw the threat. They saw, also, the dangerous inflationary spiral that would grow out of a continuance of such pirating.

Many an employer who denounces labor today for shifting jobs and demands a good tough national service law to check it, denounced us then for interfering with his time-honored prerogative to do exactly what he pleased and when he pleased, so far as the hiring of labor was concerned.

I call your attention to the fact that that policy of your committee did succeed. Pirating was halted. Bidding for workers is not regarded as an acceptable war-time practice any more.

But the anti-pirating policy was only the beginning. The role of Management-Labor Committee achievements is a long and distinguished one. Step by step it represents the evolution of war manpower policy.

Out of the anti-pirating policy grew the Baltimore plan, based upon the same type of Management-Labor cooperation we apply nationally. And following it came the 200 local plans in operation today.

Not one policy promulgated or administered by the War Manpower Commission in the first six months of operation failed to receive the unanimous approval of the National Management-Labor Policy Committee.

Not one policy initiated by the Commission since that time has failed to have a thorough discussion by that committee.

The members of the committee—who at first were amazed to be consulted on matters of genuine importance—feel so firmly established today that I get vigorous protests on the few occasions when I feel that the law or the facts dictate a course that they did not fully recommend.

Yes, we have come a long way. And with us America has come of age in its thinking about manpower for total war.

The anti-pirating policy was followed by a whole succession of specific recommendations on matters of urgent manpower concern. There were policies on the employment of women with young children, on the recruitment and training of women workers, on the employment of youth under 18 years of age, on hiring controls, and many others.

On September 7, 1942, our committee approved a policy on employment stabilization

in nonferrous metals and lumbering activities. That was the first fundamental industry-wide stabilization plan. It presented us with difficult administrative problems. But after more than a year of operation it is proving itself to have been a first sound step in stabilizing a war-essential industry.

Establishment of the list of nondeferrable activities and occupations was approved by the Management-Labor Committee on February 3, 1943. All occupations and activities then included or since added have been approved by the Management-Labor Committee.

But the most dramatic contribution the committee made is without doubt the basic executive order under which the War Manpower Commission operates today. The executive order as it was issued on December 5, 1942, follows very closely the recommendations made by the committee on October 31.

Under that order voluntary enlistments which had been disrupting production in many plants were halted. Under it all military calls are filled through the Selective Service System. All government training programs, including training for the armed forces in non-Federal educational institutions, are coordinated under the War Manpower Commission.

Basically, these are the four objectives which every recommendation of the Management-Labor Policy Committee was intended to serve. These are the four objectives toward which every action of the War Manpower Commission is directed.

First. To see that every worker on a war job stays on that job—except in those few cases where personal hardship or the better service of the war effort dictates that he move.

Second. That workers now in nonessential industries transfer to jobs of higher war priority when the local offices of the War Manpower Commission call upon them to move.

Third. That every employer and every labor group cooperate fully and heartily in the elimination of every type of practice that means a waste of manpower.

Fourth. That the needs of the armed services be filled without disruption of vital war production.

We have made great progress toward these goals.

Because we are today nearly the bottom of the barrel there are many who overlook the fact that we have come a long way. I wish to cite to you some dramatic figures which tell the story of manpower progress in this war:

In July 1940 there were slightly over 48 million men and women either at work or in military service. In July 1943 there were well over 63 million—an increase of almost one-third.

This constitutes the largest number of workers ever employed at one time in the history of this nation. And these workers have accomplished—and are accomplishing—the greatest job of war production in the history of the human race.

From July 1941 to July 1943 our armed forces were increased from approximately 2 million to 9,300,000.

Despite the huge withdrawals from our civilian labor supply, during this period, the

number of workers engaged in munitions type industries rose from over 5 million to about 10 million.

Bear in mind that during this period we maintained in agriculture a force of some 10 million workers. And we continue to maintain a higher standard of living than any other country in the world.

All this is a mobilization of no small magnitude—achieved rapidly without undue disruption. Manpower is tight today not because we have failed, but because we have achieved that gigantic conversion of manpower.

Without question, we had, to begin with, several favorable factors.

For one thing, we entered our rearmament program with a very considerable reserve of unemployed. For another, millions of women who ordinarily do not hold industrial jobs found places on the assembly line. Other millions were available who were in civilian industries now converted into war production. Other millions, attracted by the higher wages, left non-war jobs to go into war work. And a great many white-collar workers cradled their desk telephones for the last time and put on overalls.

Nevertheless, we are today at the bottom of the barrel. We forswore, when we began, that we would reach it about now.

There is no manpower policy that can be devised that will make things easy for any employer or any worker who is doing his duty. There is no manpower policy that can be devised which will preserve the normalcy of any community that is really in this war. We never assumed that there could be. We aimed only to create the conditions that would avoid waste and disruptive conflict.

And I think we should here review not only our progress, but the nature of the crisis that now confronts us. For the test of the present system is its ability to meet—and solve—these problems.

In overall terms we must have 11,900,000 people at work in munitions production by July of next year. Despite cutbacks—about which there is lots of talk, but relatively little cutting—the rate of increase in war employment required in the next six months is about three times as great as that achieved during the past months. And those shortages are most acute in the areas where there is no remaining pool of labor and where war production of the most critical kind is carried on. As of July there were 55 areas of critical labor shortage. Today there are 71.

The 55 areas reported as critical in July represent an aggregate population of more than 17 million, nearly 25 per cent of the total urban population of the United States. They represent also 2,600,000 or 30 per cent of all munitions employment. They also represent 31 per cent of the anticipated increase in employment during the next year.

Furthermore, those critical areas are spreading. There are 71 as of October 1. There may be more than 100 by the end of this year.

One problem follows on the heels of another. The labor shortages of the munitions plants are only half the story. As we are successful in filling those labor demands, we make more stringent the housing shortages, the strain on community facilities, restaurants,

laundries, and other services so necessary to a stable and efficient working force.

As a consequence, recruitment difficulties in these areas are aggravated by a high rate of turnover and absenteeism. Some key plants, despite vigorous recruitment, are suffering net employment declines.

In the first six months of 1943, 150,000 people were hired in the West Coast aircraft industry for a net gain of 12,000. In May, 20,000 people were hired, but there was a net decrease of 1,500 in employment. For other industries in other areas similar problems confront us.

New technology brings other shifts. This started out to be a steel war. But today the forges and foundries are coming into their own. Castings and malleable iron products are finding new military uses.

You are familiar with the crisis in copper. I have mentioned the stabilization plan, which with the help of the National Management-Labor Policy Committee, the unions and management of the industry helped to meet that problem. But 7,000 more men are needed now in nonferrous mining. Copper production has been improved. But an emergency that takes 4,500 men from the Army is not a solution. It merely shifts a manpower problem to the military—which the mines must serve, not raid for men.

Labor shortages are still chronic in all important lumber producing areas. Shortage of logging labor is in all cases the primary cause. Similarly, production of pulpwood is expected to be 15 per cent short of requirements because of lack of labor.

Because of labor shortage, production of metallurgical grade fluorspar in the first five months of 1943 was 14 per cent below current consumption. Production is consistently running below consumption.

I could go on with my list. It is by no means a catalogue of the specific demands that we must meet in coming months.

To some this means that the voluntary system has failed. On the basis of facts much less complete than those at my command, they are asking for national service.

There is another—much less controversial—lesson which those figures bear home. They give evidence of the fact that we have reached a stage in the exhaustion of our supply of manpower which requires us—all of us—to take stock.

We reached one stage along this road a year and a half ago. The War Manpower Commission, its Management-Labor Committee, the program of local stabilization plans, were answers to the challenge of that stage.

There are in this room many men who sit on Management-Labor Committees and have helped to work out these programs. Somewhere here is Neil Haggerty, of the West Coast Management-Labor Committee; somewhere here is John Murphy, of Boston; and Jim McDevitt, of Pennsylvania. Here, too, are Area Committee Members—Dan Goggin, of Boston; Harry Cohen, of Baltimore; Norman Blumberg, of Philadelphia; Ed. Murker, of Louisville; and Richard Kerbiel, of Hartford.

Labor and Management faced the facts then. They agreed upon restrictions which, under peacetime conditions would have been unjustified and dictatorial. And it is not beyond

the realm of possibility that Labor and Management can face the facts of today—and take new and more stringent steps under their own steam.

Government took a first step.

We faced the inescapable fact that in any tight labor market area there is not enough labor for everybody. Some means to ration labor had to be devised—a system that would direct workers to the places where they were most urgently needed. On a local basis, the problem was to get the labor, to hold the labor on the job, and to see that the labor was used fully and effectively.

That is the reason for the system of production urgencies, manpower priorities, and controlled referrals which are being applied in some of the tightest labor markets today.

Government has been challenged by these facts and figures. The West Coast manpower program is one answer to that challenge.

Government recognized that it was necessary to pull together in one coherent, unified plan the many government agencies upon which impinged the problem of manpower.

If you will reread the West Coast program you will see that the controls of labor and management laid down in that plan are the kind of controls which have been authorized by the various policies adopted by the National Management-Labor Policy Committee.

But, as they apply to individual workers and individual employers, they still must be implemented by local labor and management in every community on the West Coast.

They can be effective if applied to communities in any other part of the country but only with the support and collaboration of labor and management.

But the positive action in the West Coast plan, the thing that gave it strength, is the fact that Government agencies have been pulled together and given an obligation to bring all their resources to bear on this one problem.

In short, Government put its house in order, so that it could tell the public what was expected of it, before it called on labor and management for help.

The West Coast plan is a recognition of the fact that before you can talk about the full mobilization of manpower there must be a full mobilization of Government agencies.

And with a full mobilization of Government agencies everywhere labor and management can then take whatever action has to be taken.

Full mobilization of government resources will not solve all the problems that face us. There are difficulties—unsolved difficulties—that will be part of your burden.

And they are urgent.

They are not the kind that can be postponed until you are satisfied with the job Government is doing, or until you are satisfied with the job management is doing.

There is no time to wait, no time to defer, no place for an Alphonse-Gaston act in war time.

Nobody likes control. Nobody likes interference with his freedom to do exactly as he chooses. Neither labor nor employers like restrictions. Nevertheless, they sometimes recognize the necessity.

And in this case unless that necessity is recognized, the controls will not succeed, the manpower situation will disintegrate, and voluntary cooperation will fail as an approach to this problem. It is to the interest of labor and management to face this challenge together.

Let us review together some of the things that have to be done:

(1) Turnover has not been solved. Workers must stay on their jobs. We know the plant and community conditions, and bad foremanship, the housing and transportation, and the just plain restlessness of war areas that contribute to turnover. But the turnover must go down.

We are taking two types of action to halt it. Through our Bureau of Manpower Utilization in the War Manpower Commission and through the Office of Community War Services in the Federal Security Agency we are taking steps to eliminate the implant and community causes of turnover. Through the hiring controls exercised under our employment stabilization programs we are seeking to check it.

Your organizations can make clear in every community the reasons why these controls are necessary. Your organizations, through your civilian and industrial influence, can give powerful support to the measures which are being taken to eliminate the causes of turnover.

(2) Transfers from nonessential to war jobs are not progressing at the rate demanded a year ago by the Management-Labor Committee. We have to increase employment in war production and cut employment in less essential activities. Unless we do it, manpower demands in tight areas cannot be met.

We cannot require people to transfer. We must convince them. If they are to take those jobs and stay on their jobs you and the plants which you have organized must make the conditions right for them.

That is the reason for channeling employment through the United States Employment Service in tight labor-shortage areas. That is the reason we will need your help in intensified informational programs in such areas. Workers must know the need and the reasons for transfer.

We must be sure that when they transfer they will go to the top priority jobs. You can help there by making the reasons and the need clear. You can help make it clear that the controls are not arbitrary but follow a mutual policy and are a necessity of war.

(3) Productivity per worker needs to go up. Utilization must become an action program in every plant. Practices—of Labor or Management which waste manpower are not compatible with victory.

The War Manpower Commission stands prepared to assist Labor and Management in increasing production. In cooperation with the War Production Board, the Army and the Navy and other procurement agencies, we have an obligation to determine whether an employer has enough, too few, or too many workers in terms of his production.

It is to meet that obligation that we may find it necessary to shut off the labor of the employers whose evident productivity per worker is not satisfactory. Under Regulation No. 7, as approved by the Management-

Labor Policy Committee, we may find it necessary to treat under-utilized employees as a labor pool whom we can draw on for more urgent jobs.

These measures are not as rough as they sound. In one community we halted the hiring of male workers in one plant and in 7 months productivity jumped 25 per cent. Better utilization solved its problem.

Another plant had a very low proportion of women as compared to other plants in its industry. We halted the employment of male workers. Employment of women increased from 7 to 35 per cent in 3 months, and production went up. Those are only two of many actions which have been authorized by, and since reviewed, by the Management-Labor Committee in Buffalo.

(4) We are not getting and holding the people we need in the hot, stuffy, unglamorous, disagreeable and relatively less paid jobs.

I am not talking of sub-standard wages. I am talking of normal wages, that are ample to attract and to hold workers in jobs when competition is not inflated by glamour and long overtime.

The answer is not pay raises that would have no validity in peacetime.

The test of the voluntary system can hardly be its ability to hold people by raising wages, and to induce people to transfer to the glamour industries at wage increases.

Do not misunderstand me. I meant what I said but not more. I wish to face frankly the fact that wage adjustment may sometimes be a key factor in a manpower situation. In copper and in certain other instances we have placed the manpower facts before the War Labor Board for its full consideration. But we will do that only when we are convinced that wages and wages alone are the manpower bottleneck.

(5) We are not getting enough women workers. The ones we get quit too often.

The answer in both cases is one upon which you can help. Through your position in the plants you can help create the conditions which will attract women workers and hold them on the job. Through your position in the community you can bring the establishment and understanding acceptance of day-care programs, adjustments in store hours, transportation schedules, laundry, and medical services that will enable women to work effectively and stay on their jobs.

(6) Withholding of contracts from tight labor market areas needs to be accepted and understood. Basically, the withholding or withdrawal of contracts is an effort to overcome mistakes once made which plague us too heavily to be ignored. If you think withholding contracts does not raise a "ruckus" you should have seen my office in these last few weeks. You should have seen the visitation I had from my home town. The principle—your Management-Labor Committee's principle—that contracts should be sent to where the labor is, is still not accepted by some people. I have urged from the very beginning of this war, take the work to the labor and not the labor to the work. Many a town has spokesmen who take as their motto, "Another little drink won't do us any harm," meaning, "Another little contract

won't do us any harm," but it is not the answer.

These are some of the things we've got to do. There will be no surcease from manpower stringency while this war lasts. There is no easy formula for manpower.

But the test of the voluntary system is its ability to exercise controls. The test fails if workers and employers are not influenced and controlled by the programs your local Management-Labor Committees assist in establishing.

Voluntary cooperation refers to the democratic process by which the controls are established. There is no implication once the program has been set up that every individual is then perfectly free to voluntarily comply or voluntarily ignore the restrictions. That would not be a voluntary plan—that would be planless chaos.

The test of any plan is its ability to get, to hold, and to use effectively enough workers to keep our war machine rolling at top speed.

Those are specific things currently needed to be done and upon which you can give us great help. I am asking that help. I come here this morning to make the request, and I wish also to thank you for the contribution labor is already making to our program.

First, labor's strong and able representatives throughout the country have made major contributions to the development of the employment stabilization programs. When a new regulation comes out of Washington today, it is usually little more than codification of the work which these committees have done.

Second, labor has taken steps to eliminate practices which tend to increase manpower demands. There are additional steps that can be taken. To meet the nation's manpower needs and to insure full public recognition and support of the voluntary plan upon which we work, labor is moving further. Especially in the field of labor utilization, labor has a fundamental contribution that it can make in these next few months.

Third, we are receiving the useful cooperation of union leaders and members in the recruitment and initial training of new workers.

Fourth, labor has given its pledge to abide by terms of employment stabilization and controlled referral programs. Many union halls collaborate with the United States Employment Service as approved hiring channels. Officials of unions serve on the appeals committees which help to insure against personal hardship or injustice in the application of the rules.

Fifth, unions are taking an aggressive part in programs for the alleviation of housing problems, of racial discrimination in employment, and in the manifold activities which face war communities when they tackle manpower problems.

We are asking labor to help. But we are asking Management to help, too.

Management must cut its manpower demands to the bone.

Management must not hoard labor. Management must not permit trade practices to continue which waste labor.

Management must accept workers who would not get past the gate in peacetime;

fancy physical standards are out for the duration.

Management must accept cancellation of contracts in tight areas.

Management must accept government decisions relating to the number and types of workers who may be hired.

Management must train workers and offer equitable and ready opportunity for upgrading.

Management must deal with labor on all questions relating to wages, conditions, utilization, training and other factors.

Every sacrifice that labor makes or management makes is intended to advance our common cause of victory. To the extent that the principles of management-labor cooperation are driven home, they will permanently advance the industrial relations of this country in the peace that is to follow.

Both labor and management should recognize in this an opportunity. True post-war planning consists in accepting the overwhelming challenge of today.

We can set today an inspiring pattern for labor and management everywhere and for the future. We can show what democracy in America means.

But in the midst of war we cannot for one instant compromise the objective of victory.

Whenever an employer hoards labor,
Whenever a worker unnecessarily shifts a job,

Whenever an employer or worker evades or ignores the hiring controls that have been set up,

Whenever a worker refuses to transfer from a useless civilian job to a war job because the pay is 10 cents less an hour,

Whenever an employer risks production rather than to bargain collectively with a union,

Whenever trade practices or union rules require unnecessary labor or limit the output of labor,

Whenever any member of a Management-Labor Committee walks out because he cannot accept the principle of hiring controls,

... the opportunity to make America's war experience a demonstration of democracy in action is being fumbled.

It is important that we do not fumble now.

For we have come a long way together.

There is a long, bloody, and destructive road ahead.

There is an opportunity to make that a road of achievement for peace—as well as victory in war.

President Green: You have expressed your deep appreciation of this highly instructive, eloquent and illuminating address which Commissioner McNutt has delivered in a more definite way than I could do in words. We are very fortunate indeed in that the representatives of six million workers could be privileged to listen to the definite, informa-

tive advice and suggestions offered here this morning, the truth of the war manpower situation and the difficult problems that lie ahead.

Many questions are being asked by our workers in the different communities regarding the mobilization of the full manpower of our nation. You will have in the record, as the result of Commissioner McNutt's address many answers to the inquiries which will be made by those you represent back home. Those of us who have been living close to the war manpower problem fully appreciate its importance. We know that steadily, very steadily, and aggressively the reservoir of labor has been and is being drained. The call is for more, for greater service, for a higher degree of efficiency.

Of course, there have been two groups contending vigorously for the acceptance of their different points of view. The one believed that through voluntary action, through voluntary contribution, we could mobilize the manpower of the nation to the highest point of efficiency. There was another group that believed from the beginning that the compulsion of government should be immediately used; that force should be substituted for voluntarism; that labor should be completely regimented, even before we had approached the point of exhaustion of our labor supply.

I am happy to tell you this morning that Commissioner McNutt, as Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, has steadfastly stood for the voluntary plan in opposition to compulsion and force. As he has said, we are approaching the bottom of the barrel. We are draining the reservoir of labor. We must utilize the available supply as best we can and develop it to the highest point of efficiency. That is a serious problem because labor places above and beyond every other question the winning of the war.

Now, I can assure Commissioner McNutt for you, I know, that in these trying days, that in the consideration of these vexing problems, in finding a solution for them, he can rely upon the full support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor.

I thank the Commissioner for his visit to this convention this morning and for this inspiring address which he delivered.

The Chair recognizes Vice President Woll for an announcement.

Announcement — Special Order

Vice President Woll: The Committee on International Labor Relations would like the privilege of reporting Resolution No. 103 immediately upon the convening of the convention this afternoon. It deals with the Italian situation. Thereafter the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report, and I move you that that be made a special order of business immediately after the action taken on Resolution No. 103.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: Now, I am pleased to present to you the Director of our Workers' Education Bureau. You will recall that Spencer Miller, Jr., served as Director of Education for quite a long time. He was called to serve with the Governor of New Jersey in the administration of State affairs, and so Dr. John D. Connors was assigned to take up the work which Spencer Miller performed for such a long period of time. Now, I have the privilege and the pleasure of presenting him to you for a short address this morning—Delegate John D. Connors, Director of the Workers' Education Bureau.

DR. JOHN D. CONNORS (Director, Workers' Education Bureau, A. F. of L.)

President Green and delegates to the 63rd convention of the American Federation of Labor:

As I come before you this first time as director of the Workers' Education Bureau, I want, first of all, to express my thanks, and I am sure, yours, to my predecessor, Spencer Miller, Jr., who served the Workers' Education Bureau as its secretary and director since the organization was founded 22 years ago. He gave his best efforts to our movement. You and I, and the millions of members we represent are much the richer because of his work. I feel certain you will join in wishing him Godspeed in his new work as New Jersey State Highway Commissioner.

Never before was there a greater need for men of his caliber—men who are trained to go on learning, can face facts with courage, see things realistically, state truths honestly, accept responsibility humbly, and never lose sight of the unalterable ideal upon which this Nation was built—a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Upon this firm foundation of inspiration I am fortunate enough to be called to work. You all know my background. First as Secretary of the New Bedford Central Labor Union, then as Vice President of the Massachusetts State Federation and for the past three years

as a full-time general organizer for the A. F. of L. For the past six years I have also been a National Vice President of the American Federation of Teachers, in which capacity, I have had an opportunity to be closely identified with many of the basic fundamental problems of the A. F. of L.—included among these problems are such important matters as public schools, child labor, and adult education.

It is as an organizer I approached the great task confronting the Workers' Education Bureau.

Let me summarize briefly a few of the things the Bureau has done in the past year.

The program of Labor Institutes sponsored jointly by the Workers' Education Bureau and State Federations of Labor in cooperation with State Universities or local educational institutions has been continued. The emphasis has been mainly on labor's role during the war and in the making of the peace.

A Labor Institute was held at the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis November 7-8, under the auspices of the State Federation of Labor, the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, and the University of Minnesota Local No. 444 of the American Federation of Teachers.

The Second Sioux City Labor Institute was held February 27-28, sponsored by the Sioux City Trades and Labor Assembly, with the cooperation of the State Federation of Labor and Morningside College.

The Thirteenth Annual Rutgers Institute of Labor was held June 7-9, in Newark, N. J., this year, because the Army has taken over the facilities of the Rutgers campus at New Brunswick. This pioneer Labor Institute at its eight sessions considered the general topic of "Labor in the War and After."

The Fourth Annual Labor Institute was held on June 19-20, on the University campus at Lincoln, Nebraska, sponsored jointly by the Nebraska State Federation of Labor and the University of Nebraska.

The Fourth Annual Massachusetts Institute of Labor was held on June 25-27, at Campion Hall, North Andover, under the auspices of the State Federation of Labor.

Meetings were held in conjunction with State Federations of Labor at the annual convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor at Columbus on August 25-26; at the convention of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor at Beatrice on September 15th; at the convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor at Winona on September 21st; and at the convention of the Indiana State Federation of Labor at South Bend on September 23rd.

The Bureau is also cooperating with the American Labor Conference on International Affairs in organizing educational conferences dealing with the problems of post-war planning.

The Workers' Education Bureau has also been represented in many conferences and conventions held by various groups of educators to discuss current problems.

In conjunction with local unions the Bureau is setting up programs of educational activi-

ties. This phase of the work, although it is in its infancy, has already met with excellent response.

Following a plan drawn up by Dr. E. H. Tawney, President of the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain, and Spencer Miller, Jr., during the year, the first delegation of three lecturers from the British organization arrived in this country on June 12. This consisted of Ernest Green, General Secretary of the W.E.A., R. Huwa Jones, and John Parker. They have visited labor and workers' educational groups all over the country, speaking at institutes and conferences, and have made many contacts which will be valuable for the Bureau and for the labor movement in general, and have aroused much new interest in workers education. From this first venture it is hoped that a continuing exchange of lectures between the American workers' education movement and those of other countries will develop.

During the past year the Bureau has issued regularly its Monthly News Letter and has completed the monthly series of twelve articles by Lloyd M. Crossgrave on "The World at War" and begun a new series by him on "After the War."

The Bureau has issued and distributed widely two pamphlets within the year, one by Fannie M. Cohn on "Workers' Education in War and Peace" and the annual publication, "Labor and Education in 1942," which it issues jointly each year with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers.

The three articles by Spencer Miller, Jr., which appeared in the February 1942 Federationist on "Lincoln: He too Fought for Freedom" and in the June and July issues on "Samuel Gompers; Crusader for Freedom" were reprinted and distributed by the Bureau.

So much for what we have done. Now to consider the future. During the coming year, why not make the Workers' Education Bureau your medium to discuss some of the urgent problems before us today? Take the question of manpower. We don't want the proposed program of slavery for labor. We don't want the West Coast confusion to spread. What we do want is to know the facts, and a sound national policy based upon these facts. Let us organize a practical educational program along these lines for our members.

You all heard President Green give his magnificent address last Friday in answer to those who seem misinformed about our contribution to the war effort. You also heard Vice-Presidents Tobin and Woll discuss our manpower problems. They could talk because they had the eloquence and the facts. We can't give all the workers eloquence, but we can help them to get the facts concerning labor.

There never was a time when it was more important for Labor to keep up to the minute in its knowledge of current affairs.

As no less a person than Eric Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce said, "The good old days passed

away many years ago. Labor unions have become an intrinsic and permanent element in our mechanism of free enterprise. Businessmen must at last recognize this fact because only management working with labor can remove the barriers for the welfare of the nation as a whole."

If this is so—and it must be, for management has itself recognized it—it is up to Labor and to the men of Labor to prove that they are equipped by training as well as by thinking to take their proper place not only in the war councils and at the peace table, but in the great readjustments to be made after the war, in the effort—to which Labor has pledged itself—to create a new world in which there is justice, freedom and security for all men irrespective of their class, color or creed.

We have had our fill of men speaking as authorities. What we must have now is men who will speak *with* authority. I hold that this you can and will do.

Our task is to help you. The Workers' Education Bureau is not only the educational arm of the American Federation of Labor. It is your service agency. Please let us serve you!

President Green: The Chair wishes to thank Dr. Connors, Director of the Workers' Education Bureau for the excellent address which he just delivered. It will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

Committee to Escort Congressman O'Brien

Now I wish to appoint as a committee Vice President William C. Doherty of the Letter Carriers, Brother Leo E. George, President of the Post Office Clerks, Brother James B. Burns, of the American Federation of Government Employees, and Brother John L. Reilly of the Railway Mail Association, to escort Congressman O'Brien of the Thirteenth District of Michigan to the stage just now.

Permit me to report to the delegates in attendance at the convention that Congressman George D. O'Brien of the Thirteenth District of Michigan, located in Detroit, was sponsor of H. R. 1366, which provided for the payment of \$300.00 temporary salary increase to the postal workers of our country. He rendered an excellent service in sponsoring that legislation and fought aggressively, courageously and constructively until he had won the battle for the postal clerks of the country.

We regard him as our friend and I want to assure him he is among friends, and we hold him in high regard and esteem. Now I present to you Congressman George D. O'Brien.

**HONORABLE
GEORGE D. O'BRIEN**

**(Congressman Representing the
Thirteenth District of Michigan)**

President Green, distinguished guests, delegates to the convention: Your Federation has lived through three of the greatest crises in the history of our Republic—World War I, and then those years of the great depression and this present conflict, incomparably the most critical of those periods. With your great and large experience, the postal employees through their affiliation with the Federation have, I am sure, drawn great assistance and encouragement. These men in the postal service, whose work I became more familiar with through my service on the committee in the House of Representatives, are mostly career men in that service and their devotion to it and the standards of achievement of efficiency, honesty and devotion have made it possible for this government of ours to demonstrate that government can perform a gigantic enterprise—a revenue producing enterprise—a public service utility with an efficiency and an achievement that surpasses anything which a privately owned monopoly could do in the field of public utility and public service.

Correspondingly it is the duty of our government and especially of the Congress to consider and act upon the just improvement, needs and working conditions of the men in that service who produce the revenue of that service. Unlike many other employees, the postal workers do not have the matters of their employment, their pay, their working conditions settled by agreement or contract. Of necessity, those things are determined by law, and until Congress acts, nothing is done. The particular pay increase, which was universal for all of the approximately 300,000 postal employees and officials in the country, referred to by President Green was, in my humble judgment, well merited and long overdue.

Going back to Washington, we members of Congress are going to be faced with urgent and imperative problems. I think the first thing we are going to be called upon to decide is to provide a just and adequate allowance for the wives, children and dependents of the soldiers who are now and those who are going in the future into the armed services of the United States. I am confident that Congress will act favorably in the House of Representatives upon such provisions early this week.

Of course we have to devise policies to increase the production to meet the destruction of war and at the same time to keep within bounds these rising costs of living which trouble us all, and then again there is

the ever-present problem of taxes. Taxes are always with us, but I think the proposed 30 per cent withholding tax is too much. For most of us, I think it would mean as a mathematical proposition we would be in debt every month, and while it is bad enough for the government to go into debt, the government can borrow money at less than two per cent interest, but when we go into debt and have to pay interest—five and six per cent or more on our debts—it is a crushing burden and well nigh impossible. Then of course every moment during this war that we can devote to it during the future months or years, if need be—all the energies, the genius, the powers and capacities of this nation and the people in it should be devoted to making plans and consummating the plans, so that following this war there will not be a post-war depression with mass unemployment. We want to make sure, and we in the government and all of us have the responsibility to see that the value of our victory is not destroyed by such a depression and mass unemployment and chaos that would result. Our nation has the powers and the capacity to meet that gigantic problem just as it has demonstrated its powers and capacity to meet this titanic world struggle. I thank you.

President Green: I am sure we are deeply appreciative not only of the visit of Congressman O'Brien to the convention this morning and for the delivery of the address to which you have just listened, but because he has steadfastly stood as an advocate and defender of the rights of the postal employees of the nation. He became conscious of their needs. He felt that they were suffering from injustices, that the cost of living was mounting while the wages and earnings of these postal workers remained stationary. So he led the fight and he succeeded in the fight and we appreciate it very much. I thank the Congressman for his visit to the convention and for the service he rendered to postal workers of the nation and for the splendid address which he delivered.

If there are no other announcements it would seem that the work of the morning session is now completed. The Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn.

Delegate Lawson of Minnesota moves that the rules be suspended and the convention recess until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously, and at 12:15 o'clock, p.m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock, p.m.

MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

October 11, 1943

The Convention was called to order at 2:45 o'clock by President Green.

Presentation of Gifts to Fraternal Delegates

President Green: Before we proceed with the regular order of business, we will pause for a moment while all of us together perform a very pleasant duty. I know you will be happy as I am happy and as we will make others happy during this pause in the proceedings.

Those of you who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor will recall with feelings of genuine pleasure and satisfaction that at each convention we present to our comrades and friends from across the sea and from the Dominion of Canada who come to us with their cordial greetings and inspiring messages, an appropriate remembrance for them to take home with them and to keep and cherish as a constant reminder of their visit to our convention.

You have made it possible for me in all these years to present these gifts to our fraternal delegates and their wives. Today you delegates in attendance here have made it possible for me to again perform a delightful function. The Committee has made the selections for you.

I shall lead off with our good friend, Brother Harry Harrison, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. It is unnecessary for me to tell you who he is because I have already done that. He spoke to you only a few days ago.

In your name I am pleased to present this beautifully engraved solid gold watch and chain. There is the inscription: "Presented to Harry N. Harrison, Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress by delegates at the American Federation of Labor Convention held in Boston, October 1943."

This is yours, Brother Harrison, and I know it will mean more to you than its intrinsic value. Take it home and cherish it

as a reminder of your visit to Boston and to our Convention.

Fraternal Delegate Harrison: President Green, fellow trade unionists and friends: as your President has remarked, this is a beautiful token of friendship and esteem, but it can never be more beautiful than the thoughts that I will cherish as long as I live, thoughts of the kind friends I have met on this occasion. I have renewed acquaintanceship with your President and others whom I met on my previous visit, but I know of nothing in my life that has meant more than the friendship, the kindness and the hospitality I have received at your hands.

Every time I look at this watch it is bound to remind me of that wonderful comradeship that can exist between our two nations and our two movements. I thank you very sincerely, President Green, and I shall treasure it as long as I have breath in me.

President Green: The delegates to the convention and the Committee never forget the wives of the fraternal delegates who accompany them to these conventions, and so on this occasion we have not forgotten the charming wife of Brother Harry N. Harrison.

In fact, we felt that she deserved a more beautiful gift than Harry because she is so beautiful. So the Committee made that distinction and they selected for Mrs. Harrison a beautiful gold watch set with diamonds. I know Mrs. Harrison will be happy to receive it and I am pleased to present it to her in your name and in your behalf. In presenting it to you, Mrs. Harrison, may I express the hope of everyone here that you will arrive home safely.

Mrs. Harrison: President Green and friends—I say friends because I feel friendship is something sincere and lasting. I take this beautiful present because it is a token of your country's friendship. I shall treasure it very much.

I should like to say to the ladies that they have been very kind to me, and, as you say in your country, America, "swell".

I thank you very much and I hope some day to renew the friendship that I have made here.

President Green: In like manner, I present a similar gift to Brother Bayliss, made like the watch presented to Brother Harrison and engraved in the same manner. It is something that will last forever and I know he will treasure it because it will always bring to mind pleasant memories.

Then we have provided a beautiful watch for Mrs. Bayliss, who is not here. She is at home in Great Britain, but we know she will be pleased when Brother Bayliss carries this gift to her. I know he will make a great hit with her when he makes the presentation.

There are no diamonds in Brother Bayliss' watch, but there are beautiful diamonds in this watch because we know his wife is more deserving and more beautiful than he is.

Fraternal Delegate Bayliss: Mr. President and friends—This is an occasion where it is utterly impossible for one to express one's feelings. May I say that the reference to my wife by your President is very appropriate. You have referred to the gems, the beautiful diamonds. After more than twenty-eight years of married life I can say that I have had a real gem of a partner in the labor movement, and I know she will feel deeply grateful to the American friends for this kind thought toward her which I shall not fail to convey to her in your behalf.

As far as this gift to myself is concerned, it is not very often, although I am a bit of a rebel, that I disobey the Chairman's orders. On this occasion I shall be very pleased to obey those orders and it will not be very difficult for me to do it, because I shall always keep in mind the kindness, the consideration, and the courtesy displayed toward me during my visit here with my colleagues.

It will always be a happy reminder of the pleasant days I spent with you and your colleagues, Mr. President.

I thank you.

President Green: Now, I will present to Fraternal Delegate Matte, from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and his charming wife, gifts similar to those which were presented to the fraternal delegates from Great Britain.

This watch is presented to you through me, Brother Matte, by these delegates, your colleagues in this Convention. They ask you to

accept it as an expression of their admiration for you and as an appreciation of your visit to this Convention.

Fraternal Delegate Matte: President Green and Brother Delegates: I appreciate very much this splendid watch, which is for me another souvenir of the American Federation of Labor, but I can assure you I had some souvenirs before which were not in the nature of presents but rather in the benefits that my organization had received from the American Federation of Labor, when I was working on the railroad and when I lost my job when I tried to organize the firemen and oilers on the C & R. I had to go back to the department on account of the good schedule we had on the Canadian Railroad, and this is something that I can never forget.

This is the first time I have ever visited a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I can assure you I will never forget your kindness to me, and I will be reminded of it by this watch every night when I go to the meeting.

President Green: I will present to Mrs. Matte, wife of our fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, a beautiful watch similar to the ones presented to the wives of Mr. Harrison and Mr. Bayliss. This watch, Mrs. Matte, is set with beautiful diamonds and it is presented to you on behalf of the delegates in attendance at this convention. We are so happy to have you with us.

Mrs. Matte: Thank you very much.

President Green: I want to say to you that the discharge of this pleasant duty was largely made possible by our Committee of Good Will, Brother Albert Adamski and Brother William Howlin. They always do a good job. They measured up on this occasion. They set a high standard and that is reflected in the gifts that I have just presented in your behalf. You all know Brother Albert Adamski. We expect him to serve as the Chairman of the Good Will Committee just as long as he may find it possible to attend conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Adamski: Mr. President and delegates: I am indeed very happy that for the first time since 1921 I can report to you, after the many abuses and kind words that have been heaped upon us, that you have gone over the line, as you did in the Third War Loan Drive. We have something like \$84.00 surplus, and that is the first time this has hap-

pened since I have been serving on this committee.

We want to make the surplus \$250.00. We want to buy union cigarettes to send across to our fighting forces. Will you please join us? We will stand for any further abuse as well as your contributions. We will not stop until we reach \$250.00. All International Unions, State Federations, Central Bodies and Local Federations who have received our invitation and have not yet turned in their contribution will please do so, because we have to pay our bills.

Columbus Day

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Bugniazet.

Delegate Bugniazet; Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman, I want to make a motion and I would like to have the privilege of making a few remarks prior to offering the motion. Tomorrow is a legal holiday in this State. It is Columbus Day, and our President has been requested to make a public address in the Boston Common about 12:30 or 1:00 o'clock, at the conclusion of the parade. In doing honor with the rest of the State to Columbus Day I move that we suspend the rules and that tomorrow morning's session be adjourned at 12:00 o'clock noon until Wednesday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Lindelof, Painters, and carried.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice President Woll for a report of the International Labor Relations Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: Reporting on Resolution No. 103 of the first day's proceedings, introduced by the delegate from the New York State Federation of Labor.

Democracy for Italy

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, American Labor has, from the very moment that fascism reared its ugly head in Italy, bitterly fought this throw-back

to savagery as a sinister menace to the welfare of the Italian people and a grave threat to the peace and freedom of the world, and

WHEREAS, Under the impact of the heavy defeats inflicted on the fascist regime by the armed forces of the United Nations and the overwhelming opposition of the Italian people and particularly Italian Labor, the infamous Mussolini dictatorship has collapsed, and

WHEREAS, The collapse of Hitler's jackal in Italy and chief lieutenant in Europe is a great contribution towards hastening a United Nations victory and the triumph of democracy over totalitarianism, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled herewith notes with warm approval the consistent, fearless and vigorous struggle against Fascism waged by the ITALIAN-AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL, among workers of Italian origin in our own country and against the detestable totalitarian regime in Italy proper, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we also welcome the recent formation of the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ITALIAN DEMOCRACY dedicated to assuring a United Nations victory, the establishment of genuine democracy in Italy, and categoric opposition to every hue and stripe of totalitarian dictatorship.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the spirit and purpose of this resolution and in support and as a supplement thereto submits the following for the favorable consideration and approval of this convention:

For more than twenty years Italy has been an occupied country—occupied by Mussolini's fascist blackshirts. The people of Italy were the first hostages of fascism. It is therefore a source of great satisfaction to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor that the Italian people are the first to be liberated from the cruelty and horrors of totalitarianism. With their liberation must come the reestablishment of Italian democracy and free democratic trade unions, the basis of all democratic institutions in the modern world. To this task American labor pledges its full assistance.

One of Mussolini's first crimes on assuming power was the destruction of the free trade union movement of Italy, which, under the leadership of the Italian Confederation of Labor, numbered more than two million members. Thousands of loyal and self-sacrificing members of Italian unions were tortured and imprisoned. Others, like Matteotti, Minzoni, Oldani and Pilati, were brutally assassinated. The American Federation of Labor will not forget these crimes nor their authors. It will continue to call for the punishment of all who

participated in these dastardly crimes. Justice demands that those who acquiesced in these heinous offenses shall be treated as accomplices of criminals and be punished accordingly.

The American labor movement knows well that no government by itself can liberate a people; at best our government can only aid in that process. True liberation is possible only when supported by the will of the people. Military victory is not an end in itself but a beginning. On the other hand, the Italian people by their demonstrations for freedom and liberty in the streets of occupied Italy, by their obstruction of Nazi resistance, must continue to prove that they have not forgotten a century-old tradition of liberalism and democracy.

We know that there is the nucleus of an organized trade union movement still left in smoldering Italy despite twenty years of fascist rule. Its leaders have successfully maintained a functioning underground movement through all the years of the Mussolini regime. These leaders have now emerged into the open to assist in the reestablishment of a free Italian labor movement.

The leadership of this underground Italian labor movement has asked that its legitimate representatives be put in charge of the former fascist labor unions until such a time as elections are possible. This request might well be honored by our government. The American Federation of Labor is keenly interested in having a sound and constructive Italian labor policy for the workers of Italy, aimed not simply at destroying the fascist labor unions and thus creating a dangerous vacuum, but in transforming the fascist unions into free unions, democratically self-governed and constructively administered.

It is unfortunate and to be regretted that such organizations as the American Federation of Labor and the Italian-American Labor Council or the General Confederation of Labor delegation, have not been consulted on the labor policy of the Allied Military Government.

One of the main tasks of the AMG is related to labor. American-British labor must have some sort of voice in helping to determine AMG labor policy, if the liberated peoples of Europe are to have any confidence in AMG decisions. American labor must also have a voice in the determination of labor policies of such agencies as the Office of War Information and the Office of Strategic Services.

We are pleased to learn that the Italian-American Labor Council has inaugurated a drive to raise a fund of \$250,000 to assist in the reconstruction of free labor unions in Italy in order to provide a sound and solid foundation for the re-emergence of Italian democracy. The Italian labor leaders who worked and suffered for their ideals in the days of the underground movement require more than mere verbal encouragement. They require funds with which to carry on their work. Consequently the move to raise a fighting fund for Italian labor deserves the support of the American labor movement. We urge an early and generous response to this appeal.

Another important task for American labor is to send relief to the impoverished people of the regions of Italy now occupied by the Allies. It is true that the assistance we can render in this respect is not comparable to the assistance which our government must render. The relief which American labor offers is as best a symbol, a token of the friendship of American labor for the tortured Italian people. But this is a time when symbols have great meaning and when men are prepared to die for them.

The American Federation of Labor, which has consistently fought fascism and has never forgotten its fraternal ties with the organized labor movement of Italy, pledges itself to help the workers of Italy with all the means possible and at its disposal. It will assist in the complete destruction of fascism in Italy and will aid in the restoration of democracy in that unhappy country until the Italian people win the blessings of a just peace and the benefits of freedom and democracy as announced in the Atlantic Charter.

I move you the adoption of the committee's report.

President Green: It is regularly moved and seconded the report of the Committee on International Relations just read, be adopted by the convention. Are there any remarks?

Vice President Woll: May I take occasion to say a few words in support of the committee's report, and in so doing I would invite the convention's attention to the fact that about 450 years ago a great Italian entered into a great adventure by crossing the high seas and there laying the foundation for what has come to be known as the great Western Continent. Through his discovery of the Indies there shortly followed the colonization of this country and out of it developed

the great Republic of which we are so proud. With these developments, those in foreign lands, oppressed in many ways, found a great haven of refuge on our shores.

It was with great regret that the American Federation of Labor as well as the American people readily saw the danger that was coming to the liberties and the freedom and peace and happiness of the Italian people by the entry of the Fascist regime. It was the American Federation of Labor which first raised its voice against the destruction of trade unionism in Italy and denounced Fascism as a danger to the liberty, to the peace and to the tranquility of the Italian people. And so it was the American Federation of Labor which rose in protest when the regime of Mussolini joined that of Hitler and joined the forces of totalitarianism, to wipe out liberty and freedom and democracy in the old world.

Deeply as we regretted these developments, to the same degree did we rejoice when the forces of the United Nations again entered the soil of Italy and there laid the foundation for the complete restoration, the liberty and the freedom, and, we feel, democracy of life as well as trade unionism in Italy and thus again also hold out hope to the oppressed peoples of Europe for the restoration of their rights and their liberties. We rejoice with all other peoples in America in that accomplishment, for we recognize that the Italian people have made a great contribution to the development of our land and to our institutions. Their culture and their peoples have been a great blessing and a great help in the development of our country, and it is therefore that we here in America in this moment of our great hour must heed the cry that comes from them for aid in various manners, and for us to give all we can to help rebuild Italy into that great cultural nation it heretofore represented.

Now I have been charged with a very happy duty on behalf of the New York Labor War Chest of Labor's League for Human Rights—for this organization has recognized the need of raising a fund to be of service to the oppressed people of Italy now in the hour of their liberation—and I have been charged to present to Mr. Antonini a check for \$10,000—the contribution of the New York Labor War Chest of Labor's League for Human Rights, and I will be more than happy and gratified to present this contribution to Mr. Antonini if he will step forward.

I present this to you in behalf of the New York Labor War Chest of Labor's League for Human Rights.

Delegate Antonini, Ladies Garment Workers: President Green, Vice-President Woll, and Fellow-Delegates: Had the world been at peace, it would have celebrated a year ago the 450th anniversary of the discovery of America by that great Italian mariner, Christopher Columbus. But this year—with the destruction of the Axis certain though not yet accomplished—it is even more fitting to celebrate the memorable occasion of the discovery of the New World.

Just now our eyes and hearts are turned to the bitter battles in Italy. The most decisive political event that has come out of this war to date has happened in Italy—the inspiring revolt of the Italian people against the Fascist dictatorship of Mussolini, the first collapse of the Axis homefront. The Italian people have shown that more than twenty years of Fascist oppression and terror did not destroy their love of freedom, did not wipe out their ability and desire to think and act as free men. This first magnificent moral and political victory for world democracy will speed the triumph of our country and the United Nations. This most fortunate turn of affairs will save the lives of many thousands of our own sons and brothers and those of our gallant allies.

I speak to you as an American—as an American by choice rather than chance—as an American who happens to be of Italian descent—as an American working in and for America and not as an Italian in the U. S. Today, the motherland of Christopher Columbus is steeped in tragic difficulties. Italy is fast becoming the battleground of Europe, the land where we first pierced that bastion of darkness—Hitler's "Fortress Europe." The monstrous Fascist dictatorship has left many a scar on the Italian people. They have suffered untold misery as a result of the shameful war forced upon them by Europe's first Quisling—that now discredited and bankrupt Mussolini. At this very moment, the jewel cities of Italy—traditional centers of enlightenment and democracy—are being systematically and spitefully pillaged by vandals in German uniforms, by Nazi and Fascist savages thirsting for revenge.

In these grave hours, we can rest assured that with the full return of the Italian people to the family of democratic nations, they will

take their rightful and honorable place among the freedom-loving nations of the world. The Italian people, when they were free, made splendid contributions to human freedom and civilization. Five hundred years ago the glorious Italian City-States led in the Renaissance of civilization, in the liberation of the human mind from the mediaeval dungeons of darkness. This year—on July 25th—the great cities of Italy again came to the fore as banner-bearers of enlightenment. They dealt the first mortal blow to Fascist barbarism—the fiercest reaction mankind has ever experienced.

As Americans—native and naturalized—we cannot overlook the great moral debt which our country owes to the liberty-loving, industrious and enlightened Italian people. The man whose discovery we honor today was the first to unfurl the flag of civilization on our blessed soil. The very name of the New World—America—is derived from that of the renowned Italian navigator, Amerigo Vespucci. An intimate friend and close collaborator of Thomas Jefferson, author of our Immortal Declaration of Independence, was the Italian Dr. Filippo Mazzei from whom the undying words "all men are created free and equal" were taken. Our great poets Henry W. Longfellow and Edgar Allan Poe reveal much Italian inspiration and influence. We all know how much that wizard of the baton, Arturo Toscanini, has enriched our American culture and happiness.

Hundreds of thousands of Americans of Italian descent have fought in World War I and are now in our Armed Services on all the far-flung battle-fronts. We of the trade union movement know how much American working men and women of Italian origin have contributed to the economic growth of our country, to the progress of our vigorous labor organizations and our American standard of living. And today we can only welcome the revival of the deep friendship between the American and Italian peoples which flourished until the advent of the Fascist dictatorship.

Our American Federation of Labor has every reason to be proud of its own record in fighting militantly against the Fascist plague from the very moment of its inception. Not even for a split second did the A. F. of L. look upon Fascism as a movement which might bring constructive reform or inject new life into the Italian nation. We were not fooled by Mussolini's noisy boasts about trains

running on time, because we knew, that, with Fascists at the throttle, these trains could run in only one direction—headlong toward the oppression of the people, the smashing of the free trade unions, and feverish preparations for plunging the world into total war.

We have been well rewarded for our confidence in the Italian workers throughout the dismal decades of Fascism. It was the workers in the great factories of Bologna, Genoa, Milan, Naples, Rome and Turin who struck the first blows against this infamous dictatorship, who led their nation to break with the Axis, and who are now the spearhead of the fearless fighters for the liberation of their country and the regeneration of Italian democracy. Italy, once the cradle of Fascism, will—under the deadly attacks of our armed forces and the courageous Italian guerrilla fighters—become the graveyard of Nazi-Fascist totalitarian Slavery.

Our country and the entire New World are now playing the paramount role in international affairs. Our crushing onslaught against Axis tyranny and the miracles of production performed by American Labor are only our repayment of the moral debt we owe to the Old World from which all our forefathers first came. In the new and better world to come out of this war, American Labor can and must play a most vital part. The A. F. of L., as a mighty organization of free trade unions, can and will serve as a powerful force for inspiring and aiding the revival of free unionism in the world.

In this spirit, I sincerely urge our great convention to:—Hail the Italian workmen and women who are today bravely resisting the Nazi terror and co-operating with armed forces of the United Nations. Demand that the leaders of the United Nations should give the sternest warnings to the Nazi and Fascist chieftains and hold them strictly responsible for the horrible crimes they are now perpetrating against the heroic workers who raised the banner of freedom and independence in Italy. I am sure that the working people of Italy are most thankful to President Green for insisting that, when this war is over and victory is ours, the Fascist destroyers of their once powerful labor movement must be severely punished along with the war criminals.

In the name of the Italian-American Labor Council, let me thank you heartily for the warm support the LEAGUE FOR HUMAN

RIGHTS and many local unions have been giving to our campaign to raise \$250,000 with which to help the reconstruction of free trade unions in Italy. Free trade unions are the bulwark of modern democracy and the strongest defense against every type of totalitarianism—in every country.

Aroused Italian Labor puts its full faith in the organized workers of America. This faith is well-deserved. The day is not far off when a delegate from the rebuilt free trade unions of Italy will come to a convention of the A. F. of L. and convey to us the profound sympathy and friendship of the Italian people for our country. Through our generous support for rebuilding the free trade unions of Italy, we are welding a most inspiring solidarity of world labor and assuring the triumph of democracy and lasting peace. This is to the eternal credit of free American Labor.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? If there are no further remarks all who favor the adoption of the committee's report please say "aye." All opposed say "no."

The motion is carried unanimously and so ordered.

Now the Chair recognizes the Committee on Resolutions. Chairman Woll, of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: Mr. President and Delegates—The Committee on Resolutions would have this convention first note that a most unfortunate incident occurred since we have been convening here as delegates to this convention. Your Committee on Resolutions particularly took note of this sad event. It was the passing of a delegate to this convention, one who has been a member of the Resolutions Committee for more than twenty-five years. I refer to the passing of Andrew Myrup, the President and Secretary of the International Bakery and Confectionery Workers. He has served this convention and this Resolutions Committee of the convention for more than twenty-five years and has left his impression deeply upon the philosophies and the policies pursued by the American Federation of Labor. His counsel to the committee, his soundness of thought, his aggressiveness of outlook, his

loyalty to the American Federation of Labor is something to be remembered by this committee, and we hope too, by the convention itself. Your Committee on Resolutions would feel itself derelict to the services rendered by Andy Myrup if we did not make this report to you on the sadness of his passing to the Great Beyond.

Now the Committee in the work it had before it had twenty-five main subjects referred to it under the Executive Council's Report and within those twenty-five main subjects there were sixty some sections. In all there were between eighty-five and eighty-six subjects referred to your Committee through the Executive Council. In addition to that we had sixty-seven resolutions submitted to this convention and referred to this Committee. This will give the delegation an idea of the subjects and the problems with which your committee was confronted.

I am happy to announce that the Committee has handled each and everyone of these subjects and will deal with them in its report to this convention. Before indicating the manner of our reporting, I want to say that each and every one of the members of the committee attended the meetings of our committee regularly and remained during its sessions throughout—something not experienced for years. There was not a single absentee in the meetings of the Committee on Resolutions in dealing with these matters and therefore the reports to be submitted come to you as representing deliberate discussion and the best consideration, having in mind the best future welfare of the Federation as a unanimous expression of your committee. In the manner of reporting, we will, of course, report some resolutions which stand by themselves separately, a number of resolutions dealing with the same subject will be reported upon at the same time, and in order to avoid duplication of discussion, if discussion is indulged in and then again in other instances where the Executive Council covered the same subject, the same resolutions will be reported on in connection with the Executive Council's report.

I have been asked to make that statement so that you may know we will endeavor to report rather on the subjects than upon the number of resolutions introduced and avoiding also, at the same time, unnecessary discussion by diversion of these subjects under various resolutions. With those explanations

the secretary of the committee will read the report of the committee to you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey of the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Frey submitted the following report:

N. Y. A.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate D. E. Nickerson, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration was created to provide employment for worthy young persons to enable them to continue their school work when there was little employment, and the National Youth Administration was not intended to be a system of vocational training, and

WHEREAS, The condition for which the agency was created has disappeared, but an attempt was made to perpetuate it as a vocational training agency which would duplicate other and better programs and which might well conflict with apprentice and vocational training programs sponsored and conducted by the joint efforts of labor and management, and

WHEREAS, It may be anticipated that the persons and interests which sought to convert it into a vocational training program and perpetuate it as a bureau of the Federal Government will renew their efforts to revive and reestablish the National Youth Administration, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we disapprove of the National Youth Administration as a vocational training agency and state our emphatic opposition to its revival or to the creation of any similar agency designed to supplant the system of vocational training that is operated jointly by employers and labor organizations, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we are apprehensive of the trend toward governmental control or operation of agencies that may eliminate or restrict activities which should be conducted jointly by the two elements of industry—labor and management.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that no action in connection with this resolution is advisable or required, as the National Youth Administration is no longer in existence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Living Wage for Textile Workers

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Francis J. Gorman, Lloyd Klenert, William E. G. Batty, Joseph Sylvia, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The southern textile workers are receiving sub-standard wages with a differential of twenty to forty per cent less in identical mills in other parts of the textile industry, and

WHEREAS, The "Little Steel" formula has not and cannot meet the problem of the textile workers, the majority of whom are still receiving sub-standard wages, and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America has served a group of employers with a demand for a fifteen cents per hour increase, and five and ten cents increase in the rates for the second and third shifts respectively, and

WHEREAS, An attempt is being made to localize this wage issue resulting in confusion, delay, and non-compliance, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby declare its support to the textile workers in their efforts to get the textile situation before the War Labor Board, and secure for the workers in this war industry a living wage in accordance with the wage stability program, and as a vital necessity in the war effort.

Your committee is in full sympathy with the purpose of the resolution, and for this reason recommends that it be referred to the labor members of the War Labor Board, with the request that they give all assistance possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence McGuigan, Louis Horlbeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; International Association of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Jos-

eph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchart, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States, including the administration of the United States Civil Service Retirement Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to request of the President that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, James M. Murphy, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, Lawrence

McGuigan, Louis Horibeck, Joseph Considine, National Association of Letter Carriers; C. M. Harvey, J. L. Reilly, Wm. Taylor, Patrick Leonard, Railway Mail Association; James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, John B. Murray, American Federation of Government Employees; James Mowatt, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank J. Coleman, Washington, D. C., Cen'ral Labor Union; Fred W. Baer, Joe Lehan, International Association of Firefighters; Foster J. Pratt, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; S. V. Sloan, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Joseph Landis, John Fewkes, Selma M. Borchart, Irvin Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects, and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal Workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to request that the U. S. Employees Compensation Commission, its records, and functions, be returned to the national capital at the earliest practicable date, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Piece-Work Incentive Plans

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Industry has for some years initiated, promoted and developed the "piece-work" plan of compensation to workers in various kinds of process and production, and

WHEREAS, In recent years this previously bad and uncertain plan of compensation to workers has been further exploited by so-called "efficiency experts", and originators of "trick count systems" and "unit mark systems" of crediting the work of piece-workers, to the extent that workers only get paid for portions of the work that they are forced to produce at break-neck speed, and

WHEREAS, The nerve-wracking and undermining of health of these piece-workers makes those workers old and broken down in health long before their time in years of life, and later renders them useless for other means of livelihood, while at the same time netting them the most meager kind of earnings, and

WHEREAS, The changing of patterns and designs and quality of merchandise worked on, renders piece-workers constantly unable to plan on any reasonable average of earnings, or to plan any stable scheme of social or family life, and

WHEREAS, The piece-work plan of compensation has provided a wide avenue of exploitation for "unscrupulous, cheap, and chiseling employers", who would perpetuate the old sweat-shop methods that we have so long fought to eliminate, and

WHEREAS, These same "unscrupulous employers" have shown definite tendencies to further their interests in this respect by hiding behind the war effort, and at the same time throwing patriotic gestures at employees to get them to accept their plans; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor seek the elimination of piece-work and piece-work methods of compensation, and the ramifications of "unit counts" and uncertainties of earnings, and seek by every legitimate means at hand to discourage, supplant and eliminate the piece-work plan of compensation from all process, fabrication and production plants, in favor of a reasonable and dependable plan of earnings for the workers on a basis of hourly, daily, weekly or monthly wages.

Your committee finds much to recommend in the resolution, but cannot bring itself to give full approval to the resolution as a whole.

There are within the membership of the American Federation of Labor, organizations which, from the beginning, have had their

wage structure based upon piece work. Many of these organizations have had national agreements with all employers in the industry for a long period of years. It would not be practical to attempt to disrupt a structure for wage payments which has had the approval through collective bargaining agreements between management and industry for over a generation.

The American Federation of Labor has properly opposed the introduction of so-called work incentives from the time when the disciples of Frederick N. Taylor endeavored to impose so-called scientific management upon workers to the operation of the notorious and now thoroughly discredited Bedeaux System.

In this connection the American Federation of Labor has opposed the introduction of any and all work incentive systems, regardless of their character, the purpose of which is to create some form of speed up.

The International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have largely developed their wage structure, and the protection of workers from exploitation, through the establishment of day work performed for established minimum wage rates. They have also used their every influence to prevent the classification and reclassification of occupations which had for their purpose dividing skilled workers into categories, the object being to prevent wage increases and in many cases enforce decreases.

Your committee voices its approval of this policy of the International Unions, and urges that our trade union movement continue to prevent the introduction of any wage system which is based upon so-called work incentives.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Apprenticeship Section of U. S. Department of Labor

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and various affiliated International Unions were largely responsible for the enactment of the Fitzgerald Act which established the Apprenticeship Section in the United States Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This Agency has been of great service to International and Local Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the development and establishment

of apprenticeship and other types of training programs, and

WHEREAS, This Agency has made a tremendous contribution to the war production program in assisting with training of war workers and other matters pertaining to the successful prosecution of the war, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Order transferring the apprenticeship section from the United States Department of Labor to the War Manpower Commission specifically stated that the Apprenticeship Section should maintain its organizational entity, and

WHEREAS, The program of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship has received the unqualified endorsement of all organized labor and they are vitally interested in seeing its perpetuation as a permanent activity of the Federal Government, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its endorsement of the Federal Committee program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor insists that the Executive Order transferring the apprenticeship activities to the War Manpower Commission be for the duration of the war only, and that the organizational entity of the Apprenticeship Section be held inviolate, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the post-war period the apprenticeship activities of the Federal Government be transferred back to the United States Department of Labor, and a division of the Department of Labor be established known as the Apprentice and Training Service and all apprenticeship activities of the Federal Government be lodged therein.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Congressional Abuse of Franking Privilege

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Members of Congress of the United States are permitted to send official letters free under United States Postal Frank, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Hamilton Fish, Congressman, from the 26th Congressional District of the State of New York has permitted and is still permitting the use of his Postal Frank by persons inimical to the interests of the United States in spite of the fact that many of the persons so accommodated by Mr. Fish are openly sympathetic to Nazism and Fascism, and

WHEREAS, We members of the Poughkeepsie, New York, Trades and Labor Council, together with other voters in Mr. Fish's own

constituency are truly ashamed of this notorious activity of Mr. Fish, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor call upon the Congress of the United States to investigate this un-American abuse of an American privilege, and be it further

RESOLVED, That legal action be taken under the Espionage Act, or any other appropriate law.

Your committee is of the opinion that this resolution deals with a subject which should not be given cognizance, and so recommends.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AFL Press Service for the Armed Forces

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There are already over 7,000,000 men in the Armed Forces of the United States and this number will be soon increased to 11,000,000 according to the plans of the War Department, and

WHEREAS, These American Forces are stationed in military and Naval Bases throughout the world where sources of information concerning the home front are largely controlled by Syndicated Press Services, and

WHEREAS, Home-front news received by our troops is frequently anti-labor in character creating in most cases a false picture which does not in any sense reflect labor's true participation in the war effort, and

WHEREAS, The intent and purpose of this flood of anti-labor news furnished to the troops is to establish the political basis for the defeat of those gains in social legislation obtained for working people in the United States by the Trade Union Movement, and

WHEREAS, Open-Shoppers will thus attempt to utilize returning troops to organize a drive against union labor such as occurred after World War I, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to plan and prepare a Labor Press Service to be sent as a regular mailing to union members and their relatives in the Armed Forces presenting the true picture of the contribution of American Labor to the War effort.

Your committee is favorably impressed by the purpose of the resolution, and believes that every practical step should be taken to carry its intent into operation. With this comment

your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, and such action as will materially assist in placing the purpose of the resolution into effect.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cooperation with President Roosevelt

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has amply demonstrated his spirit and understanding of our problems and has consistently held a progressive and far-sighted view on domestic and foreign matters, and

WHEREAS, Certain Tory labor-baiting politicians oppose the nation's war effort and the President's Victory program as shown through their opposition to the Administration's foreign policy, their appeasement on the home front, in their scuttling of President Roosevelt's seven-point Economic program, to freeze wages, to pass repressive anti-labor legislation, and to alienate Labor's allies by refusal to pass the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, and

WHEREAS, Labor has given full cooperation to the President and our Government in bringing about increases in production of the essential instruments of war, in the elimination of work stoppages, and in other ways and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has proven his support to organized labor and his obligation to all working people by vetoing anti-labor legislation such as the Smith-Connally Bill and by his support of the O.P.A. in its struggle to establish subsidies and an adequate and effective roll-back in prices, and

WHEREAS, The successful prosecution of the war demands that all Americans give full cooperation to their Commander-in-Chief, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in his conduct of the war, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge to our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, its full cooperation and support of his administration by aiding in the establishment of adequate subsidies and the effort the O.P.A. is making to roll back prices, to the end that our efforts will be crowned with Victory, and the war will end with the complete destruction of the anti-democratic forces which are seeking to enslave the free peoples of the world, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to President Roosevelt.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prison Labor

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Joseph P. McCurdy, A. Adamski, W. R. Brooks, George C. Slater, Anne Peterson, United Garment Workers of America.

WHEREAS, It has been reported by the OWI, as late as September 14, 1943, that more than 160,000 prisoners in 100 state prisons are producing war goods for the Army, Navy and Maritime Commission, and

WHEREAS, On July 9, 1942, Federal restrictions on the sale of convict-made goods to Federal agencies were suspended for the duration by Executive Order, and

WHEREAS, To date, war contracts totaling nearly \$11,000,000 have been awarded to prisons, and

WHEREAS, Before the war, prison industries were prohibited from competing with free labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Sixty-third Convention assembled, go on record to use every possible effort to eliminate manufacturing in prisons in competition with free labor immediately upon the termination of hostilities.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 118 and 119, which are as follows:

Opposing War-Time Prohibition

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Sol Cilento, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, There has been considerable activity on the part of the "Dry" forces throughout the United States to enact legislation which will prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages, and

WHEREAS, The "Dry" forces have been successful in many local communities in the United States to cause, not only unnecessary and unwarranted restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages, but in many towns the actual and complete prohibition of the sale of beer, wine and liquor, and

WHEREAS, There are upwards of ten million men serving in the Armed Forces of the United States away from their home communities in camps in the United States and in many lands across the seas, and

WHEREAS, Scores of thousands of workers engaged in war production are away from their legal voting residences, and

WHEREAS, The "Stars and Stripes", the daily newspaper of the Armed Forces in Europe, commenting on the subject of prohibition and the activities of the "Drys", has stated, "We feel those at home should wait until we return before initiating legislation on liquor control", and

WHEREAS, A strong movement on the part of the "Dry" forces to take advantage of this situation, resulting from millions of voters being away from their homes, is gaining dangerous proportions, and

WHEREAS, The distilling industry, since October 8th, 1942, has not distilled one drop of whiskey, and

WHEREAS, The distilling industry has, since October 8th, 1942, been on a 24-hour-a-day, seven-days-a-week basis, producing alcohol solely for the War effort, such alcohol being used in the manufacture of smokeless powders, munitions, synthetic rubber, medicines and other necessities of War, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, in Boston, Massachusetts, go on record opposing the passage of any bills which would restrict or prohibit the manufacture, sale or distribution of alcoholic beverages in the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we strongly urge that all local prohibition elections be postponed until all the workers and persons in the Armed Forces return to their homes, so that they may have an opportunity to express at the polls their views on the issue of prohibition.

Opposing Restrictions on Sale of Alcoholic Beverages

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Sol Cilento, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Many bills have been introduced into the Congress of the United States for the purpose of creating prohibited areas in the vicinity of Army Camps and Navy Bases in which areas beer, wine, and liquor may not be sold legally, and

WHEREAS, The military and naval authorities have publicly expressed themselves opposing attempts of the "Drys" to restrict the sale of alcoholic beverages in the areas and vicinity of Army Camps and Navy bases because such laws would be "harmful to the men in the Service", and

WHEREAS, The Commander-in-Chief and the Camp Commanders now have full and complete authority to protect the men of the Armed Forces, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, recommend to the Con-

gress of the United States that no action be taken by that body on any measure during the existence of the present emergency which shall create such areas in the vicinity of Army Camps or Navy Bases prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Your committee has considered resolutions Nos. 118 and 119 and its report covers both. The subject matter deals with efforts which have already been made, and which will be made in the future, to apply the purpose of the now discredited 18th amendment.

In lieu of both resolutions your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to be alert against any and every effort which may be made during the war emergency to force upon the American people the principle of prohibition.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Enlargement of Labor Department's Facilities

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department, and John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Building and Construction Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor recognizes a solemn responsibility for the attainment of maximum production for the war effort and for the attainment of proper working conditions to achieve that end, and

WHEREAS, The United States Department of Labor through the Division of Labor Standards has always diligently attempted to improve the working conditions of all classes of workers and has provided helpful guidance to both management and labor to this end, and

WHEREAS, Sufficient funds have not been provided to the Division of Labor Standards to enable it to carry out these functions adequately in the emergency now confronting the Nation, and

WHEREAS, The present critical labor shortage makes it imperative that greater production be obtained by improving working conditions to insure the most efficient use of available manpower, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends to the Secretary of Labor and to the Congress that steps be taken to secure adequate funds to enlarge the Department's facilities for improving working conditions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United

States, the Secretary of Labor, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the President of the Senate.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Centralization of Governmental Labor Policy

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department, and John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor was created "to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States"; and

WHEREAS, The Building and Construction Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has always taken an active interest in the work of the United States Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, During the present emergency there has been a wide dispersion of government activity in the labor field among various agencies, mostly of temporary character, which has resulted in overlapping and duplication of effort with consequent confusion among labor and management in obtaining solution of their problems, and

WHEREAS, It is believed that greater efficiency both from the standpoint of labor and management can be obtained by the reestablishment of the Department of Labor to its traditional and legal position as the Department in charge of all the government labor policy making and operating functions, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Building and Construction Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor go on record as strongly recommending to the President of the United States that action be taken to centralize responsibility for the making of government policy dealing with labor within the Department of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That studies be made immediately to determine which operating activities should, in the interest of the welfare of labor, be transferred to and merged with the activities of the United States Department of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Labor, the Speaker of the House and to the President of the Senate.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

(Executive Council's Report, Page 58)

Previous reports of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the action of the conventions on such reports, conclusively established the manifest bias of members of the National Labor Relations Board and of a considerable number of its personnel against the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates. Manifest unfairness in the administration of the Act where our affiliates were concerned, has amounted to "maladministration". With changes in membership of the Board, improvement for a short period was noticeable. Soon the former prejudices against the Federation and its affiliates reasserted themselves.

Your committee is convinced that the old remaining prejudiced personnel dominates the Board, and that the present members are too weak or unwilling to resist the strong favoritism displayed by employed personnel for rival organizations. On no other premise can we explain the attitude of the Board during the past year in support of the outrageous policy of raiding A. F. of L. unions by rival organizations. The Board and its personnel have, on many occasions, fostered such raiding by giving the raiders aid and comfort in the form of favorable procedure, such as the issuance of unwarranted complaints against employers with whom A. F. of L. unions have existing contracts; conducting hearings, holding elections; and the timing of such procedure so as to be most advantageous to the raiders.

The Board's activities reached a climax in its attitude toward the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company contract with the Metal Trades Department. Reference to the recital contained in the Executive Council's report on pages 36 and 37 will make clear the circumstances of this raid.

We recommend hearty commendation of the Metal Trades Department for its prompt,

vigorous and effective action in defense of union rights.

Your committee also recommends that the Executive Council adopt all appropriate means for resisting and abetting the injustice practiced upon its affiliates by the Board in the aiding and abetting of the raids upon the American Federation of Labor membership.

Your committee urges that the Executive Council continue to energetically defend trade union rights as well as the fruits of collective bargaining, and prevent the Board from perverting the Wagner Act into a charter for organizing rival unions by means of unlawful raids.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council study the work of this Board, and developments from the operation of the law, for the purpose of recommending amendments which will assure constructive results.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: In connection with the report of the committee on that section of the Executive's Council report dealing with the National Labor Relations Board the committee reports on Resolution No. 34, which is as follows:

National Labor Relations Board

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Daniel J. Goggin, Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The constructive purposes and actual intent of the National Labor Relations Act have been and are being set aside by the National Labor Relations Board, and

WHEREAS, The majority of the present Commission are controlled and influenced by employees and Regional officials who, without experience in industrial affairs, either as workers or employers, and, with preconceived and impractical ideas, over a period of years, have continually acted as "stooges" for those who, unable to control or eliminate American Federation of Labor national and international unions seek their destruction, and

WHEREAS, On numerous occasions these officials and employees of the National Labor Relations Board, through their alliances with and subservience to alleged labor officials, not affiliated with American Federation of Labor unions, have consciously or otherwise served the purposes of unscrupulous exploiters of workers, and, through their juggling and misuse of the powers entrusted to them

have deprived millions of workers of substantial benefits which these workers would otherwise have secured through their membership in national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This same group of officials and employees of the National Labor Relations Board are apparently more interested in implanting in our country foreign policies and philosophies and certain foreign "isms" and, in reality are sympathetic with and subservient to those who either openly or covertly seek the overthrow of our American form of government, and

WHEREAS, The appointment of new members of the Commission who are free from these destructive influences has failed to correct the abuses herein referred to, and

WHEREAS, The monies appropriated by the Congress for the continuance of this governmental agency are for the most part wasted, misused and handled in such a manner as to be destructive to the continued solidarity of our American form of government, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the administration and the destructive and un-American policies of the National Labor Relations Board and its officials and employees, and we appeal to the Congress to refuse to appropriate any more monies for the use of this agency until the present personnel, officials and policy-making employees, are replaced with persons having had actual experience in industrial affairs and which persons are known to be honestly loyal to our American form of government.

Resolution No. 34 with which your committee is in approval, deals with the subject covered by the Executive Council's report, which has already been acted upon. Therefore no special action is necessary upon this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

(Page 140, Executive Council's Report)

We recommend concurrence in the report of the Executive Council on this subject. We believe that a democracy cannot encourage or even condone discrimination based on race, religion, creed or national origin.

We urge approval of the recommendation of the Executive Council that we extend our efforts to get complete acceptance by all unions of the Federation's long established

policy of non-discrimination in acceptance of workers into membership in our free trade unions. Discrimination is in violation of the freedom which our unions assert and endeavor to maintain.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Webster, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the 63rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor: As a trade unionist and as a member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice I want to take this opportunity to commend the convention of the American Federation of Labor for this report on the President's Committee. In view of the fact that the efforts to bring about Executive Order 8802 under which the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was appointed, were largely participated in by dues-paying members of International Unions of the American Federation of Labor, particularly the members of the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Federation of Teachers and the International Hotel Workers Alliance, I am sure that those who participated, as well as the members of those organizations, will agree with us in our commendation of this report.

I wish also, fellow delegates, to take this opportunity to make a few observations of some of the things that have been accomplished, as well as some of the problems that have been met by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. As you know, Executive Order 8802 was a war measure, an emergency measure brought about as a result of the widespread discrimination in the fast growing defense industries at the beginning of the war. The original committee was appointed by the President, and its problems have been many and complex. While we have not accomplished all that we thought we ought to accomplish or that we expected to accomplish, yet we have met with some degree of success in making efforts to try to solve some of these problems of racial discrimination in the defense industries.

At the outset the committee found that the question of discrimination, particularly against Negro workers in the defense industries, was so astounding that it stumped almost everybody, even those of us who have been on the front lines fighting discrimination practices for so many years. We found it particularly true in the rapidly expanding aircraft industry, and one of the first problems attacked

by the committee was the aircraft industry on the Pacific Coast.

A couple of years ago it developed that representatives of those corporations one after another reported to the committee that they had large numbers of workers, and in most instances no Negro workers. The excuse offered there was it was their opinion that the Negro workers and the white workers could not get along together. However, most of them promised to do what could be done to try to offset the situation. A personal inspection made by myself and some other trade unionists on the Pacific Coast several months ago reveals that there are now participating in the aircraft industry, particularly, thousands of Negro workers, and nothing has happened there outside of the usual disturbances that happen here and there. That indicates some of the things that can be done in that respect.

However, since the last convention the committee has met with some difficulties. It was shunted around from pillar to post, and since it had to deal with a problem that was not popular we were handicapped. We were shifted from one agency to another and we were limited with a budget that made it impossible for the committee to function to any extent. However, it limped along as best it could, with its limited budget, and made some headway. For some seven or eight months there was a painstaking investigation of discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry. Preparations were made for public hearings, and then, like a bolt of lightning out of the clear sky, just two weeks prior to the date of the beginning of the hearings, we got orders from the Manpower Commission that the hearings were called off. This was quite a setback, and immediately thereafter three of the committee members resigned, and it looked like it was out of existence.

Due to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, particularly some other groups, the Jewish groups and the Catholic groups, we prevailed upon the Administration that the work of the committee was so essential in bringing about some real democracy in this country, and finally Executive Order 9346 was issued and the committee was reorganized and set up on an entirely different pattern. The committee is now patterned after the so-called employer-management set-up, three representing the management side, three representing organized labor and one coming from neither of these groups. On the management side

we have Miss Sara Southall, of the International Harvester, Mr. P. B. Young, Publisher, and Mr. Zemmurray. On the labor side we have our own President, William Green, who operates on the committee through Boris Shishkin, Philip Murray, who operates on the committee through Brother John Brophy and myself as a representative of the Negro group, and Monsigneur Haas as Chairman, who so eloquently addressed this convention a few days ago. However, due to his promotion as Bishop of Grand Rapids, Michigan, we are now on the lookout for a new Chairman, and we hope we can get the cooperation of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in prevailing upon the President of the United States to select a man of the character and the stature of Monsigneur Francis J. Haas to take on this work as Chairman of this Committee. The reorganized committee has gotten itself fairly well straightened out and is attempting to do a good job. It re-scheduled the railroad hearings several weeks ago. However, I will reserve comment on those hearings because the committee has not yet made findings and there will be lots to be said on that sometime later.

We have had much cooperation—cooperation from management, some of them, and opposition from management, some of them. We have had cooperation from the unions, some of them, and opposition from the unions, some of them. We have had cooperation from government agencies, some of them, and we have had not so much cooperation from some of the government agencies. And so, we have quite a complex problem.

One illustration of why it is necessary, and why the President thought it was necessary to take this extraordinary action and issue an executive order on this question of discrimination may be illustrated to you very briefly by an incident that happened several months back, where there was an extreme shortage of metal miners in the copper mines, so much so that the government felt called upon to discharge soldiers from the army who had experience in mining in the copper mines. Among those discharged were twenty-five or thirty negro miners. They were sent out to that particular mining field in the West, they were accepted by the managers of the corporation, but unfortunately the workers refused to go down in the pits if they were going to allow these negro miners to work in this particular territory. The workers, I understand, had a closed shop contract, and

incidentally, it did not happen to be the A. F. of L. organization, it was an organization from the so-called rival group. While that, no doubt, offers the extreme in opposition to the question of integrating people into the war industries, the defense industries without regard to race, creed or color, yet we have had similar instances not quite so drastic but which have caused considerable trouble. While as a result of the committee's activities we have been able to a large extent to get a large number of Negro people into many industries, we are now confronted with the question of integrating those people upward. As an illustration of how it interferes with the defense industries, if a skilled mechanic or electrician is a negro, in many instances they have not allowed him to progress above a laborer. Therefore, you have a laborer working on the job that most anybody could be trained for within a short time and the industry is denied the privilege of using the skill of this particular worker because of his race and color. I think everybody knows about the sit-down strikes that resulted in the efforts to integrate Negroes upward in some defense industries throughout the nation.

However, while we have publicized to some extent the things that are most disastrous, it might be well to close this talk by reading to you an excerpt from a letter I received recently from a Negro worker in one of the defense plants in the far West. I will delete the name of the plant and the name of the city for obvious reasons. It is addressed to me and reads:

"On July 21st, 1942, I related to you in person the conditions pertaining to the outrageous discrimination against the Negro here in the ——— ordnance plant. On August 8th, the following month, I wrote you a letter describing same. I also obtained four statements from other Negroes relating their experience when asking for transfers to jobs where we were not allowed to work. At that time, if you remember, I stated to you that there were only 290 Negroes in the entire plant.

"I am happy to report that this number has jumped to almost 900 Negro men and women. About sixty days after I mailed these letters to you, the ——— Company apparently received copies of these letters, as they knew just who the writers were, but no one was intimidated for the act.

"Jobs began to open to our Negro girls that were never opened to them before. Negro men began getting transfers to jobs that were never opened to them before. The employment of Negroes was running at the rate of 16 to 20 per day for a period of almost

six weeks. Our Negro girls were placed on the machines working side by side with the white girls. In other words, the Negro women are in practically every production department in the plant. However, the management has taken pains to direct most of this change toward the Negro women more so than the Negro men. The answer to this, I believe, is that when the war is over and the men resume their places in this plant, there will be very few Negro men holding rights on machines.

"But aside from all that, Mr. Webster, the race line has been broken down. The relationship between the whites and Negro workers of this plant is very good. I can only attribute this victory to you and the committee with which we were affiliated."

This, fellow delegates, indicates the brighter side of the picture. And now, since the convention has gone on record as favoring the work of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, it dawns upon us that in the post-war world, our problems are going to be far more, intricate and complex than they are today, and it is our hope and desire that the cooperation of the members of the American Federation of Labor will be able, from the very successful experience we have had with the President's Committee during the war emergency, to recommend some similar agency that might be integrated into the post-war world, to the end that we might make this country of ours a real Democracy.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Secretary Frey continued the report, as follows:

National Commission on Race

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The fair name of America has been disgraced by recent race riots in Detroit, Beaumont, Texas, Mobile, Alabama, Los Angeles, California, and New York City, in which the world and liberal, decent law-abiding white and colored Americans were shocked by the exhibition of savagery which was representative of the ruthless terrorism of the Axis powers and the Master Race theory, and

WHEREAS, These social explosions in the form of racial conflicts constitute dangerous dynamite to the social peace and the progress of our country, national unity and the victory over the totalitarian tyranny of Hitler, Hirohito, and Badoglio, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in its sixty-third convention in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record as condemning these outbursts of violence, bloodshed and social barbarism as a threat and challenge to our democratic way of life and the free voluntary trade union movement of the United States of America, as represented by the A. F. of L., and herewith calls upon the President of the United States and the Congress to set up a national commission on race for the purpose of exploring the basic causes of these racial conflicts by a thorough-going and scientific investigation of social, political, and economic conditions, including housing, educational opportunities, health, recreational facilities, and law enforcement agencies, in the interest of better racial relations, and that the President either supply money out of his contingent fund or call upon the Congress to appropriate funds that will provide for an adequate research and administrative staff to carry out the program which may be formulated by the said commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That on this commission be represented labor, minority groups, including Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Chinese, Filipinos, church, business and government, and that this commission go to work forthwith in the employment of social prophylactics with a view to avoidance of recurrent racial outbursts that engender hatred, rancor, and ill will, that render the claims of democracy a hollow mockery and a sham, and that this commission make recommendations to the President and the Congress from time to time, and that the life of this commission extend into the post-war period to continue its social planning in the interests of peace and cooperation among the racial, religious and nationality groups in our national community.

Auxiliary Unions

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Auxiliary unions do not provide full-fledged trade union membership privileges and rights for its members since they are not permitted to attend the convention of the international where policies governing the union and its members are made and taxes levied, and since the members of the auxiliary unions have no voice in the designation and selection or election of the officials of the international union that direct the affairs of the union, and since the auxiliary form of organization constitutes taxation without representation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record as condemning the auxiliary union and calls upon the international organizations that have set them up to disestablish them in their next convention in the interest of justice and fair play to the workers who are now included in them, and that the said members of these auxiliary unions be admitted as full-fledged

members of the international union which claims jurisdiction over them, since this will make for greater national unity and the victory of the United Nations over the Axis powers, and also conform to sound trade union principles.

Fair Employment Practice Committee

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Fair Employment Practice Committee which was set up under Executive Order 8802, issued by President Roosevelt, has been reconstituted under the chairmanship of Monsigneur Francis J. Haas, and is developing and executing constructive programs against discrimination on account of race, creed, color, or national origin in defense industries and the Government, and since the A. F. of L. has direct representation on this Committee, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the A. F. of L. assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record as endorsing the President's Committee on Fair Employment practice and pledges its support and cooperation in its efforts to eliminate discrimination on account of race, creed, color, or national origin in defense industries and the Government.

Trade Union Committee to Abolish Discrimination on Account of Race, Color, Religion or National Origin

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, It is necessary that the full manpower of the nation be mobilized in the armed forces, and defense industries for the victory of the United Nations, and since discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin is a bar to this effort and because the flames of racial hatred have burned with disaster and destruction only recently in Beaumont, Texas, Mobile, Alabama, Detroit, Michigan and New York City, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this sixty-third convention, in cooperation with the Executive Council, to set up a minorities committee on discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, composed of representatives of the various minority groups in the A. F. of L., such as Negroes, Jews, Catholics and others, for the purpose of thoroughly exploring the question of discrimination practiced against

minority groups by unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. in various industries, with a view to mapping out plans and making recommendations to the Executive Council and subsequent conventions to abolish these forms of discrimination as being against sound trade union principles, and giving aid and comfort to Fascism in America, which if permitted to grow and develop will destroy our free voluntary trade union movement, and to investigate various cases of discrimination that may be presented to it, or that may come to its attention in any way, and that adequate funds be provided to pay a full time secretary with office staff and to meet other incidental expenses that may be necessary in the carrying out of the purposes of this resolution for the complete abolition of discrimination in unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee on race plan a systematic educational program among the members and officials of the A. F. of L. for the enlightenment of the workers on the necessity and value of unity in the labor movement, and that discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin is an enemy of the workers, and the labor movement, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. in cooperation with the Executive Council call a national labor conference on racial relations for the purpose of exploring the resources of labor to combat the spread of Fascism expressed through discriminations on account of race, and intolerance on account of religion, and prejudice on account of nationality, and to present labor's plan to the country in order to bring about better relations among religious, racial and nationality groups.

Racial Discrimination on Manpower

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt hit at the heart of the Manpower problem when he testified before the Senate Military Affairs Committee that the chief question is proper utilization of our manpower resources, rather than a shortage of labor supply, and

WHEREAS, One major hindrance to proper labor utilization is discrimination against Negroes, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its traditional policy of opposition to all discrimination, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it put itself on record to vigorously fight for the right of Negroes to work on any job; and calls upon its affiliated locals to do all in their power to put the aim of this resolution into effect, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention brands as thoroughly un-American and in violation of the constitution of the United States the policy adopted in numerous industries, particularly those engaged in production for the war, of barring Negroes from employment solely on account of their race and color, and expresses its emphatic opposition to the segregation of Negroes in certain Army Camps.

Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Our Nation is engaged in a war for the preservation of democracy and the defeat of Nazism and its medieval theory of race superiority, and

WHEREAS, We cannot conduct a democratic war abroad without practicing complete democracy at home, and it has always been the commendable position of the American Federation of Labor that the right to work or admittance into Union membership should not be based on race, creed, color, or national origin, and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has deemed it necessary to issue Executive Order No. 8802, as well as to set into motion a governmental body known as the "Fair Employment Practices Committee" to assure that there will be no discrimination in industry on the grounds of race, creed, color, or national origin, and

WHEREAS, In spite of this clear policy in the interests of justice and national unity in war, some few locals in the American Federation of Labor are following contrary policies of either not accepting minorities into their Unions or putting them into auxiliaries, thus aiding the Fascists who claim this country is not truly democratic and defaming the name of the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as:

1. Opposing all discrimination based upon race, color, creed, or national origin;
2. Calling upon all the Internationals and their affiliated unions to accept all workers into membership without discrimination or segregation, and
3. Calling for complete support and cooperation of all unions with the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Your committee has given lengthy and most sincere consideration to Resolutions Nos. 24, 28, 29 and 32 introduced by the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and Resolution No. 79 introduced by the delegate of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor; and Resolution No. 111 introduced by

the delegates of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association, all of which deal with some phase of discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin. Instead of reporting upon each resolution separately, your committee believed it advisable to present a substitute for all of them as follows:

The founders of the American Federation of Labor since their inception, were opposed to any prejudices, traditions, social or religious demarcations which could be applied to interfere with, or prevent thorough-going organization of all wage earners. They made one of the corner-stones of the great trade union structure they were determined to erect—the principle that the right to work, or membership in a trade union should not be limited, or restricted in any manner, because of creed, color or race.

The American Federation of Labor at that time, and ever since, has been the principal constructive and influential force in our country in giving practical application to that basic principle. We can examine the record of progress made in eliminating prejudices against so-called minority groups, with gratification and sincere pride.

The principle announced over sixty years ago has been given increasing practical application. Distinctions, because of national origin within our trade union movement, have been very largely eliminated. The color bar has been removed to such an extent that labor representatives of our colored members inform us that over half a million of their race are now dues paying members of the American Federation of Labor. This is the largest organization of colored workers in the world.

It is evident, however, that in some portions of our country there still remain among workers lingering suspicions, prejudices and traditions fostered by conditions long since passed, but which still operate to prevent the complete application of that great principle upon which our trade union structure has been erected.

The world war in which our country is now engaged, which involves safeguarding the vital principle of free institutions under government by law, enacted by the peoples' representatives for the people, demands that national unity must be had and that all prejudices which interfere with this unity must be eliminated.

Those in our armed forces are risking their lives in our country's defense, without thought of national origin or the color which nature has given them. All of them are the nation's defenders. When the war ends those who are wage earners must be free to return to peaceful occupations as equals in the enjoyment of all the rights and opportunities enjoyed by others in our trade union movement.

National origin, race or color must in no manner or form restrict any American from a free opportunity to prepare himself to become a skilled mechanic, a craftsman, and take his place as such in any employment requiring the skill which he has acquired. The

doors of our trade union movement must be open. This country must not maintain an industrial standard which discriminates against a wage earner because of his color.

Substantial progress has been made in eliminating prejudices, but there still remains an obligation upon the American Federation of Labor to carry on and expand the good work it has already done, so that the principle of industrial equality of all men will be established beyond question in every section of our country.

It is obvious that the goal we aim for, the best interests of the American people as a whole, and our democratic way of life, cannot be secured by one stroke or through the method of decrees, mechanical orders or threats handed down from on high. What is required is the intelligent, systematic, educational efforts to speed the day when there will no longer exist in the industrial field any prejudices or handicaps because of racial origin or color.

So that vitality and action can be given to this declaration of principle and of policy, your committee recommends that these declarations be given the widest possible publicity, and that all of the educational facilities of our trade union movement be used in furthering the objectives which have been herein set forth.

Your committee recommends reaffirmation of the action taken by the last convention endorsing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

The Post War Problems Committee of the A. F. of L. has appointed a subcommittee to deal with this and other minority questions. On this subcommittee the minority groups, including the colored race, are represented. Your committee is confident that as the results of this committee's work definite progress will be made.

President Green: You have heard the reading of the report of the committee; the motion is to adopt. Are there any remarks? Delegate Randolph.

Delegate Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: President Green and fellow delegates to the Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I want, on behalf of the Sleeping Car Porters' delegates, to express our appreciation for the sincere and serious efforts made by Chairman Woll and Secretary Frey of the Resolutions Committee to arrive at some formula for dealing with the problem of discrimination in the trade unions here at this convention. We, however, are in disagreement from the viewpoint of the scope of the report. The purpose of the report, the aim and objective of the report are all commendable, but we feel morally bound to discuss a very important phase of the trade union movement at this time in connection with Negro workers, and I may say that we talked with Secretary Frey about this question at length and we certainly were impressed with his sincerity and concern and his interest in attempting to deal with this

question. The same may be said with respect to Chairman Woll. But the matter of the material that should be included in the report was one upon which we could not agree. Thus, I want to present objection at this time.

The race problem is the number one problem of America today. It is the number one problem of American labor. It is the number one problem of the American Federation of Labor.

The fact that the U. S. A. organized labor, or the A. F. of L. may not be conscious of it, does not alter the fact that it is so.

In very truth, the question of race and color is the central, historical, social issue of these times. There are several reasons for this. One is the fact that two-thirds of the population of the world are colored. Second, the peoples of color have reached a higher level of moral, spiritual, and intellectual maturity, and have thus raised the question of their freedom and independence to a major world political issue.

In the U. S. A., the question of freedom, equality, and justice to the Negro people has assumed the status of a major, national, political issue. This problem must be met. It cannot be continuously evaded. Its solution does not involve, will not involve, Negroes alone. It involves all of America. Until this problem is frankly and courageously met and solved, the major problems of America and world democracy will continue to baffle the American people and world governments. Until the A. F. of L. realistically attacks this question of racial discriminations it cannot mobilize the complete strength of American labor or develop a healthy and sound and progressive existence.

Thus, racial discrimination should be abolished by every union affiliated with the A. F. of L. not only for the benefit of the Negro and other minorities, but for the sake of the A. F. of L. itself—to square its practices with its professions. This Federation is challenged in this hour of national and world crisis to make up its mind as to whether it shall shape and measure the soundness, value, and worthwhileness of its policies and programs upon solid and universal moral laws and principles, that the civilized world accepts and supports, or whether it will ignore, disregard, and flout these laws and principles, and formulate tactics and methods that give it the power to override opposition and squelch valid criticism. If it recognizes and accepts the

tenets and standards of the christian and democratic moral order, it will wipe out all distinctions between workers based upon race, color, religion, or national origin, and justify its existence as a symbol and expression of the age-old struggles of the working people in particular and mankind in general to achieve justice, freedom and equality. If this Federation refuses to cleanse its house of labor of the poisons of discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, it will, despite its material and economic power, forfeit and lose the confidence and faith of the enlightened and liberal people of America and the world. The leaders of the A. F. of L. must realize and understand that material strength and economic power that have no moral sanction and spiritual or social justification, are hollow, superficial, and impermanent. And the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. must eliminate the color bar because of common horse sense, self interest to save its own hide.

We are witnessing now in Nazi Germany an arrogant, irresponsible, and reckless use of power—military power—spreading battle and blood, death and destruction, terrorism and tyranny, over the face of the globe.

Why is this? The answer is that Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito possess no code or concept of moral righteousness; no answer to the questions: What is wrong or right except material and military power? Their philosophy is that the structure of relationships of society will always and inevitably be the dominator and dominated, master and slave, oppressor and oppressed, top dog and bottom dog. This is a dog eat dog, tooth and claw, beak and fang doctrine. It is the doctrine of destruction. It is the doctrine of destruction even for the oppressor, the top dog. In the language of the discriminating unions, it is "A" or first class membership and "B" or secondary membership. The right to rule is not based upon justice, truth and righteousness, but upon blood and sword, gun and force and color or race. Under this creed, the bottom dog will always remain the bottom dog unless he can mobilize more and greater brute-force than the top dog. The unavoidable implication of this philosophy is eternal war, conflict, chaos, and confusion. Why? Because the oppressed, the bottom dog, will not calmly remain the bottom dog without a struggle to the death for freedom, justice and equality.

In the nature of things, no human being will forever accept the status of a slave and acknowledge another man as his master. By the same token, no people will be content to exist as second-class citizens or second-class union men.

Men, regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin, will ever protest and fight against this condition. It is this ceaseless struggle of the oppressed for justice, freedom, and equality which is the great insurance of the preservation of the democratic, liberal tradition. Without this agitation of the forgotten man, the conscience of the tyrants will be undisturbed, their ruthless rule unquestioned, and the creative and liberal spirit would die.

It is for this reason, Mr. President, and delegates, that the conventions of the American Federation of Labor will always hear the voice of Negroes crying out against the color bar and discrimination in the constitutions, rituals, and policies of certain trade unions. When the Negro delegates that are now here are gone, others will come and take their places and continue to cry out against membership exclusion policies by unions on account of race, color, religion, or national origin until it is wiped out. And we Negro delegates now amongst you are confident that day will eventually come. For the American Federation of Labor cannot continue to exist with a part of its members who are white as first-class union men and another part who are colored as second-class union men. This division of the house of labor is fatal to its existence and future.

Influence of Southern Membership: But when you raise the question of the right of Negro workers to join certain trade unions, the leaders of these unions present the alibi of antagonism and opposition from their southern members. These officials privately proclaim their liberal attitude upon Negro workers joining their unions but express fear of sticking their necks out by championing the Negro workers' cause. This raises a moral and educational problem. The moral problem is: Can a true leader of labor shirk the responsibility to challenge and condemn the policy of his union's violation of the most fundamental tenets of trade unionism; namely, the right of a worker to join the organization of his choice of his craft or class or industry, without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin?

When a labor leader refuses either from fear or prejudice to fulfill this mission, is he not the foe rather than the friend of his own union? Moreover, each member of a union has a responsibility, second only to that of the leader, to see to it that his union does not violate the moral right of a worker to join the organization of his choice, to protect his economic interests and rights. It is enlightened self-interest for every union worker to fight for the right of every other worker to join the union of his choice, for the rights of no white union worker are secure as long as the rights of a black worker are insecure.

The denial to a worker union membership on account of race, color, religion, or national origin under a system of government support of union rights and interests is tantamount to denying the worker the right to work and to deny a worker the right to work is just like pointing a gun at the worker's head and telling him he shall not eat. That this is morally wrong and indefensible, not even a Robin Hood could gainsay.

Now, an A. F. of L. labor leader would consider it criminal for a man to take bread out of the mouth of another man solely because he had the power to do so. But certain A. F. of L. officials like Tom Ray, little Tin Horn Hitler, not only condone this very act by their own union, but are a party to it. Certainly this is an anti-social and anti-labor position. Let us remember that an individual's moral responsibilities don't end at the threshold of an organization. This is true of a member or leader of a union. A union may be criminal and immoral just as an individual, and its conduct may justify the moral condemnation of the community. If this were not true, then it would be improper and unjust to impose any penalties upon the German, Japanese, or Italian nations after Hitler, Hirohito, and Mussolini pass out. A nation is morally responsible for the conduct of its people, and the people are morally responsible for the conduct of their nation. This logic holds true with an individual union or international. It also holds true with the American Federation of Labor.

The A. F. of L. cannot expect the public to give it moral immunity from condemnation for racial discriminations by its international unions on the grounds that it is a federated body. If the A. F. of L. claims that it is the house of labor, then it cannot escape criticism for the wrongs committed

in that house. If the A. F. of L. is justified in claiming credit for the numerical increase of general union membership, it must bear the guilt for the lack of increase of Negro union membership because of a narrow racial policy. Can the United States of America justifiably take refuge in the thread-bare doctrine of states' rights when it is condemned because of the Poll Tax disgrace? Hardly!

Now, the educational problem consists in exploding the myth of racism and its danger to the working class solidarity, the salvation of labor.

How Does Racial Discrimination Function in Unions? Let us take the case involving the controversy over the representation of employees in a shipyard when the National Labor Relations Board is called upon to determine what effect it shall give to racial discrimination by a labor union when, on the one hand, that union seeks to represent a unit composed in part of workers which it excludes from membership rights because of their race.

More specifically, the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council of the A. F. of L. sought to define the appropriate unit for collective bargaining on a plant-wide basis and to have an election ordered solely within that unit. The records show that substantial numbers of Negroes and other non-white employees are working within the plant and within the smaller functional areas whose demarcation as appropriate units was in issue.

The record also shows the extent of the practice of racial discrimination by the constitution and by-laws of the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council and the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, principal constituent member of the Trades Council involved in the case.

Now, representation by the Trades Council would be representation by an affiliated group of unions among which the Boilermakers claim and exercise exclusive jurisdiction over a large part of the work and the great majority of the employees required for shipbuilding. The record and the basic law of the Boilermakers show that Negroes under jurisdiction of that union must be organized into so-called "auxiliary lodges" of which there are two in the plants where the controversy in question arose; namely, the Bethlehem Alameda Shipyard, Inc., on the Pacific Coast. But the record further shows that the so-called

"auxiliary lodges" are excluded from membership in the aforementioned Trades Council. Thus, the Trades Council, through the neat but questionable device of forcing Negro workmen into "auxiliary lodges" and excluding these auxiliaries from the Council, effectively denied Negro workmen a measure of participation in or control over the conduct of the proposed bargaining agency set up under the laws of the Federal Government.

If a labor organization which in substance excludes Negroes from membership, as do the Trades Council here and the Boilermakers, should be accorded exclusive rights or representation for a group including Negro workmen, those Negroes, because of their race, would arbitrarily be denied that measure of participation in and control over their "representatives" which is enjoyed by white union members and inheres in the very concept of collective bargaining. The processes of the National Labor Relations Board designed to insure workmen substantive benefits of collective bargaining would in such case, or in case of any similar denial or exclusion predicated on sex, creed or national origin, be employed to exclude the injured group altogether from any real participation in collective bargaining. Such misuse and perversion of its processes should not be tolerated by the National Labor Relations Board.

In this connection, it is believed that the National Labor Relations Board may and should properly be influenced by the fact that throughout the history of American organized labor the exclusion of Negroes from labor unions and the resultant promotion of strife between white and Negro workmen have been disturbing factors of major importance in industry and commerce. Thus, to the extent that the Board, in its adjudication of particular cases, can achieve participation of workmen in the processes of collective bargaining without discrimination as to race, sex, religion, or national origin by so much will the Board promote order and harmony in commerce and industry and thus advance the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act.

Not only are the special purposes of the National Labor Relations Act defeated by the discriminatory practices herewith considered, but the national policies of the United States in furtherance of war production as well.

The National Labor Relations Board should also consider that the Negro worker, no less

than any other, has viewed the National Labor Relations Act as a charter for orderly and just processes in labor relations. Such confidence is essential to the successful administration of the law. It would be catastrophic for Negro workers to find that the Labor Relations Act could be used to force them to accept as a bargaining agent, a union from which they are excluded bluntly or by sophistical devices. The progress which Negroes are making toward equality of status in organized labor would be arrested by the very legislation to which all labor looks for a new measure of justice and security. The Negro as a substantial minority group, outraged and disillusioned, would become a source of continuing discord and strife, and would serve dissident employers as a ready tool for exploitation of black and white workers alike.

One of the consequences most likely to result from exclusive representation under sanction of the National Labor Relations Act is the negotiation of a closed shop contract between the employer and the exclusive bargaining representative. The union seeking a still stronger position, and the employer seeking stability in labor relations are both impelled toward such a contract. But to the worker of a minority group who is arbitrarily denied status in the union, such a closed shop contract becomes the means of his total exclusion from employment. Thus, to the Negro worker, the greater calamity of total denial of employment is the probable consequence of granting exclusive bargaining rights to a discriminatory union.

The injustice of enforced representation by a union which excludes from membership a group of Negroes whom it claims to represent has most recently been recognized by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in a case arising under the Railway Labor Act, but enunciating a principle entirely applicable to the present case:

"It will be observed that Congress granted employees certain positive rights, both affirmative and negative in character. They have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing which carries the corollary that the right to organize is essential to the right to bargain collectively. And yet the employees in the case at bar are ineligible to organize with the only labor union that their employer will recognize as their bargaining agent."

The Appropriate Remedy: The National Labor Relations Board enjoys wide discretion to determine on the facts of each case whether a proposed unit is appropriate for collective bargaining. For the reasons above stated, the Board should not recognize or certify a unit as appropriate if the effect of exclusive representation by the only petitioner who proposes that unit and seeks exclusive bargaining rights therein would be to deny to persons of any race, sex, creed, or origin the real participation in the collective bargaining process enjoyed by other employees within the unit. On the other hand, if such full participation of all workmen in the collective bargaining process would be promoted by setting up a proposed bargaining unit, this fact should be one of the controlling considerations in favor of the determination that such a unit is the appropriate one under the circumstances of the case.

Consistency of the Proposed Rule with Prior Adjudications of the Rule: This National Labor Relations Board has consistently held that a unit is not appropriate for collective bargaining if it is differentiated and established on the basis of the race of the employees who would constitute the unit. A "white" unit or a "Negro" unit is not appropriate. But if a white unit or Negro unit is not appropriate, a white union is not appropriate.

The soundness of this doctrine seems clear. The Utah Copper case shows that the exclusion of Negroes from a proposed unit may properly be a controlling factor in the Board's refusal to order an election therein. As a corollary, it seems proper that, since both colored and white employees whose functions are not differentiated must be included within a single bargaining unit, the Board should find the proposed unit appropriate, and certify a representative only if real representation and bargaining rights would be afforded to both white and Negro workmen by the union, or by one or more of the unions, seeking status within that unit.

The National Labor Relations Board has not heretofore found it necessary to decide the issue now before it, although within the month, the issue has been noted and expressly reserved for future decision. But its recurrence in future cases can reasonably be anticipated.

Only a minority of unions practice the discrimination herein complained of. Yet

the minority is great enough to affect a large area of industry and commerce. The most recently published survey of the extent of such discrimination and exclusion is the study by Herbert R. Northrup, *Organized Labor and Negro Workers*, 51 *Journal of Political Economy*, 206 (June, 1943). Northrup lists the major unions which exclude Negroes or discriminate against them as follows:

I. Union which excludes Negroes by provision in ritual: Machinists, International Association of (A. F. of L.).

II. Unions which exclude Negroes by provision in constitution:

A. F. of L. affiliates:

Airline Pilots Association
Commercial Telegraphers Union
Masters, Mates and Pilots, National Organization
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of
Railway Mail Association
Switchmen's Union of North America
Wire Weavers' Protective Association, American

Unaffiliated organizations:

Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of
Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of
Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of
Railroad Yardmasters of America
Railroad Yardmasters of North America
Railway Conductors, Order of
Train Dispatchers' Association, American

III. Unions which habitually exclude Negroes by tacit consent:

All A. F. of L. affiliates:

Asbestos Workers, Heat and Frost Insulators
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of
Flint Glass Workers' Union, American
Granite Cutters, International Association of
Plumbers and Steamfitters, United Association of Journeymen

IV. Unions which afford Negroes only segregated auxiliary status:

A. F. of L. affiliates:

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and helpers, Brotherhood of

Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Welders and Helpers, Brotherhood of

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of

Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood

Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, Brotherhood of

Rural Letter Carriers, Federation of Sheet Metal Workers' International Association

Unaffiliated organizations:

Rural Letter Carriers' Association

Railroad Workers, American Federation of

It is to be noted that this list includes unions, among them the boilermakers, which have their historic roots in the highly restrictive organization of precisely defined crafts but currently are in process of rapid transformation into vast industrial unions. Thus, racial, religious and sex discriminations stand as irrational surviving impediments to the present course of union development in an area which widens as the discriminatory unions become increasingly industrial in character.

The question of Local Auxiliary Unions is of paramount and far-reaching importance, if the American Federation of Labor seeks to chart a new path of democracy for the workers. An examination of the nature and function of the Auxiliary Union reveals that its relationship to the International Union is quite similar to the relationship of colonies of colored people to the empire systems, particularly the British Empire. Colonial natives are economic, political, and social serfs, since they possess none of the rights that the white population in the mother country enjoy, except the right to be taxed. They can't vote; they can't hold offices, except of a perfunctory nature; and they can't participate in any of the policy-making bodies. They, however, have the right to be used as cannon

fodder in defense of their oppressors when wars break out.

Now, the members of the Auxiliary Unions do not have any voice or vote in the selection or election of representatives that make and maintain agreements, adjust grievances and claims, and execute and administer the affairs of the International Union. They can't attend national conventions, and they play no part in the management of the movement. They are, of course, permitted to pay dues and assessments. This is a taxation without representation—the cause of the rebellion of the thirteen colonies against British rule. Thus, Negro workers cannot be condemned for seeking to abolish this species of trade union misrule and imperialism.

I want to give to this convention the testimony of the constitution and by-laws of an International Union which maintains auxiliary locals so that it may be clear that all I am doing here is making an objective analysis of Auxiliary Locals without prejudice, but only with a desire to have the delegates and officers of these international organizations see and understand that the Auxiliary Local reflects a system which is ancient, feudalistic, and tyrannical and is inconsistent with the avowed purposes of the American Federation of Labor, that seeks to preserve the principle of free and equal workers.

This system of Auxiliary Unions is undemocratic, unAmerican, and violative of the fundamental principles of trade unionism that insure the right of all workers regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin, to associate as equals in a common movement to resist exploitation and oppression. The separation of the workers that Auxiliary Unions make necessary, creates suspicions and prejudices that grow out of the idea that this separation is based upon some fundamental difference among the workers, and thereby fosters, engenders, and inculcates hatreds, rancor, ill-feeling, and antagonisms that render working-class solidarity impossible.

I shall read from the constitution and by-laws of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, and Helpers of America as adopted January 1, 1938, and amended July 15, 1942.

Article VII of the Auxiliary By-Laws provides that auxiliary lodges shall be composed of "colored male" persons. The regular local lodges are protected against the admission of Negroes by racial restrictions embodied in

their ritual. With the segregation of colored and white workmen thus accomplished, various provisions in the International Constitution and the Auxiliary By-Laws restrict the Negro "members" and their auxiliary lodges to merely nominal status. The following requirements are specially noteworthy:

1. Article II, Section 14 of the Auxiliary By-Laws provides that the business agent appointed by and acting for the local white lodge "supervising" the colored auxiliary "shall perform the same duties for the auxiliary lodge as are performed for the supervising lodges, including the dispatching and assigning of members to jobs." Thus, Negro members of auxiliary lodges have no voice or vote in the selection or control or dismissal of the man who is arbitrarily set up as their representative in the most important and fundamental contacts with the employer.

2. The Shop Committee of the "supervising" white lodge established under Article XIV of the Subordinate Lodge Constitution to handle shop disputes and grievances is designated in Article XIII of the Auxiliary By-Laws to exercise the same functions for the auxiliary lodge. The members of the auxiliary lodge have no voice or vote in selecting or controlling such shop committees.

3. Article VIII of the Auxiliary By-Laws prohibits the change of classification of the Negro member of an auxiliary lodge from helper to the higher paying grade of mechanic, unless such classification shall be approved by the white "supervising" lodge. Thus, the Negro worker, unlike the white worker, has no voice or vote in the body which exercises a veto power over his upgrading.

4. Article II, Section 13 of the Auxiliary By-Laws provides that the Grievance Committee of the "supervising" lodge shall act for the auxiliary lodge as well, yet limits the auxiliary lodge to one member who may function with the committee regardless of the relative size and membership of the auxiliary and "supervising" lodges.

5. An auxiliary lodge has no voice or vote in the Quadrennial Convention which is the ultimate legislative authority of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America. In contrast, at each such convention, each white local lodge is entitled to voting representation proportional to the number of its mem-

bers. See Article II, Section 2, International Constitution.

Moreover, Negro workmen and their auxiliary lodges have no security even in their nominal status. Article I, Section 4 of the Auxiliary By-Laws authorizes the International President within his uncontrolled discretion to suspend any auxiliary lodge or any officer or member of an auxiliary lodge, thus arbitrarily depriving the Negro even of limited status within the union. In contrast, the International Constitution contains no provision for the suspension of a white local lodge, but provides for revocation of the charter of a subordinate lodge only by the International President, in conjunction with the Executive Council and only after such lodge shall have been proven guilty of violation of the said Constitution. See Article IV, Section 2. Members of white local lodges can be suspended or otherwise disciplined only after formal trial following the procedure prescribed in detail in Article XIV of said International Constitution.

The net effect of this scheme is to make it lawful for a white local lodge and its business and other bargaining agents at their whim and caprice to permit Negroes to work on union jobs, reserving arbitrary control over their status, upgrading, and even their continuation in nominal good standing. All significant rights of union membership, including all participation in collective bargaining are denied to the Negro. In substance, he pays his dues and gets in return only a work permit revocable at will. This travesty designed to sanction the inevitable temporary utilization of Negro workmen in these times without conferring any significant status upon them, does not merit characterization as union membership.

In the New Orleans Convention of 1941 there were 25 or 30 Federal Locals of Negroes composed of Freight Handlers and Red Caps who were given federal charters by the A. F. of L. because the International Union which controls the jurisdiction over the work, had color clauses in their constitutions and therefore excluded Negro workers. These Federal Unions were ordered by President Green and the Executive Council to go into the local auxiliary unions of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and their charters were lifted. President Green told Brother Webster and myself that he understood that the Negro workers in the auxiliary unions could attend

the National Convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, but of course, this is not the case. The Negro freight handlers and red caps were so incensed and disgusted with this policy that most of them refused to go into the Railway Clerks and established an independent Freight Handlers Union and some of the Red Caps went into the C.I.O.

Thus auxiliary locals of International Unions that have racial bars have taken the place of Federal Locals. The Federal Locals directly chartered by the A. F. of L. provided the one agency which Negro workers could join when refused membership by an International Union. Now this hope is gone. I consider this a step backward.

If these Negro Freight Handlers and Red Caps representing some 25,000 or 30,000 workers had been permitted to retain their federal charters, they would be in the fold of the A. F. of L. now.

And even though some of the delegates may have arrived at certain deductions and conclusions, the fact remains that until the International Unions abolish discrimination there can be no pretense of democracy in the labor movement. And, my friends, this is not said in the interest of Negroes alone but in the interests of the American Federation of Labor itself.

Now it was stated from this platform that the American Federation of Labor is concerned about a representative at the peace table. In other words, organized labor wants to be heard at the peace table. Organized labor wants a voice in the determination of world policies. Well, what about the Negro? Don't you think the Negroes are concerned about democracy, too? As a matter of fact, it seems to me that men are naive who will get up on the floor of the convention and denounce a delegate merely because that delegate is calling for freedom for Negro workers and is pointing out that all discriminations on account of race are un-American, un-democratic and absolutely unethical. Now if any delegate believes that by getting up and denouncing a Negro delegate here because he fights and condemns discrimination that that Negro delegate is going to abandon that fight, he certainly is absurd and preposterous, because so far as Negro delegates are concerned they are going to fight and condemn and oppose racial discriminations, regardless of what happens, because we believe in doing that we are serving the cause of democracy, not only for the

American Federation of Labor but for the American people.

Do you not know that the agents of Japan, that Goebbels of Germany and that the propaganda organization of Italy, Fascist Italy, have used the various incidents of discrimination against Negroes in spreading propaganda among the colored peoples of the world, to the end that they contend, how can you have any faith in the democracy that is pretended to exist in America when they will not give democracy and justice and equality to their own Negro citizens,

My friends, this convention is meeting in a city which is historic. Go to Boston Common, where President Green will speak, and there you will see a monument to Crispus Attucks, a black man who was the first to give his blood and life for the cause of his country. Right here in Boston, in Faneuil Hall, a Negro slave woman got up when the great agitation against slavery was going on and served as the inspiration for Wendell Phillips and Sumner. In other words, the Negroes have played their roll for the advancement of Democracy in America.

Right here you have talked about the fight now being made against labor, the anti-labor legislation in various states, and Judge Padway has indicated that cases were going to be brought up under the Fourteenth Amendment. Do you know why you have a fourteenth Amendment? The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted primarily to have human rights, primarily to protect the rights of Negroes in this country, but the Fourteenth Amendment is now being resorted to by various other agencies for their own protection. You ought to be aware of this; you ought to realize this also, that the same enemies that are turning their guns of reaction against Negroes are turning their guns of reaction against others. And, brothers, let me warn you that unless a sound, unequivocal and definite position is taken on the question of democracy for Negroes in the American Federation of Labor and other agencies, the tides of Fascism are going to rise in this country and wipe out not only the Negroes but organized labor as well. Fascism came to Germany, and the most powerful trade union in the world was squelched and destroyed. The same thing happened in Italy. Fascism will use the Negro as the scapegoat, but while they are attacking the Negroes today they will

attack the Jews tomorrow and they will attack the Catholics the next day.

You remember when Al Smith ran for President. All throughout the South propaganda raged against Catholics. Five southern States seceded, and why? Because they spread the propaganda that if you elected Alfred Smith President of the United States, the Pope would sit in the White House.

And so, my friends, I tell you it is to the interests of workers regardless of race, creed or color to fight for the abolition of prejudice and discrimination against any particular group within our Commonwealth.

I thank you.

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived because we must vacate the hall a little earlier tonight in order that the hotel management may prepare for the banquet. They requested that we be out of the hall by five o'clock. It is now just a few minutes after five.

We will take up further discussion of this subject promptly tomorrow morning.

At five o'clock P. M., under suspension of rules, the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 12th.

SEVENTH DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION**Boston, Mass., October 12, 1943**

The Convention was called to order at 9:50 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: We have with us this morning Rabbi Samuel J. Abrams, of the Beacon Street Temple of Brookline, Massachusetts. He will deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rabbi Samuel J. Abrams, Beacon Street Temple, Brookline, Massachusetts)

Our Heavenly Father, teach us to pray; send forth Thy light and Thy truth. May they ever lead us to Thy Holy Mount and teach us to be grateful. We thank Thee for our country, for our home, for our faith. We have faith in Thee and in all those qualities for which Thy Holy Name stands. We have faith in the cause for which we are fighting; we have faith in humanity, in the victory of the powers of light and liberty against the powers that stand for darkness and despotism. We have faith for America. May its light never be extinguished.

Fervently we invoke Thy blessings upon the Chief Executive of our glorious land, his counsellors and advisers, upon the men and women of the armed forces wherever they may be and upon all those who are entrusted with the guardianship of our rights and the protection of our liberty. Bless them, O God, and may the glories of our just and righteous cause ever progress from day to day.

Thou art our Shepherd. Bless, O God, all who are here; bless their deliberations, and as we go forth to our respective homes may we never forget those who are bereaved and those who are forsaken. May Thy Grace and Thy Mercy watch over them and tend them throughout all the days of their lives.

May the words of our mouths and the meditations of our hearts be acceptable in Thy sight, O God, our Rock and our Redeemer. Amen.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements.

Announcements

Secretary Meany: The Workers Education Bureau is sponsoring this afternoon at 2 o'clock in Room 419 an open meeting of the

delegates of State Federations of Labor and Central Bodies to discuss important problems. Delegates of all other organizations interested in workers' education are cordially invited to attend.

There will be a meeting of the standing Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, under the Chairmanship of Vice President Bates, at 8 p.m. this evening in Room C on the mezzanine floor.

The women delegates and visitors to this convention have been invited by the Consumer's League of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to attend a tea at their headquarters on Wednesday afternoon. If it should be raining the tea will be given Thursday afternoon.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS**(Continued)****Racial Discrimination Resolutions**

President Green: We will now proceed with the regular order of business. The discussion will take place upon the report of Committee on Resolutions which was before us last evening, and the Chair now recognizes Delegate MacGowan, of the Boilermakers and Shipbuilders' organization.

Delegate MacGowan: Mr. Chairman, and delegates—I want to present for the record certain factual information which was made necessary by certain allegations made on the floor of this convention yesterday afternoon.

I think it unnecessary to assure the delegates that what I have to say may not be in polished Harvard accents, nor in the refined cultural language of Washington drawing rooms. The language that I have learned to speak as a trade unionist is the rather picturesque and sometimes lurid language of the

boiler shop, and about the only connection I ever had with a drawing room for many years was those which had side door entrances and were labeled 60,000 pounds capacity. But in that status, like a lot more men seated in this hall, I learned many things about the underprivileged and the unfortunate and the lowly among mankind.

Yesterday afternoon we listened with rapt attention to the speech of Delegate Webster and to about half of the speech of Delegate Randolph. Those portions, or that portion of Delegate Randolph's speech which followed the pattern of Delegate Webster, no man can find fault with. It was the outcry of an oppressed and underprivileged people, appealing to the fairness and decency of others for proper treatment and proper consideration, and had Delegate Randolph stopped at that point I would not now be consuming the time of this convention. But he elected to fish in troubled waters and he elected to make allegations and interpretations of our law—and I use the word "interpretation" most charitably. So it therefore becomes necessary, in the language of a famous statesman of this generation, to take a look at the record and let us see what the record discloses.

In the first place, in case Delegate Randolph may have overlooked it, Section 2 of Article II of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides for the establishment of national and international unions based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade. This institution is, as its name implies, a federation of autonomous and independent and self-governing international unions. It is, as its founders have often declared—and with which I am in full accord—a purely voluntary organization, and as long as it remains voluntary and concedes to each International Union the right to manage its own affairs it will remain the guiding star of the American labor movement.

There have been some noticeable trends in recent years to exchange the voluntary principle for one of compulsion, and in my humble judgment, unless that trend is checked we have compounded our own destruction.

The argument advanced by Delegate Randolph, based upon Resolution 28, contemplates compulsion—compelling International Unions to do thus and so, and I respectfully submit that when we reach the point of de-

claring "Thou shalt not", we have reached the point of disintegration in the American Federation of Labor.

Our International Union for many years gave extensive consideration to the Negro problem in its several conventions, and the speaker now addressing you has a long record in our conventions of advocating the organizing and the protection of the colored workers. As in every convention of trade unionists, none of us always have our way. Compromises are arrived at. It is by compromise that we make progress, and when our International convention speaks on the issue, their decision must needs be my decision. There were conflicting schools of thought, as many other organizations here have experienced. Finally in 1937 at our last convention, the International Executive Council recommended a system providing for the organization of the colored men of our trade. The convention did not see fit to accept in toto the recommendation of the Executive Council. Another compromise was arrived at and finally the Auxiliary system was established. We meet on January 31st of next year in regular convention and the progress made and the difficulties encountered in the experiment of the last five years will be studied and upon that record will depend our future policy.

No act of this convention can compel our convention to do other than that which it elects to do of its own free will, and I say in all earnestness to Delegate Randolph and those of you who think as he does that the allegations made here yesterday are not helping the cause of the Negro in our International Union or in others. The statements made by him constitute one of the greatest disservices that he has ever rendered his people.

For the information of the delegates, let me submit a bit of our experience. We had our numerous Auxiliary locals operating without difficulty. They were operating in fine shape until the shipbuilding boom hit the Pacific coast. We installed an auxiliary Local Union in the city of Oakland, California, and after a few months we began hearing strange stories. We finally instituted an investigation, and later the officers of that Auxiliary were brought in before our International Executive Council for further investigation.

And, behold, what did we find? That a group of people claiming to be Negro leaders

had organized what was known as the Miscellaneous Workers Incorporated. They had opened an office adjoining our Auxiliary office, and every Negro that was brought into Oakland for referral to the shipyards of that area was not only required first to become a member of the Miscellaneous Workers' Incorporated, but he was required to sign an authorization delegating to that body all bargaining rights. The result was that we had an Auxiliary Local Union of several thousand members but we had no bargaining rights. The bargaining rights were vested in this strange institution which was collecting monthly dues from the membership of our Auxiliary Local. We ordered the discontinuance of that practice and from that day until this, the Boilermakers International Union has been Peck's bad boy. We broke up somebody's playhouse, and that may be the answer why Delegate Randolph took such an extended amount of time to point out the sins and vices of our International Union.

I could go on at length discussing other developments in this situation, where our Auxiliary headquarters was picketed in the city of Los Angeles, where so-called Negro leaders went out among the shipyard workers in Portland, Oregon, and told them not to pay dues; they said, "we are going to challenge this thing." Then they went to the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices and filed a bill of particulars consisting of ten legal pages, which I have before me, and they called upon the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices to instruct us to disestablish our Auxiliaries and to admit the Negro to full membership in the other Locals.

Now I respectfully submit that the Committee on Fair Employment Practices is charged with certain duties—the duties contained and spelled out for them in the President's Executive Order, and I make the statement here and now without fear of contradiction, that our International Union, none of its officers or representatives have discriminated in the hire, tenure, wages or working conditions of any person, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. The proof of that lies in the fact that today there are over 15,000 members in our Auxiliary Local Unions.

In the city of Portland where this charge which I refer to—the ten-page allegation—was filed, the names of two men were submitted and the general blanket indictment made was that there were 300 men removed

from that employment. As a matter of fact of the two men whose names were used, one was a sheet metal worker and the other was a draftsman, and the names of the 300 alleged victims have never yet been submitted to us.

Let me look at the record again. In the Portland area, as of September 11th, there was a total of 1592 Negro persons employed in the shipyards in that area. Of that number 664 were receiving the mechanic's rate of pay, or 42% of the total employed, and practically none of those men, or women either, had ever seen a shipyard, much less work in one 12 months ago. And yet under our trainee program and our upgrading, here we find 42% of the 1600 that are employed being upgraded to mechanic's rates of pay in a year's time. Does that spell discrimination? And of the 300 men that have been alleged to have been removed, our check of the record shows that there were 20, and those 20 were removed with hundreds of white workers for the simple reason that they refused to pay dues and keep in good standing, and for that reason only.

I repeat again, our Auxiliary Local Unions in nowise interfere with the hire, tenure, wages or conditions of employment.

The Auxiliary charter which Delegate Randolph referred to yesterday contains in substance about 85% of our international law. He likewise referred to the fact, and tried to leave the impression, that these Auxiliary Locals were conquered provinces, where some important Quisling was dominating the affairs of the Auxiliary. He failed to read the most important section of all:

"The officers of each Auxiliary Lodge shall consist of a president, vice president, treasurer, inspector, inside guard, outside guard, recording secretary, financial secretary, corresponding secretary, and three trustees."

He complained about the fact that the Auxiliaries were only entitled to minority representation on the collective bargaining committee. Would he have us turn majority control over to their Auxiliary in a shipyard where there are 20,000 white employees and 500 or 600 colored? Is that what he is asking?

Mr. Chairman and delegates, no man has more sympathy and more understanding of an oppressed peoples' problems than I think I have. All my life I have been a champion of the underprivileged, and I say with the utmost kindness to Delegate Randolph, this Auxiliary proposition may not be the entire answer, but

you have got to meet conditions as you find them, not as you would wish them to be.

There may come a time when the entire organization has reached that point in its thinking, to admit all people on a basis of equality to membership, but until our convention speaks—as an officer of that organization—I am duty bound to carry out its mandates and I am duty bound to object to interference in our autonomous affairs on the part of the American Federation of Labor. But I say to you most sincerely, accusations such as were hurled at us yesterday do not promote the cause for which Delegate Randolph undertakes to speak.

Let me read from the record what he said: "This system of Auxiliary Unions is undemocratic, un-American and violative of the fundamental principles of trade unionism." Delegate Randolph has the right to disagree with me, with our organization and its policies, but in the middle of a great all-out war, when the fate of civilization hangs in the balance, it comes with poor grace for Delegate Randolph to condemn us for being un-American.

I shall not attempt to exalt the International Union that I speak for or the contribution that it has made in time and money and effort and the 50,000 members in the uniform of the nation. That record speaks for itself. But there sits on the floor of this convention a man who thirty-five years ago laid aside his tools and overalls and came out to take a struggling, weak child in the form of our International organization. He struggled with it, he fought for it and he fought with it. He fought the discordant elements within it and the enemies from without, and now, in the closing days of his life, to find him standing accused on the floor of the American Federation of Labor as sponsoring an organization that is undemocratic and un-American and as sponsoring an Auxiliary system that is a cheat and a fraud, is just too much to take. It is not a pleasant tribute to hand to Joe Franklin, after the thirty-five years of effort that he has put into the trade union movement without a whisper against his character and his integrity.

Mr. Chairman, as a final thought, I once heard Samuel Gompers in the convention of the American Federation of Labor in the city of St. Paul—in a perennial discussion of Irish freedom, make this statement, and many of

you that are here today heard it. He said, "One of the greatest obstacles confronting the cause of Irish freedom is the professional Irish." One of the greatest causes contributing to the failure of the Negro to advance further is the professional Negro. We have no difficulty with the workers in the shipyards and plants and railroad shops. We meet with them, we confer with them and sympathetic understanding prevails, but when those people come around who seek other things than the pure and simple advancement of the economic welfare of all people—regardless of color—then trouble begins. This is an economic question—the well-being of the Negro is my interest as much as it is the white. The unorganized and underpaid Negro is a menace to the men of my trade, the same as the white, and I have battled and will continue to battle for the advancement of all men that work at our trade. We have Filipinos, we have Chinese, we have Latin Americans of all grades. The Negro question is safe in our hands. It will be handled wisely without the interference of those who would indict us at this time.

Mr. Chairman, I am heartily in favor of the report of the Committee on Resolutions. It is a masterful approach to the question. It is statesmanlike. It is an appeal to the hearts and the minds and the consciences of the delegates to this convention. It is sound doctrine and I hope it will be adopted.

Thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Bugniazet.

Delegate Bugniazet, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I had no intention of burdening you with any statement on this question, because in my humble opinion I believe the attacks made on the organizations of this Federation by Delegate Randolph are only made here as a sounding board for his work on the outside.

He used to charge our organization with discriminating against the Negro, with refusing to organize them. I have discussed that at meetings with him before the Executive Council and elsewhere, and now he has changed his attack and uses it in this language. And he has got us in the group that habitually excludes Negroes by "tacit consent". He can't go further, because he has seen our laws, and if either he or any other person can find or interpret anything in there

that discriminates against either race, creed or color, or other things, why he is going to show me something that I have never seen, and I think I ought to know as much about our organization as he does—maybe a little bit more. Our organization has never excluded Negroes or any race, or any color, and we don't take men or women into our organization just because they want to join it and exploit it. They have got to be competent to join our organization, and I could say many things here that might hurt the Negro and let him know why he hasn't progressed in our line of industry, but I don't intend to injure his cause. I just want to make the record straight.

Long before Randolph thought of coming to A. F. of L. conventions or to champion the cause of Negro workmen, when we had a vacancy in one of our International Vice Presidencies in the early 1900's—and I think that is a little before his time—our President appointed a full blooded Negro as the International Vice President for a whole District and he didn't have many Negroes under him, and Randolph can't say we did that to play to the gallery, because in the early 1900's you didn't hear anything about Negroes being kept out of organizations.

For his information, in the historic city of Boston one of our largest Local Unions has sent Negroes to our International Conventions, I believe about three in number, and that same Negro until his death three or four years ago had been for fifteen consecutive years the treasurer of that Local Union, elected by white men. And they weren't playing to the gallery because there weren't any Negroes to organize. We have many Negroes and we have the problem that everybody has in the South. You can't mix oil with water, even if you want to.

Some people in the South are still fighting the Civil War. The government has not cured that, and agitation such as Delegate Randolph is indulging in is not going to improve that. That only delays it. We have a Chinese secretary of one of our Local Unions. We, at least, could have let him remain a member and not put him in office.

Now I wonder, is Delegate Randolph consistent? I say he is not, and I have the right to my opinion, as he has to his. I will give him my reasons so that he cannot say I was

trying to pull some parliamentary trick by making a statement and not supporting it.

He came before the Executive Council several years ago on a complaint of the Pullman conductors, claiming transgression of jurisdiction and under-cutting the conditions. I am not going to discuss that case, only just enough to recall his mind to the incident. There was quite some discussion in the Council room while he was present and he was asked this question: If the Pullman Company employed some white men as Pullman porters would you admit them to your organization? He said, "No, that is a colored man's job". He claimed that the whites should organize the colored, but he has a monopoly in the Pullman porters for colored people, and the white people have no right there. Consistency, thou art a jewel, even with an education.

I want to say now, definitely, for our International Union that the only bar to entry is competency. Our Locals have complete autonomy in the matter of admitting members, they have the right to examine them and they are put up for a vote. Some large Locals refer it to the Executive Boards of these Local Unions.

We have no Auxiliaries. We issue only one charter for one class of workmen in a locality. We have several charters but they have different jurisdiction. We do not issue Jim Crow charters, although we have had requests to do so. Where they are organized, they go into the Local Union with the white men and if there is a Negro majority there, they will go into that Local and they will not get a separate charter.

The biggest fault we have found is the employer. He is choosy on who he wants and I have told our organization convention, and the records will show it, away back about 1917, that we cannot let any feeling influence us in the matter of those we take in, except in the matter of competency, and if there is going to be discrimination, let the employer be guilty of it, and let us get the conditions for all those who are doing the same class of work, be they women, black, white or any other color.

It is getting tiresome in convention after convention to hear someone who is out shouting from the housetops. Maybe he thinks he is doing a good job for the people he is representing, but I share the views of others that he is doing them a great disservice. He

is agitating and not doing anything concrete. All he is doing is attacking, charging.

I feel the committee brought in a magnificent report. I think they went as far as they could in language, and I, for one, am wholeheartedly behind it and in full accord with their report.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Delegate Horn of the Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers: Mr. Chairman and brother delegates: I will tell you the truth about the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers and its colored members. For quite a number of conventions in the past years, I have sat quietly by and listened to allegations made against the organization of which I happen to have the honor of being its chief executive, allegations which were not true, and I thought the best thing to do was to laugh it off. But there are times in the lives of men when patience ceases to be a virtue and I have reached that time.

I will go back thirty years during the period that I was vice-president of our organization. I represented our organization in every one of the States of the United States and throughout the Dominion of Canada. I organized white, black and yellow men for all the organizations as well as my own.

In the city of New Orleans thirty years ago I held up a conference for ten days until we got the same rate of pay for colored blacksmiths' helpers that we got for white blacksmiths' helpers. I even became persona non grata with my colleagues in other organizations, who told me they were disgusted.

The employer asked me this question: "Mr. Horn, were you ever in the South before?" And I answered, "Many times, I have been all over the country." Then he said, "Well, we thought probably you hadn't. The large majority of these blacksmiths' helpers are colored men." I said, "They were colored when I came down here I didn't have anything to do with that, but I am here representing the Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, regardless of color." I left that conference with the same rate of pay for colored helpers as I got for the white helpers, although at that time our organization did not take colored men in.

Twenty-four and a half years ago, in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, our organization passed the necessary legislation to organize the colored blacksmiths' helpers of our trade. We have been doing it ever since, wherever we could get them to join the organization. We find many of them today who can think of just as many excuses why they should not pay dues into a labor organization as any white man that ever made an excuse, and you gentlemen know the white men know most of the alibis.

Our blacksmiths' colored helpers have been mentioned. Those members have the same standing in the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers as the chief executive of that organization. They vote on all questions; they vote on who their International officers shall be; they vote on who their delegates to the American Federation of Labor shall be. They receive the same consideration with regard to our funeral funds as any other member.

I have visited many of these colored Auxiliary Locals and I am proud of them as members and as citizens. Some of the finest letters of comment we receive from our Local Unions come from colored Local Unions. There is no dissatisfaction among them, they haven't had a complaint.

Now what happened? Mark Twain said there were three kinds of rogues—plain rogues, damned rogues, and pothouse politicians. Only recently pothouse politicians went up and down a certain railroad and persuaded the colored helpers on that road not to vote for our organization, even though we, in conjunction with fourteen other organizations, had just secured an increase in pay of eight cents an hour for them, which is now being held up by that great dictator down in Washington, Mr. Vinson, and his decision has not yet been overruled. But we did our part and we did it well.

I received letters from down there which were not composed by the colored helpers of these shops, wanting to know how many colored delegates they would have in the American Federation of Labor if they voted for our organization. I wrote them a letter and sent them a copy of our Constitution, explaining that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor were elected by referendum vote of the rank and file of our Brotherhood at the same time they elected General Officers.

I asked them to communicate with those well satisfied Auxillary Locals that we had and find out what those members thought of our organization. And in the face of all that they went up and down that railroad and inveigled enough of those men to vote against it, so that they are still under the domination of a company union, although our organization, working in conjunction with the other organizations, secured for them everything they have in wages and in working conditions.

We make no discrimination. If those who are representing the colored race in this convention want to do something really helpful for themselves as well as the labor movement in general, they will say to the colored men, especially in the blacksmith shops and the forge shops of this country, go in and join the organization that is your friend and benefactor, the organization that has done for you what you are unable to do for yourselves. Don't wait around on the outside for something that somebody else thinks is perfect.

I don't think it is necessary for me to dwell on that. We have heard enough in this convention about imperfect people.

I have no apology whatever to make for the manner in which our International Brotherhood is conducted. We have been honorable and fair at all times and it will be conducted in the same manner in the future as it has been in the past.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, I rise with a heavy heart, because something was done yesterday afternoon which I feel is the greatest injury done the Negro race since the question has come into these conventions.

The committee, in its report, endeavored to do what the English language was capable of in laying down a basic principle and in stating the policy that should be applied to that principle, so that racial prejudice would be entirely removed from our trade union movement. There was deliberately put into yesterday's record a statement calculated to place the American Federation of Labor in a false position as to its basic policy, a statement deliberately prepared, which contains much more misstatement of fact than of truth. That

statement may have been prepared for the delegates. I do not want to believe that there was any other motive, but I fear that the statement will be printed in pamphlet form, and sent throughout our country for the purpose of prejudicing Negroes against the American Federation of Labor. To me, that is little short of a moral crime. I feel very deeply about this question. I have a right to speak upon it. Forty-two years ago in the city of Chattanooga, Tennessee, I organized a union of colored molders, a union of craftsmen and white people in Chattanooga and some of the members of our union seemingly considered the question of lynching me. I took my position because I believed it was sound; I believed that the Negro worker was entitled to the same opportunity as any other worker in our country, and that he must receive the same remuneration when he performed work as was given to white men. I have never deviated from that position since then. I have done what I could, through the written word and the spoken word, to remove prejudices which I thought were harmful to our movement and harmful to the colored race.

And now we have this statement, the accusations, the specified charges, a part of the record of this convention which, without doubt, will be given much more publicity, and what we may say in response will receive no publicity at all except as our members read the proceedings of this convention.

I said I have a heavy heart. It is difficult for me to understand how a representative of a race that has been helped more in this convention by the American Federation of Labor than by any other organization would stand up in our convention and deliberately misstate the facts for the purpose of arousing a feeling against us on the part of the Negroes we are trying to help by bringing them into our trade union movement. I could not remain silent when charges were made against some of the splendid Metal Trades Councils which we have.

The delegates spent some time making charges against the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council, an organization that came into existence before the Metal Trades Department was born. Every delegate here has heard about that Council, about its even balance between all affiliated unions. The Metal Trades Council, or the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council, as it is known, has never shown any

racial prejudice on the part of its delegates or in its official actions.

As a matter of fact, eighteen months ago no Negroes were employed in the shipyards in the San Francisco Bay. At the present time over 8,000 are there employed and they are loyal members. I have talked with them. I know what is on the minds of those that I discussed this very problem with, and they tell me it is not the International Unions or their representatives that constitute their problem. Their problem arises because of the continual activity among them of men on the outside, men of their own race, who endeavor to stir up all the trouble possible.

Yes, trade unionists, representatives of the Negro race in San Francisco, in Los Angeles, in Portland, Oregon, in Seattle, Washington, for months have spent their time setting up a separate organization and advising Negroes to cease paying dues into the Union where they now have the benefits of membership.

Yes, there are prejudices and they are not confined to any one group, and the men of the colored race who spend their time trying to stir up prejudice against us, among the members of their race, are rendering the greatest disservice the Negro in this country has ever suffered from.

These are things that we have to keep in mind. I may not be entirely free from prejudices because I am a human being. I do understand, however, the prejudices in some of our shipyard centers on the Pacific Coast. One city, and it seems to be the one that disturbed the delegate more than any other on the Pacific Coast, Portland, Oregon, still has a prejudice against the Negro. It is an understandable one. After the first World War the largest shipyard in that port believed that it could force a reduction of wages. It did. Our members struck. They remained on strike for months. That strike was broken through the importation of Negro strike breakers, and I find it difficult, in talking with some of the old timers, to remove the prejudice against the Negro workers which I believe must be removed.

I feel that there was as great a lack of statesmanship in the statement made by the delegate yesterday afternoon as I have ever listened to, and this morning we find that others feel the same way.

Perhaps the individual most prominent in our country for some time whose voice has

been raised in defense of the Negro, insisting upon his receiving equality of treatment, is the first lady of the land—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. This morning's paper carries a United Press dispatch. I want to read it so that this also will be in the record, along with the statements made by the delegate yesterday afternoon. It is dated October 11th, which was yesterday, from Chicago, and it reads:

"Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in an article entitled 'If I Were A Negro,' appearing in the October issue of the Negro Digest published here, counsels that representatives of that race should not do too much demanding. Mrs. Roosevelt wrote 'If I Were a Negro, I would take every chance that came my way to improve my quality and my ability and, if recognition was slow, I would continue to prove myself, knowing that in the end a good performance would be acknowledged.'"

If she were a Negro, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote, she would have moments of great bitterness and would find it hard to sustain her faith in democracy and men of other races. She emphasized, however, that she would participate to the full in this war. She would accept every chance that was made in the Army and the Navy although "I would not try to bring about these advances any more quickly than they were offered."

If the delegate measured up to the viewpoint declared by Mrs. Roosevelt yesterday there would be no such record as appears in yesterday's proceedings—the most unfortunate, the most dangerous statement which has ever been made in connection with the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to wipe out racial national prejudices so that every wage earner would be looked upon as an equal.

Delegate Randolph may not realize it, but I want to repeat it is my conviction that he rendered the greatest disservice to the colored race that has ever been rendered at any time since the Negro became a free man.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Allen.

Delegate Allen, Commercial Telegraphers Union: In his address yesterday, Delegate Randolph included the Commercial Telegraphers Union among those organizations which exclude Negroes from membership.

That is not so, Mr. President, in the case of our organization, and I would like to have the record corrected accordingly. At our convention eight years ago, in 1935, our Constitution was amended and the bar to member-

ship of Negroes in our organization was removed. It is true that all of our subordinate unions enjoy full Constitutional autonomy in the admission of applicants to membership. So far as I know, since that time, no Negro applicant for membership has been denied membership in any of our subordinate unions.

Thank you.

President Green: Has everyone spoken who wishes to speak on this question?

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President.

President Green: Delegate Randolph has already spoken on the question and in accordance with parliamentary procedure, he could not be recognized if other delegates wished to speak. If there are no others the Chair will recognize Delegate Randolph, but please, please avoid this awful controversy.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the Convention—I want to make a few remarks on the statements made by the various delegates concerning racial discrimination in the trade unions that I discussed yesterday.

In the first place, Delegate MacGowan referred to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which emphasizes the autonomy of International Union. Well, that seems to me simply a statement in justification of the policy of discrimination on the part of International Unions that do discriminate against Negroes. The question of autonomy and the question of racial discrimination are questions at issue here. If under the smokescreen of autonomy, International Unions are going to continue to discriminate against Negroes and assume that the mere fact of autonomy gives them the right to carry on this discrimination, why then there is little hope in introducing any real and genuine democracy in International Unions that discriminate against Negroes.

On matters relating to jurisdiction, this American Federation of Labor has taken positive action, and International Unions that have invaded the field of jurisdiction of other unions have been curbed—they have been curbed by expulsion. If the American Federation of Labor would use one-tenth of its energy and concern in the interest of eliminating discrimination as it does in attempting to protect the jurisdiction of International Unions, we would not have a

whole lot of trouble about the question of Negroes being admitted into the various unions. Although the American Federation of Labor may not attempt to use compulsion, if it will simply use consistent and systematic education, it is possible to abolish discrimination in the various unions. But the American Federation of Labor has not used consistent and systematic educational methods. The resolution that was introduced by the Sleeping Car Porter delegates called for the establishment of a committee merely for the purpose of exploring the question of discrimination, with a view of adopting some policies of education that would bring these various unions around to the recognition of the fact that racial discrimination prevents working class solidarity and is, therefore, a fool and an enemy of the worker and the Union.

Now, Delegate MacGowan talked about Auxiliary Unions, but did not deny that they exist. All I claimed in my statement yesterday was that racial Auxiliary Unions are undemocratic; that they violate the principles of trade unionism and that they are un-American. Now, is there anybody in this convention who is going to take the position that the organization of racial unions can be justified? Is anybody in this convention going to take the position that a worker must be deprived of certain privileges merely because of the accident of race? No one here will contend that Jewish unions ought to be organized, or Catholic unions ought to be organized. No one will contend that particular unions that have any special identity ought to be set aside especially when they interfere with the rights of the workers.

Delegate MacGowan has not shown that the Auxiliary Unions have absolutely no voice in the determination of the policy of the International Union, the International Union that controls the Agreement Committee, the Agreement Committee that regulates and shapes the wage standards and the working rules. Now if a worker is a part of a system in which he has no voice, no rights, to exercise an influence on the policies that affect his wages, certainly no one can contend that that worker is being benefited. Now an Auxiliary Union is either right or wrong. A racial Auxiliary Union is either democratic or un-democratic. If it is right it ought to be justified and defended. If it is wrong, it should be condemned and exterminated.

The delegates of the Sleeping Car Porters contend that the racial Auxiliary Unions are comparable to the colonists of the various empires of the world because the colonists are serfs—they have no rights that other citizens enjoy. **The same thing is true of members of Auxiliary Unions.** They have absolutely no right to exercise their voice in the policies of the International Union.

There seems to be some spirit in the convention on the part of delegates that criticism of policies that are obviously unsound is unjustified. Now whenever an organization that proposes to be democratic takes the position that criticism of policies that are obviously unsound is unjustified, then that organization is moving backward and not forward. Certainly it is recognized that in the arena of criticism sound policies, truth and programs are developed. When policies are permitted to remain in secrecy, nobody can tell just what the effect of those policies will be upon the ultimate future of the workers of the organization.

Now it is said here that there is an organization known as Miscellaneous Workers' Incorporated, that Negroes are in that organization and that organization is telling Negroes not to join the Auxiliary Unions. Well, I don't know anything about Miscellaneous Organizations, but I take it that it is a company union. The company perhaps organized a miscellaneous organization of Negroes. That is no reflection upon the Negroes. There are company unions of white men that are used to oppose the organization of other white men and therefore, Negroes ought not to be condemned because they are in a company union.

Moreover, perhaps some of them would rather be unorganized at all than to be in a Jim Crow union, such as those organizations are. I can understand why some unions are picketed by Negroes because they recognize that the Auxiliary Union is a step backward and they want to express their opposition to it and therefore they use the method of picketing. That is taxation without representation. Can anyone in this convention get up on the floor and justify taxation without representation? Well, that is what the Auxiliary Union is.

Now the contention is made here that because there are 15,000 Negroes in the Auxiliary Union that makes the Auxiliary Union

Kosher. Well, Negroes are compelled to buy tickets in a Jim Crow car, but does that imply they want to be in a Jim Crow car? By no means. And it is also said that Negro agitation, or Negro so-called professional men are doing the Negro an injury. Negroes who point out injustices that are practiced upon Negroes are not doing the Negroes or anybody else harm, but are doing them a great benefit. As a matter of fact, the claim that by pointing out injustices to the public is creating agitation and creating conditions is like contending that a meteorologist that points out a storm is coming creates the storm. Negroes who indicate that unfair conditions to Negroes exist are merely playing the role of a meteorologist who indicates that a storm is coming and that you ought to prepare for that storm. No one denies that discrimination exists in these unions. Then why attempt to hide it? And why attempt to condemn people who point it out? We are not doing any disservice to the American Federation of Labor. We are helping the American Federation of Labor by bringing the issue out into the open, and I want to say that I think some progress is made after all, in that at least there is some disposition to give this question some serious consideration.

Now it was said by one of the delegates in the Executive Council meeting of the American Federation of Labor that I said that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters would not accept white men if they worked as Pullman porters. That is not true. I never made that statement. As a matter of fact, in our organization now there are white barbers on Pullman cars that are members of the organization, and there are white Pullman car cleaners in the organization. We have Filipinos and Chinese and Mexicans along with Negroes in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. I don't understand how he got that idea in his head. As a matter of fact, our Constitution provides that there shall be no discrimination against a worker becoming a member of the organization on account of race, creed, color or national origin. Certainly we would be the last organization in America to raise any bar against anybody, in view of the fact that we Negroes are members of a group that are victimized as a result of these discriminations.

Now it is said that in the Portland shipyards these discriminations among the Negroes have not militated against upgrading Negroes. Well, the records do not bear out that state-

ment. As a matter of fact, already plans are being made to make an investigation of the Portland shipyard with respect to its policies of discrimination by Tom Ray, the Little Tin Horn Hitler, out there. As a matter of fact, Negroes are now revolting against the fact that they are not given upgrading in accordance with their skill and qualifications. Therefore that statement is not borne out by the record.

It is also pointed out that Negroes were strike breakers in some strikes in Portland, and that was responsible for the prejudice against Negroes. What about white men who are strike breakers? Is there anyone here who contends that Negroes are the only strike breakers in America? The great labor strike breakers in America are white men. Therefore, the contention that the prejudice is justified against Negroes on the grounds that they are strike breakers is naive and credulous, and anyone who believes in such a thing as that is incredulous.

On the matter of the Auxiliary Locals having a roster of officers, well, what about it, what does that mean? Some one mentioned the fact that Auxiliary Unions have a roster of officers. They have no power, they don't mean anything, they can't do anything, they can't shape any policy of an International Union, so that they are mere window dressings and those things are simply raised here for the purpose of making it appear that the condition is not as bad as it is.

So far as the matter of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters or the delegates in this convention following the advice of Mrs. Roosevelt, may I say that we have the highest regard for Mrs. Roosevelt and her opinions. She has been a great benefactor, not only to the Negro people but to the oppressed peoples of America and the world, and certainly we have absolutely no criticism of the attitude and the history in her conduct with respect to the Negro people or anybody else. But of course we have a right to our own opinions; we believe that Negroes have a right to make demands. Everybody may not agree with our demands, but certainly we have a right to make them. If you were in the Negro's place and you were put into an Auxiliary Union and had no rights except to pay dues, what would you do? If you were in the Negro's place and you want to show your patriotism in order to give your blood and life for this nation, and yet you were not permitted to exercise your skill and ability and knowledge

in rising and being promoted, what would you do? Negroes have all of the eagerness and all of the ambition that other people enjoy and have, and, as a matter of fact, merely by disputing the policy of Negroes to fight for their rights is not going to change that policy.

On the matter of the Commercial Telegraphers, although it may be that the International Union has eliminated the color clause, we are in possession of facts that there are certain Local Unions that do bar Negroes. We do not want to enter into any controversy with the Commercial Telegraphers Union, because we appreciate the spirit that has been manifested here in indicating that it is opposed to the color clause in the International Constitution.

On the matter of the question of the Negro people not making progress because of some unfair criticism that may be made by the Negroes that are concerned about changing the situation, you have as a matter of history progress being made only upon a basis of exposing conditions that are evil and that are retrogressive and backward, conditions that are inimical to the interests of any particular group. We contend that the white workers here are not safe until every Negro is protected. We contend that the American Federation of Labor itself is not secure so long as Negroes are not given the same rights that other workers in the Federation enjoy.

We know that Negroes and white workers can be organized together and they are being organized together. Therefore, we are trying to point out to the Federation that it must have the courage to take the position that even though these International Unions are autonomous, it ought to have the courage to say to them, "Your policy is wrong and it is up to you to bring your policy in harmony and in conformity with the basic principle of the American Federation of Labor as expressed in the Constitution."

Nothing has been said on this floor which causes me to alter one word that I have said. Nothing has been said on this floor that causes me to retreat from the position I have taken.

With respect to the Electrical Workers, it is good to hear that so many Negroes are being organized into the Electrical Workers Union. But where are they? I go all around this country, and I would like to see some

of them. Negroes are coming to me who are licensed electricians and who cannot get into the Union, so that those statements about what is being done in the interests of breaking down bars and the escapements may sound all right, but let's see some action.

That is all the Sleeping Car Porters' delegates are calling for. And so, my friends, we want to reiterate our position here; that nothing has been said here to show that Auxiliary Locals do not exist. Nothing has been said to show that Auxiliary Unions based upon race are not necessary, they are undemocratic and un-American, and upon that we rest our case.

Committee Chairman Woll: May I say just a word? I merely wish to say to the convention that there has not been a single word uttered against the committee's report. Hence, it is not necessary to speak further in behalf of the report, but only necessary for the convention to act upon it.

President Green: May I impose upon your patience for a moment while I indulge in the presentation of some facts and express, if I may, my official and personal point of view toward the subject that has been so sincerely and earnestly discussed on the floor of this convention since yesterday afternoon. You yourselves in this convention, in this open forum of debate have demonstrated your interest in the subject, because you have been tolerant, you have been patient, you have exercised good judgment in that you have sat quietly by and have listened with rapt attention to the discussion which has taken place. I ask that you accept that as evidence of the desire of the American Federation of Labor to understand this question and to find a correct solution for it.

I am conscious of the fact that it is a live question, one that is attracting the attention of people everywhere. It is like a mounting current running through our economic, our social and our national life. I think we ought to manifest a sense of understanding toward Delegate Randolph, because I can understand how he is moved by a deep sense of injustice, speaking as he does for a race that has suffered much and that is seeking to lift its economic and racial standards to a higher and still higher level. I know that all of you possess such an understanding of the attitude of Delegate Randolph and his associates.

But this is a question that runs deep, I repeat, through our social, economic and in-

dustrial life. It is not a problem that is grappled with solely by the American Federation of Labor. We see evidences of the tenacity of the problem here and there and everywhere because of the developments that take place.

Now surely those of us who are sympathetic toward the aims and purposes of the Negro race to lift their standard of life and living to higher levels and promote economic equality at least realize that it is a question that will only be solved through understanding and education. There must be a convincing appeal made to the hearts and the minds and the consciences of all classes of people. It will never be solved through the application of forced methods or through the presentation of demands that groups here, there and everywhere comply with said demands. We learn much in the broad field of experience, and I think we have learned much in dealing with this question as a result of experience. Experience shows that progress has been made and is being made, and if we pursue a wise policy, a policy which provides for education, a presentation of the facts, an appeal, not a demand, an appeal to the hearts and the conscience and the judgment and the tolerance of the people of this country will bring about a solution of the question.

So far as I am concerned, representing the American Federation of Labor, I have always taken a most advanced and progressive position upon this subject. If I had my way every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor would admit Negroes to membership on the same basis of equality as other workers. In our conventions I have tried to influence the committee, the Executive Council and the Convention itself in the adoption of policies and declarations placing our great parent organization upon a basis which ought to command and secure the support of the Negroes of the country.

As Chairman Woll has said, nobody has found fault with the report of the committee, not even Delegate Randolph, and Delegate Webster, who is serving as a member of our Post-War Committee, made a fine statement yesterday when the report of the committee was presented upon the Fair Employment Practice Committee's work. These official declarations adopted by the convention represent the real attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the subject.

Now I want to make a report to you upon

some of our experiences where we have endeavored to carry out these declarations.

They speak for themselves, they have been repeated over and over again—these declarations of the American Federation of Labor, the parent body, the instrumentality through which the representatives of organized labor express the opinion of the workers, are on record, they are printed, published and distributed for educational purposes, but notwithstanding that fact, for some reason or other—I know not why—we find that in our efforts to organize the Negro workers of the country we are boycotted by the representatives of the prominent Negro organizations of America. No one can successfully say that our American Federation of Labor discriminates against Negroes who are employed in manufacturing or industrial plants, when we seek to establish Federal Labor Unions—and we have organized hundreds of thousands of workers in Federal Labor Unions. I think the report of the Secretary shows that we have over 300,000 members in these Federal Labor Unions. That is the policy of the American Federation of Labor—no discrimination.

We go into an industrial plant; we appeal to all working in that plant to come with us. There is no discrimination against any man because of race, creed, color or nationality, because I take the position that if any representative of the American Federation of Labor attempts to discriminate against the workers because of race, creed or color when we seek to organize them into Federal Labor Unions, he can no longer represent the American Federation of Labor.

We have employed a number of Negro organizers to carry on work among those Negroes whom we seek to organize. Does that mean anything? Does that act in itself mean that the American Federation of Labor is trying to live up to its declarations? My experience has shown that during the last few years, under the impetus of the war effort, large number of Negroes have been employed in war material production plants. Many of the employees of these plants do not come under the jurisdiction of a national union chartered by the American Federation of Labor. So the American Federation of Labor goes there, it seeks to organize them into Federal Labor Unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. We assign Negro organizers to carry on organizing work,

and together with our other organizers they cooperate in a fine, wonderful way.

But in every instance where we seek to carry on this organizing work Negro representatives of prominent colored organizations in the United States appear on the scene and appeal to the Negro workers to boycott the American Federation of Labor and to unite with the dual, rival organization.

At the International Harvester Company in Chicago we sought to organize those employees into the American Federation of Labor, we found that the representatives of the Urban League, the representatives of the organization called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other representatives of Negro organizations in America appeared at Chicago and opposed the American Federation of Labor representatives in their efforts to organize the Negroes into the A. F. of L. As a result of it what happened? All these Negroes voted to stay out of the American Federation of Labor. Now it seems contradictory, when complaint is made that we won't organize them, and yet when we attempt to organize them prominent representatives of colored organizations appear in opposition to our efforts to organize them.

When the campaign was launched at the Ford Motor Company in Detroit we carried on our campaign there. We appealed to the Negro workers employed by the Ford Company to come with us, and in the campaign that was carried on many of the artists, outstanding artists like Mr. Robeson, who entertains audiences on the stage throughout the country, the representatives of the Urban League, the representatives of the organization known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, colored preachers representing the colored churches of the country all united and every one of them were against the American Federation of Labor. The result was that those Negroes were influenced to vote against us.

That is going on in many sections of the country. If they want us to organize the Negro workers and we spend your money in an effort to do that, and we assign our people to the work, why don't they line up with us and help us to organize these Negro workers? It seems very contradictory to rise and challenge and charge and complain that we are discriminating against Negro workers, and then when we try to

organize them oppose us in our efforts to organize them.

Our organizers in the field report to me that this is repeated over and over again. Men, listen! I cannot prevail upon the outstanding representatives of any Negro organization in America to join with our representatives in appealing to Negro workers to join the American Federation of Labor Unions. These are facts and they are given to you so that our representatives here, the Negro representatives, might try to help us to overcome this prejudice against the American Federation of Labor. We talk about racial prejudice, racial boycotting, putting organizations in the doghouse and telling them to remain there. We complain against that. But what about putting the American Federation of Labor there? We find prejudice against us, opposition to us, opposition of the worst kind when we seek to organize these Negro workers into the American Federation of Labor.

There is only one other point and that is this. There are 107 National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of federal labor unions. Out of these 107 unions Delegate Randolph classifies seven, according to the report of Herbert R. Northrup, which exclude Negroes by provision in the Constitution. The representative of the Commercial Telegraphers Union arose this morning and said that was not true, so that ought to eliminate that one. Other organizations here have declared that that statement is not in accordance with the facts. Then he has classified unions which habitually exclude Negroes by "tacit consent". That is susceptible of various interpretations. In that group there are five.

In another group are listed unions which afforded Negroes only a segregated auxiliary status, and in that classification he has six, but these unions accept Negroes into membership, but on an auxiliary basis.

Now of course the objection is to the organization of them on that basis. If I had my way I would have it the other way, but I have found in life's experience that I don't have my way in a good many things, and many times I have to wait a good while before I can have my way, and sometimes I never get it.

But that it a small percentage of our unions out of the 107 National and Interna-

tional Unions affiliated. I am not defending this action on their part, but simply referring to it to point out that this certainly represents progress. I hope that eventually we will break down the barriers of prejudice that have been raised by these unions until you will not be able to submit even a list of that kind. Education will do the job. Appeal to the heart and the conscience and the judgment of the people of our country, I repeat, will do the job.

I wanted to make these remarks, not in a critical way but for the purpose of presenting the facts to you. I have dealt only with facts and I have tried to approach a brief consideration of the subject in a realistic way.

Delegate Webster, Pullman Car Porters: I just want to make a few remarks on the subject in behalf of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. We have been in the American Federation of Labor since 1929. Of course when we first came in we had problems of our own that affected the Sleeping Car Porters, but our organization has been fairly successful in organizing that group of workers in the nation into an international organization which we are proud of, in the American Federation of Labor.

After having accomplished our own purposes to a large extent we have rendered the best possible service we could render in an effort to prevail upon the Negro workers of the nation to realize that the American Federation of Labor was the labor institution in which Negroes should be organized. We have participated and cooperated with many of the international organizations, even some of those who have color clauses in their Constitutions, to organize the Negroes into the American Federation of Labor.

We had a good deal to do with the rapid organization of the dining car waiters into the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union. We did a good job in attempting to organize the Red Caps into an A. F. of L. Union, and as we go about the country looking after our own business we never fail to analyze the problems that Negroes are confronted with, often agitated to a large extent by the so-called rival organizations. Even in very recent months, where there have been contests between the American Federation of Labor unions and the unions of the rival organizations, we have not only given them our moral support but

we have helped finance campaigns to carry on an educational program, to the end that the Negro workers might come into the American Federation of Labor.

It has only been very recently that in the city of Chicago we had four or five contests between an A. F. of L. organization and an organization of the rival group, and due almost entirely to the activities of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, when the votes were counted the votes were in favor of the American Federation of Labor. It is true that we are not satisfied with everything that goes on in the American Federation of Labor and we don't expect anybody to pull any rabbits out of their hats in an effort to try to wave a wand and solve these problems over night. But we are conscious of the fact, as an International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that we are attempting to prevail upon those who are part of the American Federation of Labor to make the job we are trying to do in building up and organizing Negro workers into the American Federation of Labor a little easier than it is, with many of these handicaps of racial discriminations and practices provided for in the constitutions of some of our International organizations.

President Green: Are there further remarks? If not, the question presented is, shall the report of the committee be adopted. Those in favor will say, "aye", those opposed will say, "no". The motion is carried and is so ordered.

The Secretary of the Committee points out that the vote on the committee's report was unanimously adopted, and the Chair so decides.

The Secretary of the Committee continued the report, as follows:

India

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, India is needed as an ally in the fight of the United Nations for Victory over the Axis powers, and since India is a symbol of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of color for freedom and independence, and since the oppression and subjugation of India by Great Britain is inconsistent with the professed claims of the United Nations that this is a war for a free world and free men, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-third convention of the A. F. of L. assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record for the freedom and independence of India now, and the releasing of its national leaders, Ghandi and Nehru, as an effective step toward the unity of the darker races back of the fight of the United Nations against the totalitarian slavery of Hitler, Hirohito, and Badoglio.

The subject matter of this resolution involves the attitude of the **British Trades Union Congress** as well as that of the **American Federation of Labor**. Nothing could be more harmful than a division of thought or of policy between these two great federations of labor on this question. For this valid reason your committee recommends that the subject be referred to the **British Trades Union Congress** and the **American Federation of Labor Trades Union Committee**.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Jurisdictional Disputes

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes create chaos, and ill-will within the ranks of organized labor likewise produces a feeling of resentment and disgust among employers who have agreed collectively with labor on wages and working conditions, thereby causing an unhealthy public opinion to be developed against labor, and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes are heart-breaking to the workers not parties to the dispute who are usually innocent victims and kept out of work during the periods of the jurisdictional walkout, and

WHEREAS, The great advance in technical improvements have made trades interlocking, thereby making it almost impossible to decide where the jurisdiction of one craft ends and another begins, and

WHEREAS, Within the past two years, due to jurisdictional disputes one international union was suspended from the American Federation of Labor and another large international union, with a long record of achievements, by an overwhelming vote of its entire membership deemed it necessary to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor, and still another union, a pioneer in the labor movement, by a referendum vote of its membership, refused to reaffiliate with the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs its Executive Council to select a commission of nine members, four of whom shall be international officers, not more than one member from any one international union,

and five members from central bodies, state federations or federal trade and labor unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such commission shall hold all hearings and meetings necessary in order to be able to make a complete report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all expenses including wages, travelling and per diem, and clerical expenses of the commission be paid out of the treasury of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee believes that jurisdictional disputes should be minimized to the greatest extent possible.

Your committee cannot ignore the fact that this Federation is a voluntary institution, and for that reason cannot approve of the establishment of an agency within the Federation, granted authority to determine questions of jurisdiction which may arise between the affiliated unions. For that reason your committee recommends non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: May I inquire of the Secretary of the Committee if the reasons just mentioned in the Committee's report are interpreted to mean that the convention cannot make a survey of a controversy over work jurisdiction and arrive at a decision?

Secretary Frey: The resolution has nothing at all to do with the actions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on jurisdictional questions.

Delegate Brown: That is all I want to know.

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor: I think the committee is dodging the issue. Convention after convention of the American Federation of Labor has spent hours and days of wrangling over jurisdictional disputes, and in the past few years we have seen a great turmoil in the organization and either International Unions leaving or being put out of the Federation.

The manner in which we are proceeding on jurisdictional disputes inside the American Federation of Labor appears to me stupid and assinine, and as intelligent people we should find some way of settling these disputes. During the war period we have had very few industrial jurisdictional disputes. The various unions have buried the hatchet for the duration, but after the fight is over, after the

war is over and peace comes, there will be unemployment, there will be no work for the people and jurisdictional disputes will again become more acute. Therefore, we should play ahead of time to find ways and means to settle these disputes when the time comes.

Such disputes come about mostly through over-lapping jurisdiction of the various International Unions, and this has come about through technical development and labor-saving machinery and the advancement of science.

I believe the only way to settle this is to set up a commission inside the organization and see if they cannot get the two organizations quarrelling over jurisdictional disputes either to amalgamate their organizations, put two or three unions into one, or change their charter rights so as to stop it.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I move that the report of the Committee be amended and the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration, and I hope my motion will be accepted.

President Green: A point of order has been raised on your motion to amend and the Chair must, of necessity, follow parliamentary law by declaring it out of order. The report of the committee is to non-concur in the resolution. Now the question is of concurrence or non-concurrence. The Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman, may I say just a word in connection with this resolution. The resolution does not contemplate that which the delegate had in mind. This resolution contemplates setting up a permanent committee of nine members, four of whom shall be representatives of National and International Unions, and five of whom shall be representatives of State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies and Federal Labor Unions. This committee is not to have power to make any decisions, but is to report to the convention and not to the Executive Council. It is violative of the procedure heretofore followed under the Constitution and can only be entertained by an amendment to the Constitution itself. In addition to that, your committee feels that that is not a practical or satisfactory manner of adjusting or avoiding jurisdictional disputes and therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair will call upon a distinguished representative of the American Federation of Labor, who is serving in a very honorable and responsible position with the War Production Board, to come forward and speak to the delegates. I refer to our very dear friend, Brother Joseph Keenan, who is a member of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and is now serving as Vice-Chairman for Labor Production on the War Production Board.

I will ask Delegate Charles M. Paulsen, Brother John M. Gillespie and Brother Frank Duffy to escort Brother Keenan to the platform. He fooled me, he is right here, so I will present him to you now. All of you know him, most of you personally, but some of you by reputation. He has served with distinction and credit as the Labor representative and Vice-Chairman on the War Production Board. I present to you our very dear friend, Joseph Keenan.

JOSEPH D. KEENAN

(Vice Chairman for Labor Production, War Production Board)

President Green, Delegates and friends: At the outset, I want to bring to this convention the good wishes of Chairman Donald Nelson. He was very sorry that he could not attend and accept the invitation sent to him. As you know he is now in Europe covering the battle fields.

On June 15, 1943, I was named Vice-Chairman for Labor Production of the War Production Board. The appointment was made upon the recommendation of President Green, in order to provide direct participation by a man from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.

My talk here to you today is not merely to render you an account of my activities or of the accomplishments of the War Production Board. I intend to ask you for the help we need to win through to complete victory.

A year ago American hearts were heavy with the bitter memories of Pearl Harbor, Bataan, and Corregidor. Today we are moving forward with grim but confident determination, with great victories already won in Italy, Sicily, Africa, New Guinea, Attu, and the Solomons.

And those victories on the field of battle reflect—and even originate—in victories on the

production front—where American workers have already achieved a two-fold advantage over the current rate of output in Nazi slave-shops. They had a long headstart—but the patriotic determination, initiative, and ingenuity of free American labor have already begun to turn back the tide.

Free labor has already proved its superiority over slave labor. Regimentation in its most extreme form is losing. The spirit of free independent trade unionism is haunting Hitler. He tried to kill it, but he has failed.

The progress of United Nations' fighting men is the one effective gauge of the degree of our success in war production here in the United States. That gives us reason for pride, but it also indicates the full measure of our responsibility.

I've seen the blueprints for our production program. I wish I could recite all the facts to you. Every item on that program can be translated into terms of costs in blood and bone. The speed and skill with which those items are produced for use against the enemy will do much to decide how many American lives need be expended. The volume of bombs and bullets which can be poured out against the enemy will do much to decide the price we pay in American life and limb to cover the roads to Berlin and Tokio. Our fighting men are on the move. Our production men must speed them the supplies.

It's a tough job of work which is cut out for us, terribly tough! The armed services will be drawing hundreds of thousands of our younger men and a large share of them will be men who have acquired the knack of turning out the munitions of war. Replacements will be coming from men in less essential jobs and from women who are new to industry.

We know we cannot increase the labor force by the same percentage by which we must step up our production. Roughly we can expect to gain about 20 per cent in total employment in the munitions industries during a period when we must boost output about 40 per cent. Remember that the 20 per cent will be new people and other new people will be on the production line as replacements for those called into the armed services. We must increase our output even while we break in a lot of new people who ordinarily would not be working in factory jobs. We have got to do better than the best, and it is a magnificent best, that we have been doing.

How can we do it? That is what you have got to help decide. Some people say the answer is a labor draft. They argue that the job is so terrific that we will have to conscript our workers to accomplish it.

If conscription is ever really needed in our country, you and I will know it. Labor unions know from day to day experience how the battle of production is going, because union members are the shock troops in fighting the battle of production. When national service became needed in Britain, the Trades Union Congress did not need to read about it in the papers. And when it was needed, the government went to the labor movement and called on Ernest Bevin to operate it so that there would be a maximum output and a minimum of regimentation.

In my sincere judgment, conscription would slow down our industrial output for many months if it is attempted before every other resource is fully tried. We have not yet used our resources of labor-management co-operation in any substantial degree. Yet the evils we must overcome are evils which can be overcome only by complete and effective teamwork within each plant, within each industry, within each community, each area, each region, and throughout the nation as a whole.

I disagree with the gloomy people who rely on arithmetic alone to analyze our war production program and the manpower situation. What we will need is more energy, more know-how, more teamwork. I say we can get all we need if we call on labor and management to produce them for us!

What if we have got to work harder than the hardest we have ever worked? What if we have got to develop more skill than ever before? What if we have got to use our heads and our hands better than ever before?

We've licked every one of the jobs we have had to tackle so far. I say we can lick this one, too!

We have acquired the know-how we lacked 3 years ago. We have learned how to find bottlenecks and smash them. We have learned how to control raw materials and how to schedule component parts. We have built up the physical plant we needed. We've got our muscles hardened up by the workout we have had for the past three and a quarter years. We are ready to hit any new jobs and crash through with any gains that are needed.

I know there is danger of overconfidence. When victories are being won, some people will tend to ease up and get careless. But I think that 99 per cent of our people are not fooling themselves. They want to get this over with as fast as we can and get their loved ones home. They need only to be shown what is needed and given a chance to tackle the job.

And in my opinion we ought to applaud every victory on the production front just as enthusiastically as we cheer good news from the battle front. I'm sore at talk about shirkers and slackers hiding on the production line.

Let me give you some figures to show what has been done. You can judge whether the men and women on our production lines got these results by loafing or by sweating!

We are turning out about 6 and one-fifth times as much war production as in the month before Pearl Harbor—and November of 1941 saw 4 and one-third times as much as in July of 1940 when the defense program was getting under way.

This nation in the 30 months since May of 1940 produced 123,000 aircraft with 53,000 of them built in the first 8 months of this year. Yet in 1940 there were 358 commercial transport planes in use in the United States. That shows what changes have been made.

In the first 8 months of this year we produced 23,000 tanks out of 53,000 built since May of 1940. Out of 93,000 artillery weapons produced in 30 months, 40,000 came out of

our arsenals in 1943. Out of about 26 billion rounds of ammunition in 30 months, we produced over half in the first 8 months of this year.

The Navy offers one of the most vivid examples of the progress we have made. In July 1940, the Navy received 5 newly completed vessels and 25 new airplanes but in June 1943, almost 1200 new vessels were delivered to the Navy along with nearly 2000 airplanes.

Even after losing or transferring to other nations nearly half a million tons of fighting ships, the Navy has grown from about one and one-third million tons of fighting power to a total of over two and one-fifth million tons. The over-all size of the Navy grew from less than 2 million in mid-summer of 1940 to almost 5 million tons on the first of July, 1943.

If I could take the time here today to tell you what has been accomplished in the production of material for the Army, it would be equally impressive. In the first 12 months after the fall of Dunkirk, we produced 25,000 machine guns and sub-machine guns, but in the third year we turned out one and a half million. In one month this year we produced three times as much artillery for ground troops as we turned out in the total 19 months of our participation in the war in 1917-18.

Many similar achievements could be cited.

The merchant marine, of course, provides another proud series of record-breaking achievements. We are delivering nearly 25 times as many ships per week as we produced each week during the first 12 months of the active defense program.

But aside from all this, aside from the heavy purchases of war equipment by our Allies, America has actually produced and transferred to our Allies enough in dollar volume to equip 10 million men.

Those records did not just happen. Battleships and Flying Fortresses did not come into being just because government agencies ordered them and managements signed contracts. It took hard work and sweat by millions and millions of workers. It took the skill and patriotic determination of labor union members.

The Office of Labor Production has published to the world our official estimate that 85 per cent of American war workers are in plants covered by collective bargaining agreements between unions and managements. I say that this entitles us to put a union label on America's war production achievements!

I am glad to say that practical industrialists themselves are taking a constructive view. Here is what Larry Bell of the Bell Aircraft Co. said at the recent meeting of the Aircraft Council. "It appears that the industry wants to work out its problems with labor, rather than through a national conscription act."

I find a growing awareness also among my colleagues in the War Production Board of the necessity of utilizing labor's advice, labor's criticism, labor's participation. As Vice Chairman for Labor Production, I want to tell you that Donald Nelson and Charles Wilson have been just as eager to have labor's help as anyone could ask. They have been O.K. They have shown a willingness to listen and to

heed my advice whenever I could lay any valid criticisms or suggestions on the line.

The principles of labor representation and labor participation have been accepted by the War Production Board although neither is yet fully in operation. As the Executive Council has reported, a top advisory management-labor council has been established and has met several times with Mr. Nelson, Mr. Wilson and the other top officials of WPB. This Council has reiterated Mr. Nelson's frequent pleas for genuine labor-management production committee activity in every war plant. It is my hope that the Council will be increasingly brought into action before any major production policies are established or revised.

The Offices of Labor Production and Manpower Requirements constitute the major opportunities for labor participation in WPB. I refer you again to the Executive Council's report for a statement as to the organization and purposes of the Office of Labor Production. The Manpower Requirements office under Clinton S. Golden was established primarily to determine the labor needs of war industry, the relative order of urgency and the steps which should be taken by WPB to assure the most effective staffing of war industry. The office necessarily works very closely with and through the War Manpower Commission in which Clint Golden serves also as a vice chairman.

I cannot speak for other agencies, but I do know that within WPB we still have some way to go before the participation and representation of labor are such as to enable labor to make the maximum contribution to the war program.

Part of the blame must be accepted by labor unions themselves. Too seldom are unions willing to make available top officials to serve in war agencies. Too often unions are eager to send men whom they are able to spare, too easily. Too often unions do not use the channels created for their use and operated by men from labor. Too often unions by-pass such offices by going to top administrative people who are not fully aware of the facts. Too often unions simply grouse about their difficulties and fail to say anything to the people appointed to serve them.

But it would be equally frank to say that government agencies and top industrial managements take labor's agreement for granted. We are too often asked to O.K. something which is all ready for issuance—or even something which has already been issued. It is high time that executives learn that labor must be consulted *before* and not after decisions are made.

I submit that labor has proved its integrity as partner in war production. The no-strike pledge has been kept by the A. F. of L. leadership and has been respected by local union memberships and officials about 99.9 per cent of the time. Wage rates have been stabilized, longer hours are in force, harder schedules are being met, craft standards have been suspended to an unbelievable extent—all of these have been granted by labor in return merely for impartial settlement of grievances and a promise of price stabilization.

I call on the paid spokesmen of industrial organizations, chambers of commerce, and

similar groups to give labor credit for what workers have accomplished. Instead of doing so, some of them run to the newspapers or microphones to denounce organized labor. In the interest of winning the war, I call on such people to take a no-squawk pledge and observe it as faithfully as labor has respected the no-strike pledge. The top leaders of organized labor and organized business have formed a labor-management council in WPB. If the officers of local chambers of commerce and industrial organizations really want to speed production, I call on them to bring any of their complaints and suggestions to this top management-labor council in WPB where President Green and Murray join with the presidents of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers in finding practical solutions to our pressing problems.

Procurement agencies can help greatly also. Many times design changes must be made to meet battle conditions. These cause sudden instructions to hold up production until the urgently needed changes can be arranged. In the past, workers were seldom given the reasons for being told to slow down or lay off.

It often threw the production line into a severe slump which continued even when production was resumed. If the top leaders of labor are told whenever plans must be changed, they can see to it that no demoralization results. Workers want to produce the best—and only the best! But they need to know the reasons why they are sometimes told to change from "fast" to "slow."

We have not been profiteering. Wherever the weekly take-home has been increased, the worker has earned it in sweat—by harder and longer work and greater skill. Labor has had to face rotten living conditions in most war centers, where housing, transportation, sanitation, shopping, and eating facilities, day care for children, medical service and other essentials for health and safety are dangerously below suitable standards. The worker has been paying in taxes a lion's share of increased savings and he has not grumbled. Union members have bought bonds to an extent greater than any similar group in the income range. Workers have donated blood, contributed very heartily to community war funds and helped operate civilian defense and rationing services.

But, on the whole, many public officials lean too heavily on labor's proven eagerness and readiness to help. They fail to realize that labor expects some voice in deciding what and how and when such activities can best be carried on to accomplish the greatest results. I am not bringing you a complaint about WPB. As I said before, the top staff of WPB really are eager to let us help them before, as well as after, decisions are made. Sometimes they fail to do so, but I believe they honestly are as eager as we are to hitch up a successful team of executives from the twin ranks of management and labor. I have real confidence and profound respect for the integrity of most of the men I work with. We have found that we can argue across the table over an issue and come to a suitable conclusion.

Yet there is still a very dogmatic feeling among some other people that we have to have a boss in Washington to shunt labor around the country, to say where they must work, when they must work and how they must work. Such plans involve equally rigid controls over management. You will want to know if such a program will actually accomplish such a solution.

As a government official from the ranks of labor, I have some definite opinions on this subject, and I think most top government officials from the ranks of management feel the same way about it.

According to all the experts, our country can recruit enough people to supply the number of workers needed. The difficulty comes in filling the local requirements of certain areas and certain industries in maintaining a sufficient net force of workers in these places and in these industries.

The War Manpower Commission and Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that employment in the munitions industries must go from 9.6 in July, 1943, to 11.6 million in July, 1944. That is a 21 per cent increase in employment in those industries. WMC declares that this estimate is based upon a forecast that productivity per worker will go up by about 7 per cent in the same period.

However, WMC officials have declared that most labor now in war industry is being under-utilized by around 25 per cent.

While we cannot expect, of course, to attain a perfect utilization of labor, I suggest that aggressive recruitment of the additional number of needed workers, plus aggressive improvement in utilization, plus aggressive increase in worker productivity will add up to provide a cure for our production problems so far as they involve manpower. I don't want to stress the exact figures too much. If we were to do so, it would make a mathematical conclusion that perfect utilization would cure our labor supply problems. Such an assumption would be unfair. But I do think we can—if we are realistic—provide the incentives for such improved utilization and increased productivity and necessary recruitment that we can achieve our full production goals without having to risk any dangerous gambles in the form of regimentation of management and labor.

Since it is my duty within WPB to take all possible steps to get the best possible production out of our available labor supply, I have some comments to make about ways and means of getting the best results from our available labor supply.

To commence with, I believe conscription of labor would hamstring the war effort. It would take a huge administrative machinery of carefully selected and skillfully trained experts to handle the details. I question if they could be found. It would slow down the operations of every war industry management because such machinery can't run without some red tape. It would take the zip out of the great majority of American workers who at present are winning the battle of production.

Such conscription would defeat our efforts to get maximum results from each worker.

As I see it, we need to recruit new workers into war industry, including large numbers of women. Then we need to keep them at the jobs for which they are suited, working on schedule, developing all the know-how they are capable of getting. And we need to find every possible way of increasing the productivity of each worker.

Recruitment is the responsibility of the War Manpower Commission. So I won't talk on that item except to say that I am confident they can get the people we need if we can give them decent working and living conditions with a real chance to help win the war faster.

On the subject of getting workers to be at their jobs and to stay at their posts, however, it will take more than criticism to accomplish our objectives. I wonder how many people realize the strain under which many of our war workers have been living for weeks and months and even years. Some of the places they have had to live would not be tolerated by any Army officer except as temporary front line makeshifts. But war workers have had to live in some such places for a long, long time and their wives and children have been exposed to illness and privations.

It is up to government agencies, local communities and plant labor-management committees to correct turnover and absenteeism by curing every cause that can be cured. I am glad to tell you that the office of Labor Production in WPB is ready to help and is already helping in such programs at the request of local unions. We are authorized to seek inter-agency action and to seek suitable priority on materials to correct any conditions which are interfering with maximum war production.

We want your help in turn in impressing upon war workers the necessity of regarding their war jobs as enlistments for the duration, to be changed when and only when they are called upon to do other war jobs in which they are really more needed. I ask your help especially in reaching non-members! We know from the record that the people who quit their jobs most often are the newest employees. Skilled old-timers are steady workers.

More than half the quits in most industries come from the group which has been on the job four months or less. A reduction in such turnover can help immensely because it saves work time, training and job experience now being lost.

On getting maximum productivity, unions again can help accomplish really necessary results.

It seems to us in the Office of Labor Production in the War Production Board that the needed gain in output is possible if—and only if—we tap the full capacity, the practical know-how of experienced managers and workers. However, competent we may think ourselves to be, we do not have any formula to get full production results except the formula of securing 100 per cent teamwork from labor

and management to solve in-plant problems and 100 per cent teamwork among labor, management, local community and government agencies to solve community problems.

That is a simple measure but it is the practical and democratic way to get the results we need.

And I am glad to announce for the first time that we in the Office of Labor Production are applying that formula to meet two of our toughest production problems and expect to apply it to many others.

At the request of unions and managements in the West Coast Shipbuilding industry, the Shipbuilding Stabilization Division of our office will establish machinery for the effective operation of yard and port labor-management committees, all along the Coast, to achieve all possible economies in the use of labor in each yard and to exchange every technique found successful in any yard in boosting individual output.

Think what that means! Unions and management got together, decided they wanted to work out their own problems together, and sent a panel to Washington to tell us what they wanted. So, as a result, they have already the framework in operation.

Through this West Coast Shipbuilding Stabilization panel, consisting of 5 employers and 5 union representatives and a public chairman, labor and management together will undertake to see that each yard and each port covered share the best methods of shipbuilding into operation so that every ounce of available effort will be used to accomplish the biggest possible results in shipbuilding.

They won't have elaborate machinery, but they will have this labor-management committee teamwork in every shipyard and every port represented. Through the port committees, the yard committees will pool ideas, and teamwork and through the West Coast panel, the committees from the 5 major ports will be brought together.

The committees will tackle any question that concerns management or unions. To boost production, the collective bargaining machinery of labor and managements is being put to work by labor and management pulling together.

On a smaller scale, but in a highly significant manner, another industry has started similar machinery.

An area labor-management council has been established in Newark, New Jersey, on a continuing basis to find ways to increase production of radio receiving tubes. A labor consultant from our Washington staff, working with our WPB labor representative in Newark has had the cooperation of the War Manpower Commission and other government agencies concerned in getting this important activity under way and in providing technical aid to the local representatives.

I predict that this pattern will be established in other industries and in other areas. It puts the responsibility where it can best be carried out and where obstacles can best be overcome. Best of all it avoids bottlenecking those local problems by vain attempts to shuttle problems and panaceas to and from the

already over-congested war agency staffs in Washington. It puts local industrial democracy to work in accomplishing its own share of the national objective.

The only trouble is that it is so simple, so natural, and so practical that it won't rate a fussy label. It won't be a trade-marked plan. It won't require a vast administrative machinery. It won't regiment people from outside.

But it will, I predict, enable local industries to meet and exceed production schedules. It will enable unions and management to tackle common problems from a common viewpoint for a common goal. And that will go a long way towards creating the kind of labor relations and economic collaboration for which farseeing leaders of labor and management looked.

This spirit of cooperation is the driving force of British war production.

The British have national service legislation administered by the Ministry of Labor through skilled local offices where labor and management collaboration is a time-tested reality. They have succeeded in utilizing their manpower and womanpower to an extent which is truly extraordinary. Whereas industry here is still generally unwilling to accept women recruits who are over 35, the British are registering women up to 50 years of age for work assignments. As the world knows, the British people have rallied with utmost zeal and effort to turn out the tools of victory.

I am sure that the fraternal delegates from Great Britain would agree that the national conscription of labor in Great Britain has not served to increase output per worker, that it has not served to eliminate absences from work, that it has not served to eliminate strikes.

By analyzing the available comparative results, I think we could show figures which would look as if conscription has hurt more than it has helped so far as these three key factors are concerned.

Conscription has not cured absenteeism or strikes in Great Britain. The New York Times recently reported absenteeism is running about 10% among essential war workers in Great Britain. Out of 28 American war industries for which official figures are available, none were that high and the bulk were about 6 per cent. Comparative figures show that the time lost from industrial disputes runs at a higher comparative ratio in Great Britain than in this country. I regret that military security prevents my giving you the exact ratio.

But the best measurement is the comparative gain in war production. For the first half of this year our output was more than 5 times as much as in November of 1941 while British output was 3 times as great as in the first 6 months of 1940.

Of course, there are good reasons for this. The British are draining their resources in manpower and materials and have suffered the effects of bombing. They deserve tremendous praise.

I make the comparison, not to boast of our record, but merely to prove that conscription

is no panacea. Those who try to foist such a plan on us quote the British experience so often that I think it is time to show some actual records. Those figures are a warning to us that conscription would not cure our difficulties.

Yet the British have such magnificent labor-management teamwork in war production that I am sure they have minimized, as much as is humanly possible, the ill effect of industrial regimentation by conscription.

Conscription serves to put and keep people at assigned stations. That is only the beginning of the industrial process. What we need today is to get the most effective utilization and the maximum productivity. Conscription, I fear, might cut the effectiveness of the present labor force by twice the percentage as that by which it might increase the number employed in war industry. Any such result would be a disaster.

We must have maximum incentives for production. Real labor-management cooperation tops the list of industrial incentives.

I am individually opposed in principle to the basic idea of piecework or wage incentives. Let there be no doubt on that subject.

But this is a war of blood when the life of your son or brother or father at the front depends in very direct proportion upon the speed and efficiency of our war production machine.

There are many plants where production simply must be increased. Lives are at stake. Speed in getting bombers and combat planes must be our foremost objective. To accomplish it, emergency measures are needed. In the old days, the method would be to increase wage rates to get and keep the best workers available. With wage and employment stabilization, we must try other means. Suitable wage incentive programs seem the quickest way in such places to produce the fighting equipment we needed yesterday!

You and I know that more output can be achieved from many machines and many workers. You and I know that our nation must get that extra output now. In many plants an increase of from 10 to 35 percent seems entirely possible and if we get the extra output, the workers ought to be compensated for the extra effort. Such compensation obviously will serve as an incentive to boost individual output.

If workers in a plant pool their efforts and ideas and find ways of getting out more stuff per hour and more stuff per day, I think wartime conditions may justify the establishment of a plant-wide wage incentive plan which will reward and induce constant improvements in output.

It is my position, therefore, that a plant-wide incentive system which rewards workers in direct ratio for increased output is a legitimate wartime emergency measure for use wherever circumstances justify it if—and only if—the details are worked out with the full agreement of local unions and managements through their duly established collective bargaining machinery.

We really have already made amazing progress in increased productivity. The Office of

Labor Production estimates that the average American war worker today is turning out at least 2 and one-third times as much per hour as his predecessor did in 1918.

According to Donald Nelson aircraft workers showed a 25 percent gain in productivity in the first 8 months of this year.

If you want a few other records of record-smashing reductions in manhour requirements, I refer you to the official records of the Maritime Commission and of the Navy Department.

I say that these figures ought to be memorized. They give the lie to labor-baiters. More important, they offer the stimulus for the fierce competitive spirit of American workers and managers to achieve even greater accomplishments in practical patriotism.

I say that we must not freeze initiative, energy or zeal. I say that we can make 1944 war production anywhere from one-fourth to one-third greater than the 1943 total if government will set up the targets and help local labor management together to shoot at those goals.

They have delivered enough and on time to enable our fighting men to check, hold and now hurl back the foe. Let's keep them passing the ammunition with a minimum of kibitzing. The team is winning now. Let's not now try to change the American style of teamwork and individual competitive effort. Let's simply call for more punch, more power, and more follow through till the quitting whistle sounds in Berlin and Tokio!

President Green: We deeply appreciate the message of our good friend, Brother Keenan. It shows the time and the thought spent on its construction, and the information contained therein shows that he has been thinking through on the subject and that he understands the situation mighty well. Thank you, Brother Keenan.

We have some announcements now, and the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Good Will Committee, Brother Adamski.

Union Made Cigarettes for Members of the Armed Forces

Delegate Adamski, Chairman of the Good Will Committee: Mr. President, the delegates to this convention have asked me to present to you, this \$252.00 for the purpose of purchasing union made cigarettes to be sent to our fighting forces across the sea.

I want to again thank the delegates for their kindness and I offer this motion at this time: that the Executive Council be authorized by this Convention to buy and send to our armed forces, one cigarette for each member thereof. It is, we know, a military

secret as to the number of men and women in our fighting forces, but whether it is nine or ten million, we will make no mistake if we send them ten million union-made cigarettes. I so move you, Mr. President.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: First of all, may I accept this gift of \$252.00 presented, through Brother Adamski, by the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. The money will be used promptly and without a moment's unnecessary delay in the purchase of cigarettes and in sending them to our troops abroad.

Perhaps it might be well to report to the delegates that as a result of advices given me by the Executive Council, the American Federation of Labor, working with Secretary Ornburn of the Union Label Trades Department, is sending a large number of cigarettes to our troops abroad every month. I think the American Federation of Labor, along with Brother Ornburn and others, is contributing something in excess of five hundred dollars per month out of its treasury for the purpose of buying union made cigarettes to be sent to our fighting forces abroad.

Now I will ask you, Brother Adamski, if you will kindly consent to hold your motion in abeyance for a moment.

Delegate Adamski: All right.

President Green: Brother Grages is recognized for announcements.

Announcement

Assistant Secretary Grages: All the ladies are cordially invited to visit our State House tomorrow afternoon, leaving from the lobby of this hotel at 2:00 o'clock. They will have a tea at the Consumers' League, 31-A Mount Vernon Street, directly after the tour.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that we have one more speaker scheduled to address the convention and he will appear tomorrow forenoon. Senator James Mead, from the State of New York, will be here to talk to us and perhaps he will tell us something about his experiences when he visited our armed forces abroad.

Committee to Escort Senator Mead

President Green: I will appoint on a committee to escort Senator Mead to the hall tomorrow morning, Vice-President Edward Flore of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, President Leo E. George of the Post Office Clerks and President Thomas A. Murray of the New York State Federation of Labor.

Are there further announcements? If there are no further announcements, in conformity with the decision of the Convention yesterday, the convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

At 12:30 p.m., in accordance with the motion adopted on the previous day, the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Wednesday morning, October 13th, 1943.

EIGHTH DAY — WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

Boston, Massachusetts, October 13, 1943

The Convention was called to order at ten o'clock by President Green.

President Green: The Reverend Theodore P. Ferris, Rector of Trinity Church in Boston, will pronounce the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Reverend Theodore P. Ferris,
Rector of Trinity Church,
Boston, Massachusetts)

Let us pray. O God, who hast given us this good earth for our heritage, grant that we may use its resources wisely and without waste, and that we may distribute them fairly and with concern for all people.

Grant to those who work a sense of dignity of their task and to those who employ a sense of their responsibility, and may both, working with each other in unison, be drawn together by a common purpose to serve mankind. Amen.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

Chungking
October 9, 1943

President William Green
American Federation of Labor
Annual Conference
Boston, Massachusetts

On behalf of Chinese organized workers Chinese Association of Labor extends to you our sincere felicitation and hearty congratulation. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to reaffirm our traditional friendship and wish you further success and achievement for our common effort to defeat the Axis.

CHU HSUEHFAN

President
Chinese Association of Labor

Havana, Cuba
October 9, 1943

American Federation of Labor
Hotel Statler
Boston, Massachusetts

Cuban Proletarians greet the 63rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor advocating the intensification of the war effort and best relations between the workers of the American Continent and the Confederation of the Workers of Cuba against Nazi-Fascism.

LAZARO PENA,
General Secretary

New Haven, Conn.
October 8, 1943

William Green
American Federation of Labor Convention
Statler Hotel
Boston, Massachusetts

The religion and labor foundation expresses fervent hope that deliberations of 63rd AFL Convention will be historic in establishing economic and racial democracy on the home front. We hope part of this triumph for democracy will be condemnation of discrimination against Negroes in the AFL and discrimination against the Chinese as represented by Chinese Exclusion Act. Such daring action will go a long way in inspiring church bodies likewise to put their own ideals into practice.

ALLAN K. CHALMERS
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Chairman

New York, New York
October 9, 1943

William Green, President
Matthew Woll, Vice President
American Federation of Labor Convention
Hotel Statler
Boston, Massachusetts

As representative in America of the Labor Democratic Socialist Organization which in the Italian underground, planned, organized and led their victorious campaign of civil disobedience and strikes and peace demonstrations against Fascism, I am entrusted with the task of extending their fraternal greetings to the officers, delegates and guests of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston. At the same time I am entrusted with the task of expressing

the deep gratitude of the Italian Labor and Democratic Socialist Organizations for the valuable support received from the American labor movement. Best wishes of success and more power to you free men of free labor.

VANNI B. MONTANA

President Green: The Chair desires to add to the Committee to escort Senator Mead to the hall Brother Albert Adamski of Buffalo, New York, representing the United Garment Workers Union.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Scholtz of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Scholtz, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

In accordance with instructions of Secretary W. L. O'Brien of the Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, Trades and Labor Council, we recommend the seating of John F. Cauley, with one vote, in place of Ed. L. Moore, previously reported to represent the Hamilton District Trades and Labor Council for the second week of the Convention.

In accordance with request of President James M. Duffy of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, who has been called home on account of urgent business, we recommend the seating of E. L. Wheatley in his place, to represent that organization.

I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote, and the delegates were seated.

Committee to Escort Dr. John R. Steelman

President Green: I will appoint Delegates Max Zaritsky, Edward McMorrow and Christen Madsen to escort Dr. John R. Steelman to the platform.

Now I am pleased to present to you Dr. John R. Steelman, Administrator in charge of the Conciliation Department of the Department of Labor. He came from Washington to attend our convention, and I accept that as evidence of his deep interest in the work of this convention. Dr. Steelman has al-

ways responded with alacrity to any request we have made for the assignment of capable conciliators for the purpose of adjusting disputes which arise from time to time. He has worked with us and we have worked with him in a most satisfactory and cooperative way. I know you will be pleased to hear from him for a brief time this morning.

I now present Dr. Steelman.

DR. JOHN R. STEELMAN

(Administrator Conciliation Department, United States Department of Labor)

President Green, members of the Executive Council, delegates and friends—the other day I was reading a report of a German military commentator on some of the happenings in the battlefields in Sicily and he said this: "The enemy's violent effort to hamper the Axis disengagement and to interrupt our systematic advance to the rear was successfully repelled."

The American Federation of Labor, I gather from the reports that I have heard and read, has not been advancing to the rear but has advanced in the opposite direction at a rather rapid rate during the past year. You even seem to have a tendency to grow right while you are here in convention.

I am happy to have an opportunity to congratulate you men and women for the contributions you have made to the nation during the past year. You have given unstintingly of your time, energy and resourcefulness, and through combined efforts of labor and management throughout the nation, our major production goals are well on the way to successful achievement.

The next year will be a difficult one, for we must continue to solve our war problems and at the same time plan for our post-war world. The poet of democracy, Walt Whitman, once pointed out something that will apply. He said:

"Now understand me well", it is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary."

That is what the labor movement is going to mean in the days to come. You people are already using your foresight and understanding to meet those problems.

Were it appropriate for me to speak at length this morning I would want to spend considerable time on one action taken by this convention, namely, the passage of a resolution for the re-establishment of a strong Department of Labor in our federal government because we are going to need it. But you have a crowded schedule so that it would

not be appropriate for me to take much time here.

Then again, I know practically every one of you so well and you know me so well, we work so closely together throughout the year, that it is not only inappropriate from the standpoint of lack of time, but it is unnecessary for me to speak at length at this time. So I merely want to thank every one of you for the splendid cooperation you have given all our commissioners during the past year. I hope we can be helpful in solving your problems in the days to come.

Because I have seen practically everyone of you individually during these past days, may I extend to you officially now, you delegates, and through you to the millions you represent, the best wishes for another very successful year.

Thank you.

President Green: I know we appreciate these interesting remarks by Dr. Steelman this morning. Furthermore, we appreciate very greatly the interest he has shown in our work and in the success of our movement through his attendance at this convention.

Thank you, Dr. Steelman, for your visit here and for your address.

We will now proceed with the regular order of business, and the Chair recognizes Secretary John P. Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Secretary Frey continued the report, as follows:

Beet Sugar Industry

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Department of Agriculture in Washington ordered that the 1944 beet acreage be approximately the same as in 1943; namely, 660,000 acres as compared with 1,050,000 acres in 1942, which is two-thirds of the crop of that year and is equivalent to a crop-freezing order, and

WHEREAS, The 1943 crop is the lowest it has been in many years, due to government conversion of beet and for other crops, such as hemp, and also due to the government regulations which held up contracts until the latter part of March, practically eliminating early plantings, and also due to unfavorable spring weather, and

WHEREAS, A reduced acreage will mean a great reduction in the output as well as

a considerable shorter processing campaign, thereby seriously affecting the economy of beet producing states, and

WHEREAS, Sugar now rationed, presumably because of an existing shortage, and

WHEREAS, Additional decrease in acreage will necessarily drastically reduce the output of sugar, thereby causing an additional lowering of supply to the consumer, and

WHEREAS, Sugar being one of the most essential items in the life of every human being, and of great necessity to the civilian population as well as to the military forces, and

WHEREAS, It seems as if the greater output rather than reduced production should be the order of the day, and

WHEREAS, All of the employees in the five operating sugar factories in Montana are organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor and are in contractual relations with their employers, and

WHEREAS, The reduction in acreage as contemplated by the AAA would seriously affect these members of organized labor, the beet-raising farmers, the consumer, and it may lead to suspicion that this is a connivance between certain governmental officials and some manipulators and gamblers to corner the sugar market so as to make huge profits at the expense of and to the detriment of the entire nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorizes the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to request the proper government authorities such as Mr. Marvin Jones, War Food Administrator, and Mr. Claude Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, to permit the sugar beet farmers and processors to produce at least as much as they did in 1942.

Your committee is in sympathy with the objectives of the resolution. It is also of the opinion that there may be other considerations involved, and for this reason recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for inquiry, and such action as will be most helpful.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Oppose and Resist Independence of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, In the year 1936 Senator Millard Tydings introduced a bill in the United States Senate intended to grant independence to the Island of Puerto Rico, after this Island having been a part of the United States of

America since 1898, all its inhabitants being citizens of the United States since 1917, and

WHEREAS, This question of independence having been discussed by our Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, the Committee on State Organizations of our Convention recommended and our Convention unanimously approved the following report:

"The labor movement and a great majority of the people of Puerto Rico were greatly shocked by the introduction of a bill in Congress by Senator Tydings intended to provide for holding a plebiscite for independence of the Island. The bill was introduced without consultation with citizens, or the legislature or any officials of the Island.

"Through the establishment of American institutions in Puerto Rico and the aid of the American Federation of Labor, the workers of Puerto Rico were able to secure guarantees for public assembly, and the right to organize and exist. The workers firmly believe that under independence there is the possibility of reversion to old practices which would imply repression for labor unions and the masses of the people. Independence would spell economic ruin for the Puerto Ricans. The feeling for independence is confined to a very small group of people while the majority believe that the protection of and relationship with the United States have afforded the best opportunity for development and progress.

"The workmen of Puerto Rico, through the Free Federation of Workmen, have always labored for a closer and permanent union with the aid of the American Federation of Labor. In the elections which will be held on November 3, 1936, the workers will go to the polls to elect not only men who have always defended our economic interests but also who firmly believe in Puerto Rico's permanent association with the United States.

"The Puerto Rican workers have expressed their gratitude to the American Federation of Labor for the assistance that it has given during the year. They have expressed the hope for continuation of that assistance, especially with regard to the extension of federal legislation to Puerto Rico with the purpose of bettering economic and social conditions of the people, such as the Social Security Law, and the permanent establishment of a worker's education center.

"We have noted that considerable progress has been made in securing social and labor legislation in the Island of Puerto Rico and we desire to commend the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico for the splendid work they have done and recommend that the Executive Council continue to render assistance to them.

"We note with interest what the Free Federation of Workmen has to say about the move to give to Puerto Rico the status of an independent nation and the apprehension of the Puerto Rican workers as to their position if such independence is granted at this time.

"We would therefore recommend that the Executive Council watch the move in Congress instituted by Senator Millard Tydings to provide for a plebiscite for the independence of the Island, and that, until such time as there is every guarantee that any independent government set up in Puerto Rico will fully protect the rights of the Puerto Rican workers to organize and bargain collectively and to provide for the Puerto Rican people a truly democratic form of government, that such move for independence be resisted by the American Federation of Labor," and

WHEREAS, The Sixty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, October 5 to 14, 1942, unanimously approved and ratified all the above quoted Resolutions in accordance with the desires of the overwhelming majority of the people of Puerto Rico, and

WHEREAS, In the year 1943, or that is, seven years after his first move for independence, Senator Tydings has again introduced a bill in the Senate to give Puerto Rico "complete and absolute independence," against the very well expressed will of the inhabitants of the Island who believe in the permanent association of Puerto Rico with the United States of America and who have been striving for a long time to become a State of the Union, and

WHEREAS, The attitude of Puerto Rican labor at the present is exactly the same as it has been during the last forty-five (45) years of struggle for better conditions, and toward the free institutions of the United States of America which have made possible for the workers to secure the necessary guarantees to exert their rights as free citizens, and

WHEREAS, We still believe that granting of independence to Puerto Rico will be ruinous and detrimental to the interests of labor, to education and to the people of the Island in general; and that our people have been greatly benefited by the influence of the free institutions of the United States and our association with the workers and the people of America; and that giving up our American citizenship would be suicidal, be it made collectively or individually, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we strongly urge the American Federation of Labor that all provisions as approved by our several previous Conventions instructing and directing the Executive Council to oppose and resist independence for Puerto Rico, being as they are hereby ratified, be promptly complied with if Senator Tydings insists upon having Congress pass the above mentioned bill granting independence to Puerto Rico, and be it further

RESOLVED, That independence never having been a synonym of freedom as we have seen for ourselves what independence has meant for the Philippine Islands and for many of the so-called independent small nations in Europe, and believing that each and every State of the Union is a free nation in itself in spite of being interdependent to each other, that the Executive Council of the American

Federation of Labor be also instructed to see to it that the inhabitants of Puerto Rico be not deprived of their American citizenship and that all assistance necessary be rendered to make Puerto Rico a State of the Union.

The substance and objective of this resolution has been acted upon by previous conventions. Your committee therefore recommends the re-affirmation of the action taken at the last convention.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Operation of National Labor Relations Act in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The Regional Office of the National Labor Relations Board in Puerto Rico has been served since its establishment by a man who has proved to be incompetent for the position because of his prejudices and hostility against the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The man who serves in that position, Mr. Melton Boyd, has done his best to injure the interests of our labor unions by being partial to political groups hostile to the American Federation of Labor and by trying to foment such groups where they never existed, and

WHEREAS, He has tried to discredit our organization and has endangered the prestige and good name of the American Federation of Labor by maliciously, arbitrarily and illegally involving our locals in his framed "unfair labor practices" charges with the sole purpose of destroying our unions, having the audacity of charging our bona fide wage earners' organizations as "successors to Company dominated Unions," and

WHEREAS, He has tried by different means to destroy our collective bargaining agreements, the most important of them the one entered into between our State Federation of Labor and the Sugar Producers Association, which comprises over 120,000 workers of the sugar industry—this contract establishing an Island-wide contracting Unit—an action which was conducted by Mr. Melton Boyd against our organization at the request of the political hostile group he has served, encouraged and stimulated, he himself acting practically as the Counsel for such hostile group during the hearings lasting for six weeks, the National Labor Relations Board having finally decided the case in our favor in spite of the great efforts put forth by Mr. Melton Boyd to destroy our agreement, and

WHEREAS, In many other cases of the Distillery and Liquor Industry, namely: "The Ronrico Corporation," "The Caricoa Distillery Inc.," "The Puerto Rico Distilling Company," "The J. M. Portela Company," "The La Rodaga," "The Destileria Serrallés," "The Central Rufina" and "The Puerto Rico Glass Corporation," Mr. Boyd has shown his partiality, and

WHEREAS, In cases where we have entered our protests against his partiality, he has used abusive and insulting language in writing his official letters to our officials, a situation that should not be tolerated by the National Labor Relations Board, and

WHEREAS, As an illustration of his lousy language in his official letters we may quote a part of his letter dated April 26, 1943, written to the President of our State Federation of Labor, when we protested against his biased and illegal procedure at a plant where an election was to be held and which he arbitrarily cancelled to favor his group, his language being as follows:

"I am both amazed and amused that you denounced by action in the press in this case as 'vicious, partial and arbitrary' when you were personally informed of the facts on which I acted. I am reminded of the Parable of the woman who was having a salacious affair in a dark room, and was so caught when the lights were turned on. She protested angrily, and denounced the lights for being at fault," and

WHEREAS, The existence of the Branch Office of the National Labor Relations Board in Puerto Rico under the Directorship of Mr. Melton Boyd is both a shame and a disgrace to bona fide organized labor and to the National Labor Relations Board itself, all these facts and the whole situation having been personally investigated by Counsel I. B. Padway of the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Some of these facts were made known to Mr. Oscar Smith, the immediate Chief of Mr. Melton Boyd, during his short visit to Puerto Rico very recently, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to demand from the National Labor Relations Board the removal of Mr. Melton Boyd as Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board in Puerto Rico if thirty days after the adjournment of this convention no action has been taken as yet by the National Labor Relations Board to remove from office this official.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for inquiry, and such action as will be most helpful.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Removal of R. C. Tugwell as Governor of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The Sixty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, last year unanimously approved a Resolution No. 36 which called for the removal of Rexford Guy Tugwell as Governor of Puerto Rico, and

WHEREAS, In compliance with the provisions thereof the President of the American Federation of Labor addressed a letter to His Excellency the President of the United States transmitting a copy of the above mentioned Resolution and requested an investigation of the situation in Puerto Rico as depicted in the Resolution just referred to, and

WHEREAS, We understand that the President of the American Federation of Labor also made representations before His Excellency the President of the United States in an effort that some official steps be taken to relieve Puerto Rico from the injurious administration of Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell, and

WHEREAS, In spite of the fact that a considerable amount of publicity in the American press followed the approval of Resolution No. 36 and strong attacks were directed against the National Administration for tolerating such conditions in Puerto Rico, no official action was ever taken by the Washington Administration to stop Tugwell's misgovernment, and

WHEREAS, Congressional Committees from the Senate and the House of Representatives have investigated social, economic and political conditions in Puerto Rico, but no report has been rendered as yet in reference to our Insular Administration which is creating unrest and doing its best to weaken the faith of our people in the free institutions of America, and

WHEREAS, Our people have been patient enough to wait for some remedy to this situation—one year having already elapsed since we presented our case to the Toronto Convention—and there seems not to be any hope for our people to have justice done by those in charge of our insular affairs, and

WHEREAS, Next year being our general election year in which we could use our ballot power to elect our Insular Legislature, if we only have at the Governorship of our Island an impartial man as Governor not sided with any group or political party, and

WHEREAS, We cannot expect to have impartial elections under Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell—who has repeatedly proved his partiality and hostility against our organized labor movement—neither under any local man acting as Governor, sided with some of the political groups in Puerto Rico; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed, and he is hereby directed, to renew his efforts again before His Excellency the President of the United States, demanding the removal of Rexford Guy Tugwell as Governor of Puerto Rico, and insisting that a man fair to all classes be appointed as Governor to represent impartially the sovereignty of our nation in Puerto Rico and to prevent the prestige and good name of our nation being affected as it is now by the situation under the administration of Governor Tugwell, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be also requested, and it is hereby requested, to take all additional steps that the Council might deem proper to achieve the end sought for in this Resolution.

The substance and purpose of this resolution is similar to one acted upon by the last convention. Your committee therefore recommends re-affirmation of the action taken at the convention last year.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Assistance to Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen

Resolution No. 14—Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Working men.

WHEREAS, The Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico has gone through the most crucial year suffering the vicious attacks of all official and private forces hostile to our movement, and

WHEREAS, Among those forces hostile to our movement is the Regional Representative of the National Labor Relations Board, who has attempted to destroy our organization and its collective bargaining agreements, and

WHEREAS, Due to his partiality and vicious official attacks on our Unions, the good name and prestige of the American Federation of Labor was endangered to such an extent that we saw ourselves obliged to request the assistance of President William Green and the services of the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, President William Green immediately attended to our request and the good name and prestige of our organization was duly protected through the efficient and competent services of Counsel I. B. Padway, and

WHEREAS, Our State Federation of Labor had to go to the limit in the defense of all the cases in which it was illegally involved, the actions of the Regional Representatives of the National Labor Relations Board forcing

us to incur extraordinary expenses to defend our organization, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico hereby expresses its appreciation and gratitude to President William Green, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and to Counsel I. B. Padway for their invaluable services to our cause, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor ratifies its pledge to continue to render all moral and financial support to the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico that would be necessary for the Puerto Rican workers to establish an adequate standard of living and will continue to see to it that the federal laws applicable to the Island be properly and wisely administered.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

History of the American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates John P. Burke, Herbert W. Sullivan, James S. Killen, Samuel Ashton, Elmer P. Meinz, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, during the sixty-two years of its existence, has rendered unparalleled service to the working people of America, and

WHEREAS, A constant campaign of falsification is being carried on against the American Federation of Labor by rival unions that seek to supplant it in the minds and hearts of the American Workers, and

WHEREAS, The six million members of the American Federation of Labor who revere its traditions and are loyal to its principles and ideals need a ready reference manual, containing the historical highlights of the American Federation of Labor and its achievements, in order to be able to refute the lies and vicious propaganda circulated by those who would destroy this great movement of labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor engage the services of some outstanding labor historian to write a short history of the American Federation of Labor and its accomplishments, and that this history be made available for wide distribution among the workers of America at the lowest possible cost.

Your committee believes that a history of the development of the American Federation of Labor, the principles and policies upon

which it was developed, and the progress and contribution it has made to the development of American institutions, should be prepared. Such a history should be compact, and prepared with the object of placing it within the reach of every one. The question of the preparation of such a history should be placed in the hands of the Executive Council, and your committee so recommends.

President Green: It is regularly moved and seconded that the report of the Committee just read be adopted. Any remarks?

The Chair recognizes Delegate John P. Burke.

Delegate John P. Burke, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates:—I have introduced this resolution because I think we need a history of the American Federation of Labor that tells in simple and easily understood language the story of the formation, the development and the achievements of the American Federation of Labor.

We need a book of this kind at this particular time because of the activities of rival labor organizations trying to supplant the American Federation of Labor in the minds and the hearts of American workers. I am sure that most of the Unions represented at this convention have had to fight the raiding activities of CIO Unions and District 50 of the United Mine Workers. If your organizations have had to fight these raiding activities, you are familiar with their methods of attack. These unions have attacked and tried to raid the organization that I represent. In these contests we have had with CIO Unions and District 50 of the Miners, I have been amazed that men, who, at one time at least, were inspired by the spirit of human brotherhood that is interwoven into the very warp and woof of the trade union movement, could descend to such low moral levels as to countenance the publication and distribution of leaflets by the CIO and District 50 of the Miners.

I wonder if Philip Murray, who I understand is a Christian, and who upon occasion has endorsed the moral rearmament movement, has ever read the leaflets and circulars distributed by the affiliates of the organization that he has. If there is one place in this country where moral rearmament is needed it is among the pen pushers of the CIO and District 50 of the Miners.

I have met at this convention young men who represent the moral rearmament movement, and I want to say to these young men that if they can instill morality and decency in the minds of the writers of the CIO and District 50 publications, they will render a great service to the organized labor movement of this country, to their country and to God, to counteract the lying propaganda of CIO Unions and District 50 of the Miners, and I want to say that these organizations follow the Hitler method of telling lies and then repeating the lies and then embellishing the lies from time to time. Now to counteract this propaganda we need a history of the American Federation of Labor that tells the story of its formation, of its development and of its achievements. We must repeat the truth over and over again, just as often as our opponents tell their vicious lies.

I want to take just a few moments to outline—and I want to say I am perfectly satisfied with the report of the Committee—but for the benefit of the Executive Council I just want to briefly outline what I think should be contained in a few chapters of this book or history. Chapter No. 1 should tell the story of the formation of the American Federation of Labor—when, where and why it was founded. It should list the Unions that were represented at the first convention, the approximate number of workers they represented.

Chapter 2 should be devoted to the structure of the American Federation of Labor. There is only a very small percentage of the members of the American Federation of Labor that know anything about the structure of the American Federation of Labor and there isn't a one of the fancy paid columnists who write for our daily papers who know anything about the structure of the American Federation of Labor.

Then we should have a chapter telling about the struggle for the eight hour day, a chapter telling about the creation of the Department of Labor with a Secretary of Labor in the President's Cabinet. We should have a chapter telling about the creation of Labor Day and the part played by the American Federation of Labor. We should have a chapter telling about NRA, the enactment of the National Labor Relations Act and the part played by the American Federation of Labor.

It should be brought home to the workers in this book that long before the CIO was ever thought of, and long before there was a District 50, the American Federation of Labor was fighting the battles of the workers in this country, and such progress as the CIO has been able to make, they have made it because of the labor laws placed upon the statute books of this nation by the fifty years of agitation and educational work done by the American Federation of Labor.

Then, in this history there should be pictures of the outstanding figures of the American Federation of Labor, with brief sketches of their lives, pictures of Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison, John Mitchell, P. J. McGuire and William Green. That gives you a brief outline of what I had in mind when I introduced this resolution.

Now we have up here in the gallery, in this first box, some of the delegates from our organization. I am a little unorthodox in my speaking, but what I am about to say is important. Now this delegation is up here—and I have often wondered, brother delegates, as I have sat in these conventions of the American Federation of Labor why it is that there are so few members of our Unions sitting in the gallery listening to the wonderful speeches. Why is it in this great city of Boston with its thousands and thousands of union members and thousands and thousands of workers? Where are they? Do they know that these sessions are open to the public and that union men have a right to come in here and listen to the discussions? But, anyway, this delegation is down here in Boston from Groton, New Hampshire. We appeared yesterday afternoon at a hearing before the National Labor Board and we were successful in getting a five per cent general increase retroactive to February 1st, which will give every worker in that plant a nice little back pay, amounting to about ninety dollars each.

However, notwithstanding the fact that we have a 100% union shop agreement in that plant, a good wage scale and good conditions, District 50 of the United Mine Workers have their organizers there trying to disrupt and raid and destroy the splendid unions of the Papermakers and Pulp Sulphite Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They are going from door to door telling the workers the American Federation

of Labor is no good. It is a reactionary organization, it has never done anything for the workers. They are telling the workers that the agreements signed by the American Federation of Labor are back door agreements. They are telling the workers to get into District 50, that John Lewis is the only man in this country that the government is afraid of.

We need to place in the hands of the workers the truth. There is nothing so important as the truth. These rival organizations, as I said before, are using Hitler's methods, lying and repeating the lie. Then when they can't come through and make good in their big promises they tell the workers a bigger lie.

This is a little plain talking, but I think we need a little plain talking at these conventions. I think we ought to have more of the ordinary delegates get on the floor and express their opinions. I think at conventions of the American Federation of Labor we ought to have at least one session set aside food good and welfare discussions and make the delegates get up and talk.

In my opinion we have all together many speeches from outsiders. We ought to have more speeches and discussions on the part of the delegates who come to these conventions. I have sat quietly myself at most of the conventions, but from now on I intend to express myself, and I have expressed myself this morning pretty freely as to what I think of the tactics of the CIO unions and the Miners.

I am perfectly satisfied with the report of the Committee on Resolutions. I am very well satisfied to have this resolution referred to the Executive Council. It takes a rather big load off of my mind because I had fully made up my mind that if the Executive Council was not willing, that is, if I got negative action on the part of the convention on this resolution I was going ahead myself and write this history.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Readjustment and Rehabilitation of Returning Servicemen

Resolution No. 18.—By Delegate Wm. N. Gorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The readjustments after victory in our war effort are going to be many

and difficult and certainly one of the greatest will be the readjustment of returning service men to their peacetime pursuits and among these ex-servicemen will be many who will require special attention due to physical handicaps. Many of these returning servicemen will have to be trained for vocations that they are capable of performing and this resolution presents a practical solution for aiding these men who are now serving their country to resume their place in society by supporting themselves through their own efforts without depending upon the charity of a grateful nation for which they rendered invaluable service, and

WHEREAS, The people of this country unanimously agreed that there shall be a comprehensive government program for aiding in the readjustment and rehabilitation of the returning service men after the war, and

WHEREAS, It is important to labor that these plans be drawn and made known immediately so that labor's post-war program can be coordinated and made cooperative with such government plans, and

WHEREAS, There is today considerable confusion in government circles on this subject due to the vast number of governmental agencies who are interested and are endeavoring to help solve the problem by formulating their own solutions and at the same time perpetuating their own existence, and

WHEREAS, We of labor believe it imperative in the interests of good government and to the morale of the service men and those at home that intelligent, organized, and non-partisan efforts be directed toward setting up this vital program, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to appoint a committee empowered to hold hearings, study, investigate, and assemble information from all necessary sources and make recommendations to the Congress of the United States for a comprehensive, practicable program for aiding in the readjustment and rehabilitation of returning servicemen during the post-war period, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee be composed of equal representation of labor, management, and the Congress of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and incoming Executive Council do everything within their power to effect the purpose of this resolution.

Your committee is of the opinion that the subject matter of this resolution is deserving of favorable consideration. However, before definite action, your committee believes a full investigation is essential, and for this reason recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council to make an adequate study, and to take such action as will be most helpful.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Labor Union Membership in Metal Trades Councils

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, As now constituted under the American Federation of Labor Metal Trades Department by-laws, federal labor unions and local trade unions, even though engaged in metal trades work, cannot obtain full-fledged membership in the American Federation of Labor metal trades councils, and

WHEREAS, This means that while they may be permitted to affiliate with a local council they cannot vote nor hold office in the council, and are only permitted to pay per capita tax and give cooperation, and

WHEREAS, This old rule of the Metal Trades Department not specifically adopted to bar federal labor unions and local trade unions, nevertheless it affects them adversely and keeps out the potential backbone or nucleus for any metal trades council, and

WHEREAS, The skilled trades in the metal industry are more or less now organized in their own particular district councils, and

WHEREAS, A similar resolution had been introduced at the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Toronto in 1942 as Resolution No. 20 and was referred to the Committee on Resolutions and the Committee recommended the resolution be referred to the Metal Trades Department which recommendation was unanimously adopted and although the Metal Trades Department has had a year to act on this resolution without any known action having been taken on this resolution, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, goes on record urging the Metal Trades Department to amend its constitution and by-laws so as to permit full-fledged membership in metal trades councils to those federal labor unions and local trade unions engaged in the metal industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the international unions now affiliated or eligible to full-fledged membership in metal trades councils be requested to extend their aid and influence to the end that federal labor unions and local trade unions be granted full-fledged and bona fide membership in all metal trades councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Metal Trades Department be called upon to immediately make known to the state federations of labor and city central bodies their action on this resolution.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor's Exercise of the Right of Franchise

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, Joseph Levitsky, International Ladies Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The workers have learned through bitter experience that the political phase is just as important to the welfare of the workers as the economic phase and that by neglecting to use our rights as citizens to vote in elections for public office we are playing into the hands of our enemies, and

WHEREAS, It has been particularly demonstrated in the last two years that because of the negligence of trade unionists to vote in the elections many reactionary anti-labor congressmen and legislators have been elected, resulting in the adoption of reactionary anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, In order to be able to carry out fully the policy of the American Federation of Labor of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies, the workers must be conscious of their political power on election day and make full use of it, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, goes on record calling upon all international unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions, and federal locals immediately to start a campaign to make their membership "vote conscious" by electing special "Get Out the Vote" committees and seeing to it that each member of their organization is registered and votes on election day, and be it further

RESOLVED, That these special committees be requested to make a thorough check-up as to whether their members registered and voted and have that stamped upon their union books and that special recognition should be given to those local unions that will turn out a 100 per cent vote of their membership. Only in that manner will the organized labor movement be in a position to secure and protect its present standard of living and improve upon them where they still fall below a decent American standard.

The Executive Council has issued declarations relative to labor's exercise of the right of franchise; the necessity of labor's active participation at the polls. Your committee therefore recommends, in lieu of the resolution, that this convention approve of the declarations of the Executive Council on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

O.P.A.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, Joseph Levitsky, International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, It is of general knowledge that the so-called ceiling prices established by the O.P.A. are constantly violated, and

WHEREAS, It is also generally known that in violation of the O.P.A., black markets are flourishing in various communities, and

WHEREAS, These violations are due to the lack of personnel of the O.P.A. caused by the cut in appropriation by Congress for the O.P.A., and

WHEREAS, Because of this lack of personnel, the consumers in general and the workers in particular are at a great disadvantage, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled demands that the Government and the Appropriation Committee of Congress appropriate the necessary sum for the O.P.A. to enable it to have a sufficiently large personnel for the purpose of enforcing its ceiling prices, abolishing the black market and in general policing in every community and bring about the immediate punishment for all violators of the O.P.A. price ceilings and those running the black markets.

Your committee is convinced that this resolution should be referred to the Executive Council for thorough-going investigation, and such action as then seems advisable, and so recommends.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Honorable Service Discharge in Lieu of Initiation Fee

Resolution No. 30—By Central Labor Union, Santa Cruz, California.

WHEREAS, Men of the armed forces of the United States, particularly those serving on foreign soil, have been flooded with strongly anti-union propaganda advising them that Organized Labor is holding up production of materials vital to the prosecution of the war, and

WHEREAS, This fact will tend to turn many of these fighting men, who have never before had occasion to seek employment and become familiar with the principles of Or-

ganized Labor, against any form of unionism, and

WHEREAS, High initiation fees for entrance into unions to secure future employment may tend to crystallize this anti-union feeling among war veterans upon their return, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled hereby go on record as fostering a movement for all unions to accept an honorable discharge from the armed forces as full initiation fee for any union governing work for which the applicant is competently fitted.

A convention of the American Federation of Labor is without authority to instruct its affiliated International Unions as to the conduct of its internal affairs. For that reason your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Craft Training for Veterans

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Frank Burch, Central Labor Union of Philadelphia & Vicinity, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through its affiliated organizations, has voluntarily, willingly and unstintingly aided the war effort by the purchase of War Bonds and Stamps; by all-out production of essential war materials, by contributing its man power to both the fighting and home fronts, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor realizes its obligation to these brave young men who are fighting the battle for democracy, and

WHEREAS, Many of these young men are suffering wounds in battle which render them unable to continue in actual combat and which necessitate hospitalization and rehabilitation, and

WHEREAS, These honorably discharged young men deserve the opportunity to find a place in industry which will enable them to earn a livelihood, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor as further testimony of its desire to give 100% all-out cooperation, believes that many of these young veterans possess the ability to become skilled craftsmen after a period of apprenticeship, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor supports the National Program of Apprenticeship which has for its aim and purpose the proper training of apprentices; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor initiate and develop a method

and program among the skilled trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor whereby these young veterans will be afforded a deserving opportunity to become skilled craftsmen and to thus be able to find employment in industry so that a decent livelihood could be earned for them and their families, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the method and program be promptly initiated by this body and that this body work jointly with the skilled trades, with the representatives of the Veterans' organizations, the Veterans' Bureau, representative employers and representatives of the Apprentice-Training Service, in order to achieve through their mutual efforts the aims and purposes of this resolution, which aims and purposes are in line with the patriotic desire of the American Federation of Labor in support of the War Effort.

Your committee submits the following as a substitute for this resolution.

Your committee is in complete accord with the necessity for providing adequate provisions for industrial training. Those who had already had partial training in their respective skills and occupations must be accorded every opportunity of completing their training and preparing themselves to earn their living at some gainful occupation. Those who had previously had no opportunity of acquiring skill, must be afforded that opportunity.

Your committee, however, is definitely of the opinion that all of this training should be under the direction of the two Federal agencies, the establishment of which was one of the accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor in the field of training—the Federal Bureau for Vocational Education, and the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training.

Your committee would be negligent of its responsibility if it did not call attention to the conflicting and over-lapping agencies for training which have been established in recent years, and we therefore recommend that the American Federation of Labor use its influence to have all Federal activities in connection with training, centered exclusively in the Bureau for Vocational Education and the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, and that these agencies shall be charged with the responsibility of training those from the armed service.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Blood Tests for Union Members

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Daniel P. Haggerty, San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco, California.

WHEREAS, Scientific investigations have shown that approximately one million persons in the United States contract syphilis each year and that, although a blood test will reveal the presence of the disease, half of the people who have syphilis do not know they are infected, and

WHEREAS, The net result of the majority of cases of undiscovered and untreated syphilis is insanity, blindness, heart disease, loss of hearing, paralysis or shortening of the span of life, and

WHEREAS, Undiscovered, untreated or inadequately treated syphilis strikes at the security of the individual by destroying his ability to earn a livelihood, endangers his fellow workers and is a drag upon the successful prosecution of the war as a cause of absenteeism, lost wages, decreased production, illness and accident, and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of every citizen to assist to the best of his ability the campaign to stamp out syphilis now being conducted by the United States Public Health Service, state and local public health departments, and

WHEREAS, Experience throughout the United States has demonstrated that labor unions can materially assist the public health campaigns to control syphilis by conducting educational programs among their members and in sponsoring the blood testing of union men and women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the city of Boston, Massachusetts, beginning October 4, 1943, does hereby recommend to its affiliates that they require of their local unions a certification that each applicant for membership have a blood test made before admission into the union, the result of such a test to be a matter of strictest confidence between the examining physician and the applicant and under no circumstances to be revealed to the union or to the employer and to have no bearing upon the applicant's admission into the union, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor bring to the attention of affiliated unions the fact that local public health departments are prepared to give blood tests without charge to the individual or to the union, and that it recommends that unions make arrangements with local public health departments to make tests for applicants who do not wish to go to a physician in private practice, and be it further

RESOLVED, That as a corollary to a program of blood testing applicants for union membership, the assistance of the United States Department of Health Service, State departments of health, local public health departments and the American Social Hygiene

Association be secured in conducting an educational program among the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is in full sympathy with the purpose of the resolution in calling for necessary examinations and blood tests.

Your committee is also in full accord with the thought that workers, for their own individual welfare, should have blood and other tests made from time to time, but your committee cannot approve of the compulsory feature incorporated in the resolution, and for that reason offers as a substitute the following:

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor bring to the attention of the affiliated unions the fact that local public health departments are prepared to give blood and other tests without charge to the individual and that the members of organized labor are therefore encouraged to make proper use of these health protection and promoting facilities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. of L. Support in Distribution and Publicity of Book "Out of the Depths" Published by Denver Trades and Labor Assembly

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate R. L. Voorhees, Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colorado.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for many years maintained and carried on an Educational Program for the purpose of enlightening and educating its members on the history of the Labor Movement both present and past, and

WHEREAS, One of its chartered affiliates, namely, the Denver Trades & Labor Assembly has in the last five years made a great contribution to the Labor history and education of the Labor Movement by writing and publishing the true story of a great leader in a book called "Out of the Depths," and

WHEREAS, This book has been praised very highly by all who have read it including many high ranking officials of the American Federation of Labor, and because of the very far reaching value it will have on the American public, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to give its full support to the Denver Trades & Labor Assembly in the distribution of this book, and be it further

RESOLVED, That they make every possible effort to get this book in every library in these United States and Canada and give it the widest publicity possible.

Your committee is of the opinion that the American Federation of Labor should not be used as the endorser of any one book or publication which does not emanate from the American Federation of Labor itself. For that reason your committee recommends that no action be taken.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Voorhees, Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colorado, Mr. Chairman and Delegates, I have no quarrel with the Resolution Committee's Report but I can see the wisdom of the report. However, I would like to point out a few things to the delegates at this convention, particularly to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and to the International officers.

This book was not written by an individual. Neither was it sponsored by the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly to make profit for that organization. It was written and sponsored and paid for by this Central Body for the benefit of organized labor and the general public. This book contains a history of some things that are very interesting and very valuable to the labor movement. We just heard Mr. Burke speak here a while ago on a proposed history of the American Federation of Labor and I agree with what he said.

This book goes back to 1913 and 1914 when the southern part of that State was controlled by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the Rockefellers. Those who have read this book feel that it is a great contribution, because it shows the persecution of those people; it shows how the sheriff of the county was controlled, how the Governor was controlled, and how these people were practically owned by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. They owned the houses, they owned the stores where they bought their food; they controlled prices and the people were put out of their houses because they dared to stand up for their rights. The book relates how they dug into the earth in the cold winter months

and how their families, their wives and children were massacred by gun fire, firing the tents and colonies where they lived.

I would like to ask that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give some recognition to that and do what can be done to publicize this book and get it into the hands of the workers, so that they can get some real history of labor based on facts. I am sure there are many here, including the President of the American Federation of Labor, who recall those incidents very well, and I believe it is a contribution to labor.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: We will now interrupt the report of the Committee on Resolutions for the purpose of listening to what I know will be an inspiring address by Senator Mead. He comes to us this morning in response to a cordial invitation extended him to visit with us, to be our guest and to address the delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention.

Senator Mead has long been known as a progressive, forward-looking liberal member of the United States Senate. He has always put the human values above material values when considering the adoption of legislation. He represents a great State in the Senate of the United States, the great State of New York. He has ever been the champion of the civil service employees of the government. All of the members of these civil service organizations hold him in high regard and in high esteem. At the last session of Congress he championed legislation designed to promote the economic interests of civil service employees. He made a very wonderful contribution toward the passage of an Act which gave the civil service employees an increase in wages. We regard him as sympathetic and friendly to labor.

May I add to that this one fact: that he has just returned from the battlefields, where he met with members of the armed forces of our government. He, along with four or five other members of the United States Senate, saw just exactly what was going on, learned something about the economic and social conditions prevailing in Great Britain and in the United Nations. I hope he may find it possible to tell the story of his trip, a very inter-

esting story, to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

We are highly honored in having this distinguished Senator from the State of New York attend and address our convention this morning and I take pleasure in presenting to you Senator James M. Mead, of New York.

SENATOR MEAD U. S. Senator from New York State

Mr. President, officers and delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention, my fellow Americans: First of all I want to express my gratification for the very pleasant and enjoyable manner in which you oriented me this morning by designating my old friend Jim Quinn and three very able associates to usher me into your presence. Adamski, a neighbor of mine in Buffalo, brings back happy memories of those tangible protest meetings we held in the basement of his home, from the very beginning until we successfully terminated prohibition in this country. I thought that would be a little deep as the scene was laid in his cellar. And then Eddie Flore, who, with me was a member of the Board of Supervisors in Erie County back in 1913 and who as the leader of a fighting—though not very substantial minority—taught me lessons in civil, social and economic legislation. Then, of course, Leo George—he would have to be good to me after what President Green told you I had to do with the postal groups, and so this was a very excellent committee and I am happy to express my gratification to them—in the hope that perhaps they will take added interest in me, for I am going to be here quite some time.

As your President said, we just returned from a world trip. It was a wonderful world trip to me but because of its hazards and because of the strenuousness of the trip, I wouldn't take another world trip and make it again right away. We traveled over 40,000 miles in our own ship and about 5,000 in hitchhiking and cargo-ships. We were 188 hours in the air, which isn't unusual for a senator. At least that is what one wit said to me when I told him how long we were in the air, but I answered definitely that we were 53 days on the ground with both feet, and sometimes parallel with the ground, for occasionally we required considerable rest. It was 66 days in all when we returned to Washington.

Someone said we better get back or they would learn to get along without us, which would be bad for us.

Our committee was divided into several subcommittees. Senator Russell of Georgia represented the Appropriations Committee, Senator Brewster of Maine and myself represented the Truman Committee, Senator Lodge of this State and Senator Chandler of Kentucky, represented the Military Committee.

Our particular directive assigned to us the problem of investigating the quality and

quantity of material furnished to our armies and our Allies. It also requested that we inquire into manufacture abroad, the transportation and the distribution of materials manufactured or repaired or rehabilitated for our forces in the shops and factories throughout the world. We were interested, therefore, in looking into these shops and inquiring into the equipment that was repaired or produced and in taking notice of those who were employed there. We also, and this applies to me particularly, expressed deep concern with the comparative value and efficiency of workers in non-union, unorganized countries, and in the countries where organized labor was free to organize and to represent the workers as they do, for instance, not only in this country but in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand.

I had an excellent opportunity of comparing the workmanship, the effective and efficient productiveness of the men in organized countries, in competition with the men from unorganized countries. As one American contractor said to me in one of the remote sections of the world when I said to him, "Your contract price ought to be very reasonable, you only pay your workers about \$1.50 a week." He said, "I would sooner have a handful of New York building trades workers at \$1.50 an hour than a regiment of these fellows at \$1.50 a month."

If I were to leave with you my conclusions with reference to the ability and the efficiency of the workers, I would have to say, in my judgment, and any fair minded man would have to say, that where labor is organized, where it has an opportunity to develop that statesmanship of labor that we enjoy in this country, where pride in the worker is manifested wherever you find him, where the worker makes his contribution by reason of the fact his heart is in his work, there, in those organized labor countries, you will find the most efficient and the most effective and the most productive labor.

In the backward countries where labor is regimented or enslaved, where it has yet to reach the dignity of labor in this country, it is regrettably impoverished productivity, and wherever we visited we found the worker in these backward countries, in these unorganized countries, most inefficient when compared with the workers of America.

Another matter that I was deeply concerned with when I left and that I made up my mind I would inquire into, was these charges that emanate from so-called patriotic individuals that found fault with workmen in some one of our distant battlefronts—the question of refusal of workers to unload ships, the question of refusal of workers to work on docks, the letters that emanate—mythical letters as they were—from someone in the South Seas, complaining about the lack of production, the absenteeism throughout certain shops and factories in the United States. My conclusion is that these letters were all unwarranted and these charges were unfounded, and in every instance they were false. Admiral Halsey and Secretary Patterson and Under-Secretary of the Navy Fores-

tall have already given evidence of the falsity of these charges.

Our production is the world's best. Compared with any other country in the world, friend or foe, in the quality or quantity of our goods, we lead and all others follow. That has been proven, my friends, if you will just look at the record, for in 1942, in one month, we established what was then a record by producing in one month \$2,000,000,000 worth of equipment and material for the nation's war effort. But that record, as a result of constantly increasing efficiency of the American worker and American industry, has now reached the amazing, the astounding figure of \$7,000,000,000 worth in one month in 1943. And if the record continues, as graphs and figures indicate it will continue, we will produce \$10,000,000,000 worth of equipment and material in 1944.

Our equipment is on every allied front in the world. It is being shipped on every ocean, into nations that are joining with us in this gigantic conflict for human freedom and human decency. Every nation and every army in the world, fighting on our team, has American equipment and American goods to sustain them in battle.

Why, the production of 100,000 fighting planes is of itself an all-time record that even our most enthusiastic friends never supposed we would be able to attain, and yet when this year is over, the American workmen will send to the fighting fronts of the world and to the trading areas in our countries 100,000 fighting ships, a mighty armada strong in fighting power and certainly a determining factor in the winning of this war. This is a greater productivity by far, yes, by double, the combined productivities of our enemies.

The launching of 20,000,000 dead tons of shipping in America is better than all the world, friend and foe together. That ought to be the answer to the critics of American labor that we are doing our bit, that we are excelling even the fondest hopes of our friends.

They talk about strikes. I inquired into the matter of strikes in the countries through which we passed and from the representatives I met from other countries. Unfortunately, where labor is free you will hear of an occasional strike. But when they look at the record again they will find, as I find in a report from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, that in the entire year of 1942, the first full year after labor gave its no-strike pledge, strikes in America only represented six-tenths of one per cent, and even the common cold or the enforced absence, as the result of a punctured tire or breakdown of a trolley or bus, exceeded the loss resulting from strikes in this country. I want to commend the American Federation of Labor and your leader for the splendid cooperation you have given to the government.

Although it is unfortunate that we have strikes in any country fighting this war on our side, the fact that we have reduced them to an all-time record is complimentary of your leadership and of your loyalty and of your pledge. We found mistakes, unfortunate incidents happening here and there throughout

our investigation. The Truman Committee, in its exhaustive investigation extending over a period of years, found industrialists at fault, found the quality of the material they were using and selling to our government not up to standard. We found even in the Army itself reasons for setting up court martial proceedings. It all brings out the fact that we are human and that occasionally humans err, and when I talk to you about errors, unfortunately errors did occur in every human family and in every walk of life. We have been accused in the ranks of labor of making mistakes, but when I say to you that the findings of our committee have shown that even in the industrial and financial leadership of the country they have made mistakes, when I add to that that even in the ranks of the military mistakes have been made and court martial proceedings have been warranted, then I say that so far as we are concerned our mistakes have been smaller than they were by comparison with any other nation on earth, and we ought to be proud of the fact that we rate the standing of champions.

Talking about champions, I am reminded of the feat of the New York Yankees at St. Louis a few days ago. They are champions; they have a right to proclaim that they are the greatest aggregation of baseball players in all the world, and they have the tangible evidence in the pennant that will fly pridefully over Yankee Stadium. And yet if you look up the box scores you will find they made some errors, too.

Oh, yes, errors are faults that not only beset the human family, but activate us to better and greater efforts and to the attainment of that perfection that the leadership and the statesmanship and the very foundation principles of organized labor set for us as our aim and as our goal.

I have here the production figures furnished me by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and they are astounding. Taking November, 1943, as a norm of 100 per cent, they have steadily risen month after month and year after year, and we find the figures jumping from 100 to 200, from 200 to 300, to 400, to 500, to 593, and in August of this year they reached that all-high figure of 613 per cent, or 500 per cent over what was 100 per cent in November of 1941. And if there are any pennants to be given out to the workers of the world, there is, in my judgment, a pennant due the workers of America.

Now, something about the conduct of the war. That is something that is close to the hearts and to the souls of all the people of America and of the world. Faith and confidence in leadership is one of the essentials to victory. In times of crises like these, weak men are removed from the political stage and they give way to strong, intelligent, dynamic political leadership. The nation that has confidence and faith in its leadership is indeed a favored nation in times like these.

War is the biggest job on earth. We either win the war or we lose everything. We win the war and we go on to the true destiny of man, where he will not only be free, where his economic condition will not only be im-

proved, but where he will have opportunity to avoid the impoverishment and the discrimination and all the rest of the difficulties that now beset him.

You who represent the American Federation of Labor throughout the country, and all the rest of labor can take pride in the fact that you are not only furnishing an overwhelming volume of goods and material, but you are also furnishing us—and the figures will prove it, the figures to be found in every shop and factory and on every railroad and mine in America—your full share of your own flesh and blood. They are to be found in every foxhole, on every battlefield, on every ship above the sea, on the sea and under the sea—wherever you go you find the youth of labor making their contribution in sweat and in blood to the war effort.

The strategy of the war, something that was beyond the pale of the Truman Committee, but something that I as an individual because of the essential necessity of faith and confidence and because it is my patriotic duty, feel that I should report on that subject to you. The over-all strategy of the United Nations is in good hands. It is correct. It has proven itself superb, if you will but analyze the record.

In 1942, and that is only a short time ago, Hitler pronounced his three-point program for victory for the Axis. And how close he came to putting over the three points caused us much apprehension and anxiety. His U-boat fight in the Atlantic, sinking more tonnage than we were able to construct, menacing our shores, on the Atlantic and on the Gulf, sinking more tanks and planes and guns than we could afford to lose—it looked as though it was going to be a success.

Severing the continent of Africa from the cause of the United Nations was the second point in his program, and how close, how close, and how apprehensive we were when Rommel was pounding at the gates of Cairo, at the very doors of Alexandria, and in that great conflict at El Alamein, we endured sleepless nights awaiting the fate of Montgomery and his Army Corps.

Fighting oil is the essential for victory and he who controlled the oil had the upper hand of those who were without it or those who had to transport it thousands of miles to the battle fields. Hitler's third point was to take the oil fields in the Caucasus, and he massed all of the finest forces including his Panzer divisions and his Stuka dive bombers in that area. And who was it that was sure the Russians could hold Stalingrad? Who was it that believed Hitler, at the beginning of the fight for the oil fields of the Caucasus would not win his third point? Military experts throughout the world were amazed and astounded at the indomitable matchless record of the Russians at Stalingrad and in the Caucasus, and we are proud of their great military performance.

It was of course necessary and it has proven to be correct, that the over-all board of strategy for the United Nations, with the consequences of victory for Hitler in mind with his three-point program, should have emphasis by giving top ranking to the Euro-

pean theater in 1942. The wisdom of that course has asserted itself, because today we are building infinitely more tonnage than all the Hitler submarines can destroy. The sea lanes of the Atlantic are safer for American men and American materials now. The Mediterranean once his lake, now becomes our sea. The French Navy and the Italian Navy, potential enemies and real enemies, if you will—in one case in 1942—are fighting on our team today. The perilous trip around the Horn of South Africa, using endless days and thousands of miles is no longer necessary to get our materials into the Mediterranean and into the Russian ports of embarkation and debarkation. Africa is our continent, with all of her productivity. She is working on our side today. All of the big nations as well as the little nations that were held in the conflict by President Roosevelt's United Nations set-up which stopped Hitler from knocking them out one at a time, and his Lend-Lease Program that gave to the little nations of the world the opportunity to fight, also makes it possible now to the very fullest degree for them to bring their cargo ships and their merchant ship to fuller despatch over shorter courses, carrying our goods.

And so, my friends, the strategy has proven itself correct, and although not a member of the Military Affairs Committee, I want to say to you what I said in Washington and what I will continue to say as long as the controversy lasts: Hitler's three-point program has been a failure. He has lost the initiative in every battle field of the world. He is now on the defensive and he is drawing in to a smaller and more restricted area. And our strategy has proven that while he planned well he failed to consider America's productive power; he failed to consider the toughness and the might of America's military forces, the best army in the world today, in my judgment; and he failed to consider—and this I leave with you because of the emphasis I placed on confidence and faith in leadership—he failed to consider the wisdom, the foresight and the leadership of the man given to us by Divine Providence, the Commander-in-Chief of our Army and Navy the most powerful and the most popular political leader in the world, President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

(At the conclusion of Senator Mead's speech the delegates arose and applauded.)

President Green: You delegates in attendance at this convention have expressed your deep appreciation of the visit of Senator Mead and of the address which he delivered in a most impressive and definite way. I ask Senator Mead to accept this demonstration of your appreciation following the delivery of his address as the answer of the American Federation of Labor to the invitation extended to you to attend this convention. You may be sure that you will go from here clearly understanding that the delegates of this convention wanted you to come here.

They wanted to meet you, they wanted to hear your address, and I thank you for them, for your visit and for your inspiring address.

Announcement

While it is on my mind I desire to announce a meeting of the Executive Council in the Hancock room on the mezzanine floor immediately after the adjournment of the morning session. I ask that the members of the Executive Council please take note of this announcement.

It seems appropriate for me to present to you for just a bow and a word one who occupies, perhaps, a greater place in our hearts and in our affections than any man connected with our movement. He is a man we love and love dearly. He has been sitting here on the platform at every session of this convention. He has manifested his deep interest, the interest he always held in the American Federation of Labor by coming here to this convention early and by attending without interruption every session of this convention. He has been sitting beside me here on the stage.

I refer to our beloved friend, a revered member of the American Federation of Labor, Frank Morrison.

Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus Frank Morrison

Mr. President, Secretary-Treasurer Meany and delegates: It is a great privilege and pleasure to attend this 63rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Forty-seven of them I have attended in person. I want to add my appreciation of the many things accomplished by the American Federation of Labor and consider the achievements of the Federation during the war period as well as what it has done to hold fast to the principles and the human and legal rights for which it has stood firmly since its organization. Above and beyond all, I want to direct your attention to the remarkable change in the minds of our people, from a position to favoring the principles which have been advocated so many years by trade unionists.

The House of Representatives of the United States adopted by an almost unanimous vote

a concurrent resolution expressing itself as favoring the creation of adequate international machinery with power to advocate and maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favoring the United States to be part of the machinery. The Congress has also adopted a resolution in favor of workers who are unemployed during the periods between the change from war to a peace time basis. These resolutions indicate the interests of the House and Senate in eliminating unemployment.

May the sentiment in favor of relief for the unemployment continue, bearing in mind the slogan of the American Federation of Labor, "Reducing the hours increases the pay." I would ask you to keep in mind that thought, because I feel that out of the turmoil and struggle that we are going through, that unemployment will be eliminated and our people will be able to live happy and contented lives. I thank you.

President Green: Thank you, Brother Morrison, for your visit here and for your address.

Now we will resume the regular order of business. The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

UNITED MINE WORKERS APPLICATION FOR RE-AFFILIATION

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 41 & 42 and Resolutions Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, 75 and 87)

The resolutions are as follows:

United Mine Workers' Application for Reaffiliation

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate John J. Hurst, Central Labor Union, Cincinnati, O'ho.

WHEREAS, The United Mine Workers have requested re-affiliation in the American Federation of Labor, and it has been the desire of the American Federation of Labor to welcome back to the house of labor those groups that seceded from us several years ago, and

WHEREAS, Since the United Mine Workers seceded that organization has done two things that concern the workers within our fold. First, it has caused much resentment among the citizens and the armed forces of our country by withdrawing its members from the mines of our country while our nation is at war; and second, it has created a dual union as auxiliary to itself and has accepted into its charter thousands of workers that come within the jurisdiction of many of our National and International Unions; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the United Mine Workers adjust their present difficulty with the government and agree to conform with the no-strike for the war duration policy of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That satisfactory understandings be reached with National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor regarding any associated union under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers, whose workers cross jurisdictional lines established and recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

United Mine Workers' Application for Reaffiliation

Resolution No. 38—By Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly, Peoria, Illinois.

WHEREAS, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, is seeking readmittance to the American Federation of Labor, which proposition will be considered at the Boston A. F. of L. Convention, and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion of this body in regular assembly that John L. Lewis has been one of the worst enemies of organized labor; that because of him and his actions, anti-labor laws, both nationally and in states throughout the nation, have been passed and these laws are restrictions on labor and have taken away the rights labor has cherished for years, and

WHEREAS, The Constitution and By-Laws of the American Federation of Labor definitely and clearly states that no charter will be granted to any group which charter would conflict or interfere with the field of endeavor or jurisdiction of a previously affiliated union, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this body duly assembled in regular session go on record opposing the readmittance and the rechartering of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers of America, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to enforce its constitution and by-laws in this respect.

United Mine Workers' Application for Reaffiliation

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Robert E. Woodmansee, Federation of Labor, Springfield, Illinois.

WHEREAS, John L. Lewis seeks readmittance to the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned John L. Lewis has conclusively demonstrated himself to be the great disorganizer, the direct cause of the enactment into law of the Smith-Connally Bill, and a renegade whose actions have blackened the whole cause of organized labor in the eyes of the public, and

WHEREAS, The Progressive Mine Workers of America has been and is duly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and has always conformed to the rules, regulations and by-laws of the Federation, thereby earning the good will and fullest consideration of the parent body and its entire membership, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the good and loyal service of the Progressive Mine Workers of America, its officers and its membership at large entitles it to due and proper consideration as the only legally constituted miners' affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, and that the readmittance of John L. Lewis into the American Federation of Labor under any terms whatsoever would be counter to the best interests of organized labor, and of the American Federation of Labor.

United Mine Workers' Application for Reaffiliation

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Ted Williams, Birmingham Trades Council, Birmingham, Alabama.

WHEREAS, John L. Lewis has applied to the American Federation of Labor for affiliation of United Mine Workers, and

WHEREAS, John L. Lewis has violated Labor's "no-strike" pledge to the nation in time of war and has utilized his position as head of UMWA to interrupt production of coal and other vital war materials, and

WHEREAS, Lewis is carrying on an unprincipled campaign against our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, which is helpful to the enemies of our country and harmful to the war effort, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we deem his application to be a political move, in which he seeks to secure the support of 6,000,000 A. F. of L. members for his rebellious attitude toward the government, President Roosevelt and the Government's anti-inflation machinery; and to bolster his weak position, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we consider Lewis' recent actions as directly responsible for the development of much anti-labor sentiment among the people, resulting in enactment of the Smith-Connally Act in Washington, and anti-labor legislation in Montgomery, Alabama and elsewhere, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we recognize the necessity of a united labor movement and welcome every step toward genuine unity, provided it is unity behind our President for victory over the Axis; and under normal circumstances we would welcome the coal miners into the A. F. of L., feeling a deep sympathy for their situation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention in Boston, Massachusetts in October, 1943, reject the UMWA application for affiliation until such time as John L. Lewis is not its leader.

United Mine Workers' Application for Reaffiliation

Resolution No. 75—By Pekin Trades and Labor Assembly, Pekin, Illinois.

WHEREAS, John L. Lewis seeks readmittance to the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned John L. Lewis has conclusively demonstrated himself to be the great disorganizer, the direct cause of the enactment into law of the Smith-Connally Bill, and a renegade whose actions have blackened the whole cause of organized labor in the eyes of the general public, and

WHEREAS, The Progressive Mine Workers of America has been and is duly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and has always conformed to the rules, regulations and By-laws of the Federation, thereby earning the goodwill and fullest consideration of the parent body and its entire membership, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the good and loyal service of the Progressive Mine Workers of America, its officers and its membership at large, entitles it to due and proper consideration as the only legally constituted miners' affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, and that the readmittance of John L. Lewis into the American Federation of Labor—under any terms whatsoever—would be counter to the best interests of organized labor, and of the American Federation of Labor.

Application of United Mine Workers for Reaffiliation

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor at its 61st annual convention held in Springfield, Illinois, September 20-25, 1943, adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in its efforts to promote a full degree of desirable harmony in the organized labor movement of the United States, has, through its representatives, discussed the subject with representatives of the C.I.O. and the U.M.W. of A., and, according to public reports, will probably give attention at its forthcoming convention to the announced application of the U.M.W. of A. for reaffiliation; and

"WHEREAS, During the trying times of division in the American labor movement, the Progressive Mine Workers of America became a part of and, under most difficult circumstances, has remained loyal to the American Federation of Labor and to its principles and policies, and to the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and

"WHEREAS, It appears to the Illinois State Federation of Labor that in any arrangement made for the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers all concerned are morally bound to give due respect to the constitutional rights of the Progressive Mine Workers, therefore be it

"RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor (the official State branch of the American Federation of Labor) assembled in its sixty-first annual Convention, in the city of Springfield, Illinois, after careful deliberation, that it does hereby respectfully urge upon the American Federation of Labor that, before any arrangements are made to readmit the U.M.W. of A., provisions must be made whereby the integrity of the organization of the Progressive Mine Workers shall be fully safeguarded until such time as the mine workers themselves may decide their own future relationships by mutually satisfactory agreement, and be it further

"RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, as aforesaid, that due care must also be exercised to avoid complications that may arise because of the peculiar character of the so-called District No. 50 of the U.M.W. of A., as relating to the rights of various affiliated unions, and further

"RESOLVED, That the views herein expressed be transmitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor by the delegate representing the Illinois State Federation of Labor at that convention", therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the convention of the American Federation of Labor that the views set forth by the Illinois State Federation of Labor as aforesaid be given fullest consideration with a view to safeguarding the interests of the Progressive Miners organization in connection with any arrangements that may be made for the reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers.

Your committee has carefully considered Resolutions Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, 75 and 87 in connection with the report of the Executive Council on the subject of "United Mine Workers Application for Reaffiliation."

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the several resolutions referred to, and in lieu thereof submits the following:

The Executive Council in its report on this subject refers the application of the United Mine Workers of America for reaffiliation to this convention without comment or recommendation. We can readily appreciate the difficulties experienced by the Executive Council in reaching this decision; nevertheless, we cordially welcome this application of the United Mine Workers for reaffiliation. We interpret this as a favorable response to the invitation so often extended by the Federation for the return of those formerly associated with us. We sincerely hope that this application for reaffiliation, and the action to be taken upon it, will lead others unaffiliated to follow a like procedure.

While your committee experienced like difficulties encountered by the Executive Council in finding it impossible to recommend acceptance of the tender of reaffiliation under conditions proposed or submitted by the United Mine Workers of America, and as set forth in the Executive Council's report, nevertheless, we are of the opinion that the progress thus far made presents the possibility and opportunity for the early reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers of America and under terms and conditions compatible with our laws and requirements and in keeping with the spirit of equity and fairness to all concerned.

We are fully aware of difficulties yet to be overcome, nevertheless, we are confident that obstacles encountered can be overcome by the process of further conference and negotiations.

Your committee therefore recommends that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to continue negotiations with the

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

United Mine Workers of America and in so doing be guided by the suggestion and direction that affiliated national and international unions having experienced a disregard of or transgression upon their recognized jurisdiction by the United Mine Workers of America, file with the officers of the Federation a statement of their complaint without delay and not later than thirty days following the adjournment of this convention, together with supporting evidence of the complaint filed; that as soon as possible thereafter the Executive Council arrange for conferences between the officers or representatives of complaining national or international unions and the United Mine Workers of America, or take up such questions through the committee of the Federation, for the purpose of adjusting such complaints and righting such infractions as may be alleged and found to be valid by the Executive Council; that arrangements be made for like procedure, conference or negotiation between the United Mine Workers of America and the Progressive Miners and for similar purposes, and that above all else, that (the Executive Council be empowered with full and complete authority vested in the convention itself, to determine and dispose of whatever issues may have failed of adjustment within a reasonable time, and by the processes herein before recommended, and to take such additional action as may be necessary to the end that an early reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers can be had on a basis in keeping with the traditions, conditions and requirements of the Federation, and as may be determined by the Executive Council). Your committee trusts that these negotiations will be carried on in the spirit of mutual helpfulness and unity and with expedition.

Secretary Frey: I move the adoption of the committee's report.

Committee Chairman Woll: I second the motion.

President Green: It is regularly moved and seconded that the report of the committee just submitted to the convention be adopted. Are there remarks? The Chair recognizes Delegate Lloyd A. Thrush, President of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Delegate Thrush, Progressive Mine Workers of America: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention, I am identified as a repre-

sentative and President of the Progressive Mine Workers of America affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I rise at this time to oppose the re-admission of the United Mine Workers of America to the American Federation of Labor, but first so that none of you will be deceived, I want to inform you that I am no orator. I am speaking to you as a coal miner, as a trade unionist; I am speaking to you in behalf of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

I do not intend to speak untruths nor do I intend to speak of facts that never happened. I intend to speak on plain facts, and facts alone. I speak to you as a lover of liberty and a despiser of dictatorships in any of their forms. I speak to you not only as a representative of the Progressive Mine Workers of America, but I speak to you in the name of the American Federation of Labor.

There are only two isms that I am interested in today, namely, Americanism and unionism.

Fellow delegates, it has been said that when a principle is at stake, compromise is fatal. Let me repeat that to you for just a moment: When a principle is at stake compromise is fatal.

One of the delegates who has had the courage so far to speak his sentiments on this floor has pointed out that there is a principle at stake. Therefore, the International Union of Progressive Mine Workers of America are opposed to the granting of the present application of the United Mine Workers of America for readmission to the American Federation of Labor, with jurisdiction and authority to represent and to organize the coal miners on this North American Continent, and for the reason that the Progressive Mine Workers of America now hold a charter granted by the American Federation of Labor on April 28, 1938.

This charter grants jurisdiction to represent and organize all workmen eligible for membership employed in and around coal mines, coal washers, coal processing plants and coke ovens in the United States or on this American continent or, in other words, all and complete jurisdiction as a labor organization of all workers in and around coal mines in this great United States of America.

Fellow delegates, this is the same jurisdiction that was formerly held by the United Mine Workers of America previous to their

voluntary withdrawal from the American Federation of Labor in 1936, followed by the revocation of their charter by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, after all opportunity had been given to the United Mine Workers of America to continue their affiliation.

At the time the International charter was granted to the Progressive Mine Workers of America by the Executive Council, the jurisdiction of our organization was clearly emphasized and understood without any qualification or limitations whatever being attached to either their jurisdiction or to their charter, and this is evidenced by a letter of notification under date of April 30, 1938 and by a letter dated September 9th, 1938, and I quote therefrom.

The letter of April 30, 1938, addressed to the President of the International Union of Progressive Mine Workers of America:

"In conformity with custom and procedure followed by the American Federation of Labor, I am sending you this official communication to advise you that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor authorized the issuance of a charter for an international union of mine workers as requested in your letter of October 13, 1937. This action of the Executive Council was taken on April 28, 1938, at one of the sessions of the meeting which is now being held in this city.

"The Executive Council designated the name, International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America, as the title for the new mine workers organization.

"I congratulate you, your associate officers, and all connected with the new International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America, upon the formation of this new international mine workers union, upon the honor which has been conferred upon you and your associates to lead the new movements and I wish for you each and all, a full measure of success.

"The jurisdiction of the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America, as defined by the Executive Council, covers the jurisdiction heretofore held by the United Mine Workers of America, which is as follows:

All workmen eligible for membership employed in and around coal mines, coal washers, coal processing plants, and coke ovens on the American Continent.

"May I suggest that in order to inspire full respect for this jurisdiction granted your international union by the Executive Council that you and your associates wholeheartedly and sincerely recognize and respect the jurisdiction of all other national and international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The pursuit of such a policy will mean cooperation on the part of all

and the extension of help and assistance when circumstances require and conditions demand.

"Your International Union is now a part of the American Federation of Labor. It is one of 101 national and international unions chartered by and in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. All national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local organizations of the American Federation of Labor will be asked to extend to you and your associates a full measure of cooperation and support.

"Extending to you my best wishes and kind personal regards I beg to remain, fraternally yours."

I will now quote a letter dated September 9, 1938:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued a charter a short time ago to the Progressive Mine Workers of America giving that organization jurisdiction over those employed in and around the coal mines of the nation. We recognize the right of the Progressive Mine Workers of America to exercise this jurisdiction over those employed in the coal mining industry of the country. This action means—and I want you delegates to get this—that the miners of the nation will be accorded an opportunity to become free men and to substitute election of local and district officers for a policy which provided for the appointment of said officers. Furthermore, it will accord local unions and local officers the right and authority to handle their own finances, to pay their per capita tax and dues direct and to place in their local treasury such amounts of dues and initiation fees collected as may properly belong to the local union itself. This democratic mode of procedure will be a substitute for a plan now in effect in many mining fields which provides that the coal operator check off the dues and instead of turning it over to local officers send it direct to the district appointed representatives of the head of the Mine Workers' organization. Your program will provide for the substitution of democracy and democratic rule for autocracy and autocratic control."

This is the evidence which we have to submit as part of our case to this convention of delegates who are representing this great American Federation of Labor.

Under that charter the International Union of Progressive Mine Workers of America assumed its rightful place with the family of unions in the American Federation of Labor, and from that day until this our organization has met its every obligation in good faith and provided for by the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Many of you delegates, or all of you delegates have a constitution, and I might suggest that you turn to page 26. In this constitution it is provided in Section 11 of Article 9 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and I quote:

"No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions."

The present application, delegates, is an application for the granting of the same jurisdiction as is now held by the Progressive Mine Workers of America. To grant this application would constitute a clear trespass upon the jurisdiction now held by us by virtue of our charter granted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The language of section 11 is clear and positive and the Progressive Mine Workers of America have not granted in any way a right to infringe upon the jurisdiction now validly, rightfully and completely held by our organization.

It was not until 1938, after the United Mine Workers had withdrawn from the American Federation of Labor and set up their dual organizations to raid each and every one of our organizations, beat and kill the members of your organization—and after their charter had been revoked by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and after every opportunity had been given to them to continue their affiliation with the Federation that a charter was granted to the Progressive Mine Workers of America. This was true regardless of the fact that the Progressive Mine Workers of America were desirous of affiliation with the Federation prior to 1938, as was evidenced by the members voting in an election and the first opportunity to express themselves, by more than 8 to 1. It was necessary, fellow delegates, for the charter of the United Mine Workers of America to be revoked for cause before the Progressive Mine Workers of America could be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Then, by that same sound reasoning, it should be necessary to revoke the charter granted to the Progressive Mine Workers of America before the present application could be granted and, we submit now that there exists no cause for revocation.

In view of the fact that the Progressive Mine Workers of America has met its every obligation in good faith since the issuance of its charter, there can be no justification for any possible action on the part of the Federation to either revoke our charter or to grant

the application of the United Mine Workers of America. For the Federation to take such action against our organization would certainly and absolutely be outside of the realm of sound reasoning and definitely not in accordance with the laws of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

To grant this charter would constitute an open violation without regard or without respect for the legal rights and good standing of the Progressive Mine Workers of America. There is no more legal right on the part of the American Federation of Labor to grant the present application of the United Mine Workers of America than there would be to grant new charters to new International Unions of which each and every one of you are identified with at this time. If this application were granted it would throw open the doors to future disruption and dual unionism for all time to come within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, and certainly none of you want that.

May I refer briefly to the formation of the Progressive Mine Workers of America? The Progressive Mine Workers of America was formed, named and chartered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on April 28, 1938. In the formation of this Union many true and loyal members have sacrificed their employment and their homes. Yes, they have sacrificed their employment and their homes, but that is not all of it, my fellow workers. Twenty-one persons paid with their lives while fighting, while many more were sent to the prisons of this country. They were fighting to establish the American way of life—the way of life of good trade unionists. These labor friends and martyrs fought and died for freedom, freedom against economic enslavement and the tyranny of industrial and union dictatorship just as thousands of fine upstanding American boys are now fighting and dying for freedom in this gigantic struggle against powerful forces of the aggressor nations. The Progressive Mine Workers of America became what they are today because they had the courage to fight for a great American principle, and they knew how to fight for their rights.

The Progressive Mine Workers Organization came into existence because of the injustices of the United Mine Workers Organization officials towards the workers in the coal mines, because of the failure of that organization to properly represent the coal

miners, and because of the repeated selling of the coal miners down the river by John L. Lewis and his provisional appointed officers, because of the denial of the rights of suffrage and democratic unionism, in the coal fields, and last, but not least, the straw that broke the camel's back, directly because of the stealing and the destruction of the ballots and the returns of an election of the coal miners of Illinois, which theft was not only connived in but actually planned by the officials of the United Mine Workers of America.

The Progressive Mine Workers of America is a democratic and a patriotic union. The Progressive Mine Workers of America was the only coal miners' organization that adhered strictly to the no-strike pledge given by the American Federation of Labor to the government of these United States, while the organization now seeking affiliation ignored this policy when the nation was at its most critical moment, let their members come out on strike and caused loss of production and failed to cooperate in the nation's critical need of vital materials of war which were then necessary and are still necessary for the preservation of this country which you and I love so well.

As each of you knows, it was the action of one man, with the help and aid of some labor hating Congressmen in the United States of America, that was responsible for the enactment of the vicious Smith-Connally Bill, one of the most detrimental pieces of legislation ever passed against labor. Surely the American Federation of Labor cannot carry out its announced intentions of working to defeat all Congressmen who voted in favor of the Smith-Connally Bill in one breath, and taking in under their arm the very same man or his group that caused the enactment of that bill.

The American Federation of Labor does not owe its eminence as a labor organization at the present time to anyone except the American Federation of Labor itself. The United Mine Workers of America withdrew from membership in the Federation. They not only withdrew from membership in this Federation but they were the prime instigators of the rival organization No. 1, the CIO, who bitterly fought every activity of the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliated unions. He tried to influence and did influence other unions and other union men to withdraw their support from the American Federation of

Labor and join the ranks of the CIO, and if he had been able to accomplish his desires you would not have been here today thinking over his application for reaffiliation in the American Federation of Labor. If he could have had his wishes there would have been no more American Federation of Labor today, you would have been destroyed, you would have been absorbed by the CIO, so that John L. Lewis could then have been the dictator over the American labor movement, which he has been trying to do ever since he has become known as a labor leader in this country. It is the same old story—rule or ruin—and with this applicant it has actually been rule and ruin, because he has ruined and will ruin any labor organization that he is in, and if affiliated with the American Federation of Labor he will again, when the action suits him, attempt to ruin it just as surely as we are sitting in this hall today.

The Progressive Mine Workers of America do not oppose the readmission of the individual members of the United Mine Workers of America into membership in the American Federation of Labor. We are glad to welcome the membership of the United Mine Workers to membership in this, the only democratic coal miners union in America.

I believe that the proper procedure for the affiliation of all of the Union coal miners with the American Federation of Labor is for the Executive Council to invite the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America to the American Federation of Labor through the Progressive Mine Workers of America, where the doors are open for them, and that procedure will automatically place the coal miners in the American Federation of Labor, under an already duly authorized and constituted charter issued to the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

To grant this application would certainly constitute an act of sabotage against an affiliated union. To grant this application would be contrary to all practices, laws, regulations and the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, because as I have stated, the Progressive Mine Workers of America have declined to give any written consent or otherwise to trespass on the jurisdiction of our organization, and therefore we will resist any such effort with any measure at our command.

If this Boston Convention were to approve the United Mine Workers' application, it would

certainly deal to the Progressive mine workers of America not only a body blow but a real stab in the back and also a most damaging blow to the American Federation of Labor itself, an organization professing to believe in justice and democratic principles for labor unions.

We cannot believe that this convention would be influenced by an application which would bring into the American Federation of Labor another organization merely because of numbers or increased dues, and turn out its own chartered union without a blemish against it. We cannot believe that this delegation, after having given this applicant all the opportunity in the world to stay in the Federation, after he has done everything he can to destroy your organization, will allow this individual to come back into the organization.

We do not believe and we hope that the delegates will not allow their names to be disparaged and have it recorded in the history of labor that you kicked out of the American Federation of Labor one of your own organizations and took in another organization just because they had a few more members and possibly a few more dollars.

In conclusion, my friends, I am not speaking to you only in behalf of the Progressive Mine Workers of America. I would be remiss in my duty if I did not read to you another letter which I received yesterday from Nesquehoning, Pennsylvania, to show you that the Mine Workers of this country are about to get out from under the dictatorship of John L. Lewis if at all possible. I am going to delete the name of the sender of this letter but I will turn it over to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The reason I am deleting this name is because I know what will happen to this individual, who is living in Pennsylvania in the land of the free and the home of the brave, if the United Mine Workers of America knew he wrote this kind of a letter to this convention, and each and every one of you would know what would happen. This is addressed to myself and I quote:

"The Victory Committee which is composed of anthracite miners in District No. 7 Pennsylvania send greetings and good wishes to the convention in general. We as a body wish to inform the convention that the United Mine Workers of America are not up for sale to the

highest bidder. From the past experience with John L. Lewis, we have come to realize that from now on the rank and file of our organization shall have a voice and a vote as to our future destiny. John L. Lewis has failed the United Mine Workers of America as a leader during his term of office. He has failed to achieve or accomplish any results where the miners would benefit. According to the latest report of the local press John L. Lewis' annual income for himself and in in-laws amounts to \$111,000 a year, while the miners suffering with asthma have had no future security. He has failed during his term of office to build a hospital or sanitarium to help miners suffering now with miner's asthma. He stands today reaping the glory from other men's deeds. Whatever he builds he finally destroys if his dictatorial orders are not counter-manded.

"We hope and trust that this letter will be read before the convention and our advice accepted before you make any false move and if John L. Lewis is accepted into the American Federation of Labor, regrets will be bound to come later."

I read that at the request of the Miners who are laboring in the other coal fields in the United States.

In conclusion, fellow delegates, I would like to refer back to the letter of April 30, 1938, and I only wish to read one paragraph:

"May I suggest that in order to inspire full respect for this jurisdiction granted your International Union by the Executive Council that you and your associates whole-heartedly and sincerely recognize and respect the jurisdiction of all other National and International Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The pursuit of such a policy will mean cooperation on the part of all and the extension of help and assistance when circumstances require and conditions demand".

Circumstances require and conditions demand your help and assistance at this particular time, fellow workers. A principle is at stake, a principle for which the American Federation of Labor has always stood is at stake, and I am satisfied, I am confident that the Executive Council will see that the rights and the protection under the law will be given the Progressive Mine Workers of America. I have given you some food for thought.

First, the Progressive Mine Workers of America is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Second, to grant this application would constitute a clear trespass on the jurisdiction held by the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Third, it would be in violation on the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor to grant such application without written consent of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Fourth, that the Progressive Mine Workers of America are the ones who are to say because we know what is going on in our organization, we understand coal mining, we know the conditions that exist, we are the ones who are to be called in on any conference, if there is any conference; and if there is to be any peace made we are the ones to make the peace. It is not supposed to be someone else who knows nothing about the industry or the grievances which the miners have at the present time.

Fellow delegates, I wish to thank you for the opportunity to come before you and to explain the stand of the Progressive Mine Workers of America on this question. We are not going to relinquish our rights as an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. We are going to fight and fight like hell to maintain those rights.

President Green: The Chair will recognize Delegate Lazzari, of the Pittsburgh Central Trades Council.

Delegate Lazzari, Pittsburgh Central Trades Council: Mr. President and members of the Executive Council: This is my first time in a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and it behooves me to salute the old-timers and leaders of the Federation for their excellent work in building this edifice of ours and in pledging that we of the younger generation will continue their work, safeguarding the interests and the prestige of the American Federation of Labor, the apple of our eye.

Coming as I do from the smoky city of Pittsburgh, the clouds of which are covered daily with muck, I know that under and behind this muck, stand the mills and factories where thousands and thousands of American working men and women are determined to produce in great quantities the implements of war and to place them at the disposal of our boys and our Allies. Behind the smoke

stands the city of Pittsburgh, known as the Arsenal of Democracy.

However, here under the clear skies of historic Boston a peculiar kind of smoke, a smoke alien to the interests of labor, alien to our national interests has invaded our convention. Under and behind this smoke we can see the Lewis-Smith-Connally Axis and their satellites. Under and behind this smoke we can see the "Hate-Roosevelt" gang of America-Firsters. Under and behind this smoke, in the words of Judge Padway, we can see the hand of naked Fascism.

Men of labor, men of America, our Republic is going through a historic and most decisive struggle. A great President, a great leader, a great statesman is marching shoulder to shoulder with our friends and our allies against the most brutal forces of Fascism, the arch-enemies of organized labor.

The American Federation of Labor under the wise, realistic leadership of President Green, recognizing this smoke for what it is, recognizing the war as labor's special privilege, as labor's war, has pledged that there shall be no strikes or interruptions for the duration because labor cannot fight this war with one hand and strike against itself with the other.

But one John L. Lewis, the President of the United Mine Workers of America, has chosen to take a leaf not from our national interests, not from the procedure of labor and its interests but from one Adolph Schickelgruber, who also exploited the injustices imposed on the people by the Treaty of Versailles, and the super-duper Nazis thought they were not going to have anything to fear from that Treaty. John L. Lewis also exploited the just interests, the just demands of the poor miners. He has not changed. John L. Lewis, at the time the miners asked for wage increases early in the year, came out in a public statement and told the American people that he gave his word that there should be no strikes, and he was going to move heaven and earth to see that the miners' demands would be satisfied within the framework of our great United States agency known as the War Labor Board. No. John L. Lewis did not do that. He acted according to plan. He tried to poison the minds of organized labor. He fought against President Roosevelt, the father of labor, if you please, and he tried to do this thing according to plan.

But the old saying is as good today as ever: "He who digs other people's graves usually falls in himself."

Let me for a moment talk about the United Mine Workers of America. I want to say to the mine workers, you brave men who go down into the bowels of the earth and bring out this coal to win this war, you who have mustered sufficient strength in the past to wipe out the spy and blacklist system of your employers, you must at this time muster sufficient strength and take a leaf from the Italian people, who for twenty years were under the brutal rule of Fascism, and they finally found a way to march with their heads and shoulders into the camp of the United Nations. You, too, must find sufficient strength to come into the American Federation of Labor without your King Lewis.

Let me address myself to you, my colleagues and my friends and fellow trade unionists. We also have a responsibility today. We are meeting in a very critical period. We are meeting in a period that tries men's souls. We are meeting in a period when the entire world is looking upon us, and the issue is a clear-cut issue. There are no ifs or ands or buts about it. Either we dishonor the prestige of the American Federation of Labor by admitting Lewis, or we will honor what the American Federation of Labor has done here all this week by rejecting John L. Lewis.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you very much for this opportunity which you have afforded me, but I want to assure you that these are not only my sentiments, they are the sentiments of hundreds of people I have talked to. I know you have been here on the ground, too, and I hope that when this question comes up, you will please think and continue to think that you have closed the door to Lewis and opened the door to the United Mine Workers of America.

I thank you.

Delegate Fletcher, Building Service Employees: Mr. President and delegates, I am going to try to stay to the motion, and I wish to compliment the Executive Council on its ability to write a clever resolution and a motion. No union man can oppose this motion of the Executive Council. We want the miners back. All union men want the miners back in the American Federation of La-

bor, and the resolution says nothing about John L. Lewis.

I am a little bit disappointed, Mr. President and delegates. I have come four thousand miles in crowded trains and sometimes without enough to eat, in order that I might stand up and be counted as voting against John L. Lewis, and I see now that I can't. I say to you, delegates and the Executive Council, you have my entire sympathy, the Executive Council, in handling this hot potato. I sympathize with all of you and may God bless you, that you don't commit an error like that which was committed by Deladier and Chamberlain at Munich.

I can forgive John L. Lewis a lot of things. I can forgive John L. Lewis for the crime of disrupting the American labor movement, and I can forgive John L. Lewis for his private war with the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and, by a little persuasion, I could be persuaded to forgive John L. Lewis for punching Bill Hutcheson in the nose at Atlantic City. And I believe if my good friend, Harvey Brown, would request it at this time, I would forgive John L. Lewis.

But, brothers, I cannot forgive John L. Lewis for stabbing in the back the boys in the foxholes all over the world, the American soldiers, when he shut down the coal mines. I just can't do it.

About eighty per cent of my Union are old ladies with calluses on their hands from scrubbing buildings and the hotels that we occupy, and they have boys in the armed services. They talk to me because I have not yet risen so high that my membership does not tell me their feelings. I know their sentiment toward this man, John L. Lewis. I know the sentiments of the boys, about five hundred of them in my union who are in the service, in the foxholes, fighting Hitler all over the world and fighting the slant-eyed Japs. I know how they feel, and I was in hopes that I would be able to go on record here against this Little Fuehrer, or big beetle-browed Fuehrer of America, John L. Lewis.

I know how he runs his unions on the Coast. They are dictators, they have no democracy.

But I do concur in the report of the Executive Council. We want the miners, but we do not want John L. Lewis and his hood-

lums and his gansters that he runs around and beats people up with.

I say to you, fellow workers, District 50 is not the issue at this convention, District 50 is not the issue in the action of the Executive Council when they finally took action on this matter. The issue is whether we are going to have unity in America to defeat Nazism and Fascism, and I see nothing but chaos if John L. Lewis is brought back into this Federation. I can see nothing but disruption. He has been a disrupter all his life. Brother Hutcheson should be able to testify to that.

I don't know what pressure Mr. Lewis has put upon Mr. Hutcheson. If he has tamed him, God bless him, and if he has not tamed him, God help Hutcheson and the labor movement, and I say—keep Lewis out of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Brown, Machinist: Brother Chairman and delegates: I want to try to confine my remarks to the report of the Resolutions Committee.

I find myself in agreement with about 99 per cent of that report. I am not interested in individuals. My chief interest is to make some contribution for a unified labor movement, and I want to repeat here what I have heretofore said publicly. The International Association of Machinists will go as far as any A. F. of L. affiliate to bring about a unified labor movement. Yes, even to the extent of waiving some of our work jurisdiction which the American Federation of Labor, by unanimous vote, said is the property of the International Association of Machinists. We are prepared, if needs be, to waive some of our work jurisdiction to bring about unity within the American Federation of Labor.

The one per cent of the Resolutions Committee's report which I am not in agreement with is that part wherein they recommend that this convention shall transfer its responsibility and duty to the Executive Council. In making that statement, do not interpret that as a reflection upon the personnel of the Executive Council. They are friends of mine, but at times we differ with each other. I have in mind now not alone the interests of the International Association of Machinists, but the interests of all the metal trades, in matters and considerations that

will come before the American Federation of Labor at future conventions.

There are several other Unions who have participated in a campaign and who publicly proclaimed their mission was to destroy every affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. In one of those Unions, 60 per cent of that membership consists of machinists and machine shop workers. In another Union, not now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—at one time they were affiliated—there are approximately 25,000 machinists and machine shop workers coming under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists. I don't want a precedent to be established today that may be referred to in the days of tomorrow when some other Unions apply for reaffiliation and their application is referred to the Executive Council for final disposition.

It is very evident that at this convention an answer will not be found to the application, not of John L. Lewis, but of the United Mine Workers of America. I have a warm spot in my heart for the coal miners of America. My brothers and my father at one time worked in a coal mine. I was born and raised in the anthracite coal region. I got my baptism of fire in the trade union movement in the anthracite coal region and therefore I am concerned about the United Mine Workers of America, but I believe that this convention cannot at this time finally answer, yes, direct the Executive Council to continue their efforts to find an answer, but on the question of giving a charter to the United Mine Workers of America, let that come back to a future convention of the American Federation of Labor. There isn't such a big hurry about this. The United Mine Workers of America of their own volition decided to leave the American Federation of Labor. I am not going to go into why they left. I refer to the conduct of some of their officers and members since they left the house of labor. I believe their application was received at the May meeting of the Executive Council five months ago. That is not a long time to wait. The Machinists have been good waiters. We have waited more than five months. We have waited for five years for the cooperation and the assistance for the preservation of a right which the American Federation of Labor said belonged to the International Association of Machinists. So, let us not be moved at this convention to act hastily, because the UMWA

decided five months ago to come back home. Therefore, I call upon this convention not to accept or concur in the report of the Resolutions Committee, but only because they recommend that the convention transfer to the Executive Council the responsibility of determining whether a charter shall be granted.

I want the United Mine Workers of America back in the American Federation of Labor. I want every bona fide labor organization in the United States and Canada in the American Federation of Labor. But I want this convention to decide the conditions and terms under which they shall come back. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, it is that one per cent of the Resolutions Committee's report that I cannot agree with, and I hope that this convention

will not be moved by this request for speedy action, but will vote down this report, and I recommend we delete from the report that part of it that will transfer from the convention to the Executive Council the right of passing upon the matter of affiliation.

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived and it is clearly evident that there are others who desire to speak upon the matter pending before the convention, so we will resume discussion immediately after the convening of the afternoon session.

The convention will stand recessed until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

EIGHTH DAY — WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

October 13, 1943

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:40 o'clock.

Discussion on United Mine Workers' Application (Continued)

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Lynch, President of the Pattern Makers International Union.

Delegate Lynch, Pattern Makers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to offer an amendment to the recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions dealing with the subject matter before this convention, in the following manner: That beginning with the words "the Executive Council be empowered with full and complete authority," and related words thereafter, to substitute for that part of the committee's report the following: "The Executive Council be instructed to pursue further negotiations with the United Mine Workers of America and report the progress made to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor or to a specially called convention of the American Federation of Labor."

The amendment was seconded.

President Green: You have heard the amendment offered by Delegate Lynch. The ques-

tion will recur on the amendment. Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman, I rise to oppose the amendment to the motion, and I now declare myself, for the Teamsters delegation, as favoring the report of the committee. I happen to be one of the members of the committee of three appointed by the President of your Federation to meet with the representatives of the United Mine Workers. We met in the Statler Hotel in Washington and we were in conference for several hours. You know the result as reported by the Executive Council.

There has been a good deal of newspaper talk about Tobin being an emissary of the Administration, and that because of his connections with the Administration, in which he holds no office and desires no office, those statements have been used to prejudice the minds of the masses, and those statements haven't done any good.

I want to declare here and now that I am proud of any association or helpfulness that I have given the Administration. I have no regrets and I seek nothing for myself.

But, slightly paraphrasing the words of Emmett in his speech from the Dock, "I am no emissary, for if this Administration was

to attempt to raid the labor movement, if it were to attempt to destroy it, I would meet it on the beach with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other, and I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and my last entrenchment would be my grave."

Next to my country which gave me freedom, more than you understand, this organization gave me my second freedom, and there is no political alliance that will take its place in my mind as to my duty to my fellow men.

I have struggled from the very beginning to bring about unity in the labor movement, not just for the passing grandeur of being considered something in a small way as a leader, but because from my years of experience I know that unless we are unified there is nothing in store for us but destruction, and even if unity prevails—and it doesn't look at all encouraging, and I am not referring to the report of the committee—even if unity prevails we will have an awful time trying to protect some of the freedom that we have obtained in recent years. But, if unity does not prevail and dissention continues and rival factions continue to get more bitter and unjust towards each other, I see no hope for preserving the freedoms that we have won.

After the last war many of you remember what happened. I happened to be a member of the Executive Council then—the treasurer of the Federation of Labor and the secretary is here on the platform—and our membership at its highest point, when everybody was supposed to be in a union, its highest point was about 5,000,000. I have seen that membership go down to a little less than 2,000,000 a few years after the war.

There was a convention of this Federation, which has not been referred to, held in this city. I was working around Boston then, in 1903, forty years ago. The membership of the Federation at that convention was about 750,000. Its membership today is over 6,000,000. There are four or five millions, we have no exact figures, of organized workers outside of the Federation membership.

If those two great organizations which include the miners and some of the railroad brotherhoods that have never been affiliated with either body, were to merge into one body—if it were possible—there would be no serious danger to the Labor Movement. But there is danger because I see very little hope of a merger or an understanding being reached with the representatives of the CIO.

No matter how much you love peace and unity and try to convince those who honestly disagree with you as to your way of thinking, there are certain conditions that you cannot surrender.

When we met with the representatives of the United Mine Workers we were quite hopeful that we could reach an understanding and our Executive Council, whom we were representing, was also quite hopeful, but we were sadly disappointed, thoroughly disappointed, and somewhat discouraged because we were advised by the speakers for the Mine Workers that there was only one condition upon which they would come into the Federation and that was that we should accept them in their entirety as they were composed—not when they left the Federation but as they were then, as of that date.

We didn't know their membership; we didn't know what composed some of their districts and there were many other things that we did not know and we were not given any information. Now, I am not saying this in the spirit of bitterness. Men are entitled to their own opinions. Men surely know their own purposes and what is best for their organization but it was our job to try to bring about first a reconciliation, but that reconciliation should be brought about without destroying the very foundation of this Federation.

We were assured by the President of the United Mine Workers that after they had entered into the Federation conferences would be arranged with the many organizations having disputes with them on jurisdiction and that an honest attempt would be made to adjust those disagreements. I have no right to doubt the sincerity of the individual but I also have the right, and I am bound to listen to the pleadings of those who have jurisdictional questions involved, and when we reported back the Executive Council gave our report consideration and unanimously accepted our report before it was referred to this convention.

Now if this convention instructed the Executive Council to go out and accept the Mine Workers on their proposition, I would be bound by the action of this convention. I would endeavor to carry it out, but, by the adoption of this report which—I said in the beginning I would support—you are not doing that. You are referring it back to the Executive Council, understand—With instructions

to call conferences of organization representatives having grievances, for the purpose of endeavoring to reach understandings with the United Mine Workers.

But you are going further than that—and again I agree with the report of the committee. You are giving to the Executive Council the power to make a settlement, whether or not any agreements are reached between the disputing parties, if I interpret correctly the reading of the report.

I think myself that you have to give the Council some power. I am satisfied that the membership of the Council will deal as justly as possible and as considerably as possible in guarding the jurisdictional rights of the organizations affiliated with this Federation. Unless you act on this report favorably, the Council will have no more power than it had before we came into this convention.

I for one perhaps misunderstood, and many of my associates may have misunderstood. We thought the responsibility of accepting the United Mine Workers on their terms without qualification was too great a responsibility to assume, and therefore the matter was referred to this body. Now if you adopt this report you will give vision to the Council as to its powers, as to how it shall proceed to act.

There are laws in this Federation, which were referred to this morning by the representative of the Progressive Mine Workers, and there isn't any doubt in my mind that if I were in his place I would make the same claim to the same rights. The Constitution of the Federation clearly sets forth that no charter shall be issued that interferes with the jurisdictional rights of any other organization already chartered, without the approval of so and so,—there are some slight qualifications. But there is no law in this Federation greater than the law of common sense and unity, and whatever is done, if anything is done—and I am quite hopeful that it will be during the coming year—will be subject to approval by the next convention. However, this does not prevent the Executive Council from reaching an agreement with the Mine Workers and granting them reaffiliation.

I know the history of the Progressive Miners as well as the United Mine Workers. That organization was established before the withdrawal of the United Mine Workers of America from this Federation. It had been

functioning in Illinois and adjoining States before the founding of the CIO. Well, that was their business. They had a fight or misunderstanding within their own organization and there was an independent union formed, and if it had not been for the withdrawal of the Mine Workers, which was regrettable, there would be no CIO. I know that and every other National Officer knows that, and we get nowhere by digging up what happened in the past. What we are looking to now is the future. But if the United Mine Workers had not withdrawn, the Progressive Mine Workers would not have been chartered or been a part of the American Federation of Labor.

You may argue that this has nothing to do with the Constitution. There have been instances in this Federation, many of them, in which International Unions were chartered and in which that organization was ordered to do certain things, in the face of the fact that it had charter rights. For instance, I remember the days of the railroad car men, where two organizations, one large and one small existed, and the smaller organization was ordered to do something. They desired to do otherwise and a charter was issued to the Railway Car Men, which was the large organization outside and which has progressed for the past several years.

In the case of the Plumbers and Steamfitters there was a wrangle for years, and you know what was done. But the oldest case I remember in this Federation was that of the Woodworkers and Carpenters. The Woodworkers had a very fine, high class, responsible organization some forty years ago, and one of their members was a member of the Executive Council. I believe it was in the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Faneuil Hall in 1903 that the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—I am not quite sure, but I am pretty nearly sure—that it was in that convention that President Huber of the Carpenters was elected a Vice President of this Federation. The Woodworkers were ordered to surrender their charter and to merge with the Brotherhood of Carpenters in the interests of the woodworking trades, and it was carried out.

This convention or the next convention has the right to say, in the interest of the labor movement, we believe that a charter should be issued or that an organization outside

should be reinstated, even in the face of the fact that there is an organization that holds a charter today covering a certain jurisdiction within the Federation. I repeat that if in the judgment of the Executive Council they deem it best they can reissue the charter to the United Mine Workers covering men engaged in the mining of coal, even though there is a charter with the same jurisdiction existing today. I say that because I know something of the history and the origin of both of these organizations, the United Mine Workers of America and the Progressive Mine Workers. Our membership is working in between those two organizations over in Illinois and we have tried to be friendly with both of them as much as we can, and we are having a devil of a time.

I would like to see one organization of Mine Workers, and I think the only way to bring it about is by some understanding reached during the year as to how we can, considering the best interests of all involved, take back into the fold the United Mine Workers of America.

Now the Mine Workers' membership does not, or should not, count when principle is involved. But after all, there are 600,000 Mine Workers who make the policies for those who are not in their organization—twenty-five or thirty thousand in the Progressive Miners. Don't misinterpret my statements. The small organization has as much right to the protection of this Federation as our large organizations. But when the representatives of the Progressive Mine Workers appeared before the Executive Council, I myself, understanding something of their problems in Illinois, asked them one question, in which I said: "Would it be possible, if the United Mine Workers returned to this Federation and in conference they agreed to allow your organization to continue as it is, do you think you could reach some basis of understanding along those lines?" I don't want to misrepresent anybody. There were no notes taken of the conversation across the table, but if my memory serves me right I think the representatives of the Progressive Miners said they thought that it would be possible. They are not held by that statement.

But if the Progressive Mine Workers of America, who have fought along the principles of protecting their membership and who withdrew from the United Mine Workers before the split in the Federation, have the best

interests of their membership at heart—and I believe they have—they will find some common ground on which to unite the Mine Workers of Illinois and vicinity in the near future.

Having all this in mind I also have in mind the fact that we cannot have two organizations within the Federation holding or claiming jurisdiction over the same class of workers. The membership here on this floor has held this Federation together in the days of darkness and doubt and cloudiness when it looked for a while as though the very foundation of this Federation was in danger by the movement to destroy it.

I fully understand all that. My first consideration—if I am on the committee, will be given to those principles—but if it comes to a point where it means compromising without sacrificing principles will bring about a closer understanding, I, for one,—and I know my associates—are willing to slightly compromise to the end that we may establish greater unity than we have at present.

I want to say to you, gentlemen, that the passage of the Smith-Connally Act was brought about as a result of the division of labor and that is not charging the miners with the entire responsibility for it. Attorney Padway had prepared an amendment that would have destroyed 97% of the effectiveness of the Smith-Connally Act. We had hoped that that amendment would be adopted by the House and we had some kind of understanding that it might be agreed to by the CIO representatives, but at the last minute the CIO refused to go along and the amendment was not introduced.

Those are things you ought to know. Now I am not condemning those men; they have the right to their opinions. I say that it is in my judgment a crime to have the present division in labor and I repeat to you, as I have in the columns of our Journal, that I believe to a great extent the leadership of some organizations of labor is responsible for the continuation of this division. Maybe I am wrong.

I happened to be appointed by President Green to a committee to meet with the CIO's and John Lewis—whom I have known perhaps longer than Bill Green has known him—I knew him over in Illinois when he was a delegate to the Mine Workers conventions which were held in Indianapolis year after year—

he was then the President of the CIO. Phil Murray was a member of the committee and Sidney Hillman was a member of that committee also. There were three of us. We could have had the CIO's in our Federation if we had accepted the same proposition then from them then as was handed to us by the President of the United Mine Workers. That is—"take us all as we are—that is all we have to offer."

When we reported back to the Council they refused to do that. They did not think that that would have been justice to the organizations within the Federation. Then the President of the CIO's was replaced by another man—Philip Murray. Again we met them with their committee and we thought that perhaps there was some hope. Conditions in the country were not looking at all encouraging. Political leaders were getting a little more—shall I use the common, rough word, "strutting?" They were evading us and just disregarding our representatives on the hill. They were strutting around up there with their feathers—those fellows many of whom you helped to elect. Why? Because when the Federation advocated something very often the CIO's disagreed with it, and vice-versa, and all the time the millions of workers were suffering and their freedom was in danger. So, when we met the new President of the CIO, we were handed the same thing—"take us all as is, good, bad and indifferent. Never mind your jurisdictional questions."

We could not get any verification of their membership. We could not get any jurisdictional lines drawn. We knew they had charters issued for textile workers and for wood workers and for 30 to 40 other organizations.

Well, no matter how much we loved unity, no matter how much the black cloud of dissension was hitting us and we were burning up our energies defending our fellow organizers, we could not accept admittance at that price and so the committee reported to the Council and there you are—and for six or eight months there has been no meeting of the committee established to confer with the CIO.

Now, when we were confronted with the same proposition by the miners—well, your Council could not accept it. The Council referred it to this convention. But you have the power to tell us to accept it or you have

the power to adopt the report of the committee and send the matter back to the Council and then give them the power to make the best settlement they can or perhaps no settlement at all. You can decide at your next convention but pending your decision or approval remember—don't say you were misinformed—pending your approval or decision next year on the report of your Executive Council, any agreement that the Council enters into with the Mine Workers—if their application is approved by the Council—can be put into practice during the year after the agreement is reached. Understand that!

We now have something to guide us in our deliberations in endeavoring to adjust the differences between the United Mine Workers and the American Federation of Labor. First, the Ladies Garment Workers International Union was part of the CIO. They withdrew from this Federation. I am sure that there is no one today here that holds that against them because they left the CIO and returned to this Federation on the conditions set down by this Federation and they accepted those conditions.

Then we had the Machinists withdraw this year in May. I think their last per capita tax was paid in March or April. The Machinists, with its large membership of close to a half a million or perhaps more, they returned to this Federation upon the conditions set down by the Executive Council.

I said to you, I would support the report of the Committee. I say to you now that whatever decision the Council reaches during the year, the Teamsters will abide by it. I don't believe in this out-again in-again kind of comedy in these serious days of distress for our working people.

I believe that the majority rules and that if we believe in democracy in the nation, in the right of the majority to govern in industry, then we should govern ourselves by the decisions of the majority within this body.

And let me say this to you—no matter what political party is in power they soon forget those that supported them if they believe they can get along without them, and that the only hope there is for the future of labor is solidification and unity and the right to use the franchise for or against any party that they believe is injurious to the principles and purposes of the working people.

I want the Mine Workers back, but I want them back in such a way that greater confusion will not obtain on their return. I shall make any sacrifice within reason, as representing our own organization, and we have plenty of trouble. However, we haven't gone back in membership, as you will notice, but there is a price that is too great to pay for the admission of any organization outside. I am quite hopeful that the representatives of the United Mine Workers will not demand an unjust price for readmission.

Now then keep this in your mind—when voting for this report—which I again repeat is the only sensible report that could be made.

Maybe it wouldn't be too great a price to pay—maybe I am wrong—but every Union in the CIO has the right to demand admission into this Federation and should be admitted, and if you admit one organization you cannot make or give special privileges to it over the others. For instance, the Steel Workers—I don't know what their membership is—but I do know that they admit to membership everybody in and around the steel mills. You haven't got any right to question their membership. If you admit the United Mine Workers on the proposition that they submitted to us in conference in Washington, you have got no right to question the membership of any of the organizations that left this Federation, on their return—no matter who they have taken in. There are some organizations in the CIO that were never chartered, but there are large numbers of men who were never allowed under the charter of the United Mine Workers that have been organized since they left the Federation.

I repeat that if you admit—if in your judgment or in the judgment of the Council—and I am willing to risk—not because I am a member of the Council, but I know those men—I am willing to risk the safety and protection of our rights as a part of this Federation to the decision of the Executive Council even if I were not a member. I know and trust those men. If in the judgment of the Council they accept the application of the United Mine Workers, if they believe that is best, I shall abide by it. But I say to you then you have no right to refuse to accept into the Federation any organization now composing the CIO or the Railroad Brotherhoods. There is conflicting jurisdic-

tion in at least one organization of the Brotherhoods now outside of the Federation.

Those are the points you ought to understand. I am sure you do, and in the face of all that I think you will be adopting the right course if you adopt the report of the committee and give your Executive Council a chance to delve into this question a little more, to endeavor to bring about a better understanding even for the membership of the Progressive Mine Workers between now and the next convention.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Hutcheson.

Delegate Brown, Delegate Hutcheson, whom I have recognized, waives his claim for recognition in your favor, so you may speak.

Delegate Brown, Machinist: I don't want to interfere with Vice President Hutcheson's rights and responsibilities, and I yield to Brother Hutcheson.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Brown.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I will try to be brief. To do otherwise I would stray from the beam. The fundamental question now before the convention is whether the convention will concur in a recommendation of the Resolutions Committee that the convention, for some reason or other, should transfer their responsibilities and duties to a committee.

The amendment, as I recall, in substance provides that there be deleted from the committee's report all reference to giving the Executive Council full authority for final disposition of the application for affiliation by the United Mine Workers of America, and substituting therefor that the Executive Council shall continue their good work, do everything possible to bring about a mutual agreement by the parties at interest and report to the next convention, or if need be to a special convention.

In passing, may I say that in my opinion nothing has done so much to injure the labor movement, to interfere with the progress of the labor movement as the unwillingness of members and delegates at conventions to meet their responsibilities, plus lack of moral

courage. The reason I am taking the floor at this time is because of some of the experiences had by myself and associate members of the International Association of Machinists.

Political parties are not involved. The attitude of those upon the so-called Hill has nothing to do with this. The question is, are we going to run true to form? Our great leader, President Green, on more than one occasion, on many occasions called upon those who left the American Federation of Labor to come back to the house of labor, to come back as they left.

The previous speaker, relating his experiences when meeting with the spokesman of the United Mine Workers of America, said he believed that he, the President of the Mine Workers, was sincere. I hope that is true, yet if that is so I cannot understand why the official family of the U. M. W. A. take the position—I believe that is their position up to the moment—that you must accept us as is, and if there are any corrections necessary, they can be made after we are back in the American Federation of Labor.

Something has been said about the need of unity, bringing about a unified labor movement, especially because of the days to come and because of our problems when the military army comes to a halt. As far as I am concerned, President Green and fellow delegates. I believe the American Federation of Labor will be far more influential and can wield greater prestige if we can continue to travel the road to the goal with the present controversy we have within the movement than to take a step that will cause those controversies to increase many fold. Let's be frank with ourselves and stop kidding. If that is the position of the President of the United Mine Workers of America, that he is not going to agree to bring about certain corrections on the basis of the rights of the affiliated unions until after he comes in to the American Federation of Labor, it would seem to me that if there is a willingness to co-operate to bring about these corrections, they could have been made since last May when the application was presented by the U. M. W. A. for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Let me repeat in brief what I said this morning and especially for the attention of the metal trades. If this convention transfers

their responsibility on this question to any committee there is established a precedent that can be used to work a hardship upon all the metal trades when the times comes when some of the other organizations outside the American Federation of Labor rap on our door for admission and ask what is wrong with the amendment that the Executive Council should continue their good work and report back to the convention? I see nothing wrong. I fear, brother chairman, that some people, in their anxiety for a unified labor movement, may be willing to have the United Mine Workers come into the American Federation of Labor on their own terms, which will mean sacrificing a principle that affects a score or more of the present affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. I am willing, if need be, to sacrifice some of the material things of life, but I am unwilling to sacrifice a principle which will open the flood gates and cause much more jurisdictional controversy within the American Federation of Labor than we now have.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, and delegates, I do hope that the delegates in convention will vote to support the amendment. Before closing I want to repeat that any argument in favor of that amendment cannot be interpreted as opposing the admission of the United Mine Workers of America. I want to see the Mine Workers in the American Federation of Labor. I want to see the United Automobile Workers in the American Federation of Labor. I want to see the United Electrical and Radio and Machine Workers in the American Federation of Labor. I want to see every one of the transportation organizations in the railroad industry in the American Federation of Labor. But I am unwilling that any of these organizations shall come into the Federation in advance of a convention passing upon their charter rights that we grant them when they become an affiliate of this organization.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I don't feel that I want to take up any more of your time, but I want to warn you that there is trouble ahead, dark days ahead if this American Federation of Labor, in passing upon the charter rights of the United Mine Workers of America, refers the question to anyone but this convention. I plead with every delegate present—do not transfer your responsibilities and duties on this question of passing upon the charter rights of the Unions affiliated to this

Federation. Again I say I support the amendment to the committee's report.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate MacGowan.

Delegate MacGowan, Boilermakers: I desire to make a very brief statement in behalf of our International Union, which has a very vital concern in the affairs of District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America. Our International Union does not desire to throw a stone in the pathway of peace in the labor movement of America, but we do feel that before any action is taken by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor we should be consulted and have the right to pass upon any adjustment that is made.

Thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I rise to support the report of the committee. In doing so I would like to make a few observations and make reference to some of the happenings that have taken place not only in the history of the Federation of Labor but since the split in the labor movement occurred.

The records will show that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was one of the organizations that helped create and bring into existence this Federation of Labor. The records will further show that during the years of the existence of the Federation the Brotherhood of Carpenters has been one of the strong supporters of the policies of the Federation. The records will also show that that was done during and at the time the split in the labor movement occurred.

Reference was made by one of the speakers on this question—I think he talked about some fellow by the name of Hutcheson, or made some reference to him. Well, I have been talked about by a lot of people. I have had many things said about me. The English language has been used in many ways, and sometimes they went outside the English language to express their ideas and opinions. I have become so used to that that I pay no attention to it, other than it might give me a little opportunity, perhaps, to enjoy a

little merriment, as I did this morning when I heard the delegate make the reference he did.

I want to say in that respect that long ago I adopted the philosophy of listening to what others have to say and then trying to convince them, if their opinions were different than mine, as to the practicability of changing their ideas.

Since the split in the labor movement occurred, at all of the conventions held by this body, delegates and representatives of various organizations, even the President of the Federation time after time have expressed themselves as desiring to have a united labor movement. Our President has said many times that we of the Federation in fact invited back to the house of labor those who left us when the split in the movement occurred. He made the statement that the door was still open. Never at any time were there any qualifications added to that invitation.

However, conditions have arisen that perhaps require some clarification of that invitation. I am of the opinion that the report of the committee fairly and rightly, honestly and judiciously covers these questions. I can understand to some extent the feelings of the representatives of the Progressive Mine Workers.

Reference has been made by one of the former speakers and one of my colleagues on the Executive Council to precedents that have been established in the years gone by, in the matter of instructing organizations affiliated with this organization, this Federation of Labor, as to what they should do in reference to solidifying and amalgamating themselves with other Internationals. I think one outstanding precedent was overlooked by my colleague, and I want to refer to that just briefly. It has to do with the acceptance to membership in this Federation of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union. Those of you who will look back to those days will recall that the Operative Plasterers, in the beginning of the consideration of the application of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, entered objections to their becoming affiliated with this Federation for the reason that the Operative Plasterers was a plasterers' organization, but in the Bricklayers International Union there were plasterers. The result was that the Operative Plasterers finally withdrew their opposition

and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union became affiliated with the Federation, and became affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department. If you will look at the records, if my memory serves me right, you won't find in the proceedings of any convention where either of these two organizations which are in affiliation today, with delegates seated on this floor, have ever had one contentious question raised by either of them, either in this convention or in the Building and Construction Trades Department of the Federation. That is a precedent that I think should be recalled to your mind, to show you that it is possible for two organizations whose jurisdiction may overlap to get along harmoniously together in the house of labor.

As has been said by one of the previous speakers, the Progressive Mine Workers were in existence prior to the time that the United Mine Workers of America left the Federation. When the charter was issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Progressive Mine Workers, it was expected by the Council—and I am sure it was the thought and expectation of the majority of the delegates attending Federation conventions—that the Progressive Mine Workers would make advancements in reference to organizing the then unorganized Mine Workers of the country. The records will show what progress has been made. The records will show who made that progress.

But if I were the Progressive Mine Workers' officials today I would welcome back into the Federation the organization of the United Mine Workers of America. I would not base my objections on any one person affiliated with that organization. I would have in mind the men who make up that organization, the men who dig coal, the same as the members of the Progressive Mine Workers, and after they were back in this Federation I would endeavor to show them that we of the Progressive Mine Workers of America were real, honest-to-God trade unionists and set the example, if they think it should be set, for the members of the United Mine Workers.

I do not believe that we should waste our time criticizing any one individual connected with the United Mine Workers of America or any other international organization, because if we should resort to that, is there any one of us in this hall today but that could find someone and perhaps numbers who could find

plenty of fault with us? So why waste our time talking about one individual? We should think of the men who make up the international organizations, and in this instance, of course, it is the United Mine Workers of America.

Statements have been made that if the United Mine Workers were admitted back to membership in the Federation that John L. Lewis—the man the Mine Workers have selected as their President and representative—would do dire things to this Federation. I can recall the years when the United Mine Workers were affiliated with this Federation. I can recall when that individual that they seem to be so afraid of now was a delegate year after year along with our President, representing the Mine Workers. I never saw him do anything that was so terrible, and I think if there was anybody that should have that thought, probably it should be me. But I haven't any thought, and I haven't any feeling other than this. I have a feeling for the labor movement. I want to see them united. And this, in my opinion,—the question we have before us today,—would be a step in that direction. It has been said that you could not believe anything that this individual might tell you. I want to say, from my experience, I will take his word as quickly as I would anyone sitting on this floor as a delegate, and in some instances I would a darn sight rather have it.

The report of the committee, as I understand it, is to give to your Executive Council certain instructions,—certain authority, if you please.

Now if you haven't any confidence in the men whom you have selected, and whom you will no doubt select tomorrow for your incoming Executive Council—then vote down the committee's report. But if you have any confidence in those men you are going to select for your incoming Executive Council, then adopt the report of the committee, so that your Executive Council may realize and know that they have a duty to perform as per your action and instruction, and if we are not men enough to assume that responsibility then, in my opinion, they are not the men you want as the Executive Council of this Federation.

Therefore, in closing, let me say this: Every one of you on this floor as delegates who are sincere in your desire to see a united

labor movement, vote for the committee's report and let us show to the people of the United States and elsewhere, if they happen to be interested, that we really are sincere in endeavoring to bring about a united labor movement under the auspices and the banner of the American Federation of Labor. Thank you.

Delegate Ryan, Longshoremen: President Green and fellow delegates: As a member of the committee I did not intend to take the floor in defense of the committee's report, as I know that the speakers that preceded me spoke in favor of the adoption of the report and have covered the matter in a fine manner.

I have no wish to delay the proceedings, but inasmuch as I understand I was not here when there was introduced an amendment, which I have heard discussed and which would mean delay, I feel that I should briefly give the fellow delegates a review of what is confronting our organization as a result of a delay by an organization affiliated with this American Federation of Labor several years ago.

What we are interested in is not individuals or in organizations. We are interested in unity in the American labor movement, the same as I believe every delegate here is, and I don't mean, of course, that in order to have that unity we should sacrifice any principles of this great American Federation of Labor, which has been in existence now some 62 years.

I do, however, wish to call your attention to the fact that while we worry a great deal about the Smith-Connally Bill, in the State of Texas where there are many ports and many members of our international organization employed, as a result of the last session of their State Legislature action was taken which provides that if I, myself, or any of the organizers or officers of our organization went into the State of Texas at the present time—except if we resided there—and addressed a meeting of Longshoremen in the interests of our organization, we would be in violation of the law that has just been passed. I understand from our men in Florida that similar legislation is being introduced there at a time when President Green put labor's case so ably before the general public in his answer to the Commander of the American Legion last Friday and which

was seconded here by a great Senator from the State of New York—Jim Mead—this morning. He said that while labor has had its errors, so have the Yankees and so has industry, and nobody is coming forward with legislation to curb industry, but everybody is coming forward with legislation to curb this great American labor movement, and they would not do it if the labor movement was united.

Brother Tobin said just a short while ago that if the United Mine Workers had not seceded from the American Federation of Labor, there never would have been a CIO.

Maybe God's blessings come to us in disguise and we do not know it until later on. Maybe it was a fine thing that the CIO was established, because we had Communists in our midst who interfered with the work of this American Federation of Labor, and I presume they still have some here under cover watching us; they are planted in here and do not come to the front, but as I had the privilege of telling John L. Lewis, when we discussed the affiliation of the seamen with his organization when he was still with the CIO, he gave the Communists a chance to go into that organization, and I believe the majority are in there now. I believe the CIO should be continued so that the Communists will have some haven of refuge.

I believe every American labor organization as well as every Canadian labor organization should have the right to re-affiliate with the American Federation of Labor and I am sure that the report of the committee amply covers the anxiety expressed by those who are affected either by District 50 or the Progressive Mine Workers themselves. I am not going to attempt to discuss those questions, but as I understand it, as a member of the committee, —and I attended those sessions—that in thirty days every International organization that feels that District 50 is harmful to their organization shall notify President Green and the Executive Council and they will discuss that with the United Mine Workers. I am positive that the Executive Council will certainly render no decision, even in order to get the 600,000 mine workers back into the American Federation of Labor, that will jeopardize the rights of any International that is affected by District 50.

I am not competent to speak on the Progressive Mine Workers, but it has been discussed before. I know nothing about the Mine

Worker's problems. After all, I have all I can do to take care of the waterfront problems. But I notice in this morning's paper, Secretary Ickes turned the mines back to the mine owners. I regret that strike and I hope to God no longshoreman's group of any size will strike for the duration of the war, although we have had plenty of reason to be because of the raiding tactics made on us by the National Maritime Union; in spite of the pledges President Green and President Murray gave to President Roosevelt.

What I want to point out is this—the danger of delay, Mr. Chairman. About eight years ago the International Seamen's Union was one of the most respected organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Andy Furuseth, who stands with the immortals of the American labor movement,—President Gompers, John Mitchell, Jim Duncan, and the rest have passed on to their rewards. Andy Furuseth was a great statesman in the interests of labor and particularly in the interests of the International Seamen's Union, but he did not have the time to spend on organizing the seamen—his duties were taken up with opposing vicious legislation in Washington and with the help of Senator LaFollette, he did so.

That is in line with the same thing about the mine owners. The mine owners never gave the miners a square deal and the steamship owners never gave the seamen a square deal.

To digress to the miners for a moment, when President Roosevelt signed the Guffey bill several years ago, during the first year of his administration, he said he knew it was unconstitutional but he wanted the mine workers to get the benefit of the bill during the years it would take the mine owners to prove it unconstitutional. I don't know in what way the miners have returned to work, but I do know now that the mine owners are not only using the Smith-Connally Bill, but they will use every other piece of vicious legislation to see that the miners do not get their just wages and just conditions.

And the steamship owners opposed the International Seamen's Union, so that when about seven years ago a seaman in good standing in the Seamen's Union, Joseph Curran saw fit to lead a secession movement, as I believe the Progressive Mine Workers lead a similar one against the United Mine Workers when they felt it was necessary for

them to do so. This man, with 27 of his men, tied up a ship in Los Angeles, and I will not go into the details because I know how busy we are. But as a result of that he and his 27 men were suspended by the International Seamen's Union and when they came up on the pier somebody gave them \$225. They did not have any money, but the representatives of the Communist Party who had been trying to destroy the waterfront ever since 1925 gave them this money and they hired a hall for three months at \$75.00 a month right in the building where the International Longshoremen's Association District Council meets on the corner of 22nd Street and 11th Avenue. They were given \$225.—\$75.00 a month and they had three months to try to organize the water front and President Green and the Executive Council have commended the International Longshoremen's Association for breaking that secession movement against the International Seamen's Union by sending our men through the picket lines at a time when even an A. F. of L. organization, a marine organization had their banners in the picket line with this rank and file secession movement of the International Seamen's Union.

You may think that I am getting off the question, but I am just going to point out as briefly as possible what delay meant at that time. When the secession movement was over, we found out that the International Seamen's Union did not have an organization, because as I say the employers would not sign an agreement with them and without an agreement on the waterfront you don't get any place. But if we had licked that secession movement, and Mr. Curran was in a very receptive mood—just as I believe the Mine Workers are today—and after a conference with Ivan Hunter of the International Seamen's Union I came to President Green with a proposition that Curran and his 27 followers be taken back into the International Seamen's Union and that Curran be given some sort of a job—as Eastern representative or an organizer for the International Seamen's Union, but it was refused, and properly so.

President Green and myself were on a committee to conduct the negotiations with the International Seamen's Union until they were brought back into the picture. We went before a meeting of the Executive Council in Atlantic City and then after every member of the Executive Council of the International Seamen's Union had placed their recommenda-

tion in the hands of President Green, some of the other members of the International Seamen's Union felt that Ryan and his associates were looking to take over the Seamen's Union, and they went back on their bargain and went before the Executive Council and asked them not to condone the agreement that had been worked out by President Green and myself.

Lewis was President of the CIO and welcomed Curran and his followers into the CIO and now the National Maritime Union is one of the strongest organizations in the country, and, President Green, if you will bear with me just a moment longer, you and the delegates, this is how it affects the country itself as well as how it affects the labor movement of this country.

Brother Lundeberg had a secession movement of the International Seamen's Union for several years on the Pacific Coast, and the Executive Council, that action afterwards endorsed by the convention gave the charter of the International Seamen's Union to Brother Lundeberg and he is doing a fine job. You will see the votes he has in this convention. He is not here today at the convention because he is out on the Pacific Coast fighting the battle, but he has added to the number of men he had at the time that that charter was granted.

I might point out that without the cooperation of the Teamsters in the port of New York we would not have been able to lick the secession movement of the Curran group, and without their cooperation now we would not be able to help the Seafarers Union. But, I say this to the delegates to this convention, that in common with the rest of you we respect the fine contribution that Russia has made to the military effort of this war, but Browder made a talk the other day in which he said that they are not interested in Japan. That is all right. But after they make the peace, after Germany is licked and they make the peace, they may then decide to help Japan, and I make this statement,—and I know I am responsible for it—that 90 per cent of the American ships on the Atlantic Coast and the Gulf Coast are aligned with Curran of the Maritime Union. Roy Hunter is his boss on the waterfront and Browder is Hunter's boss. And they would turn their guns on Americans in the aid of Russia and Japan, and that is something far above this

labor movement. That is due to the fact that people wanted to wait instead of acting on a proposition. So I am opposed to the amendment. We all have confidence in the Executive Council, and these organizations affected by District 50 are not going to let anything be put over on them. As I say, they have thirty days to file their grievances, and I think the Progressive Mine Workers ought to take advantage of the thirty days, and I sincerely hope within sixty days the Executive Council will be able to report to us that the United Mine Workers are back. The Machinists are back and I believe the Big Six should be back. I believe there will be an exodus from the CIO of American organizations and let the Communists stay with the CIO so that they will have a haven of refuge. Thank you.

Vice President Woll: Your committee in considering this matter approached it not from the standpoint of prejudice or passion. Nor do I want, in behalf of the committee and in support of the committee's report, to appeal to you upon prejudice or passion, but to present to you the logical reasons that have prompted your committee in submitting this report. Before doing so, may I say just a word on the amendment offered.

The committee of course opposes the amendment offered to its report and it opposes the amendment for several reasons, principally because there is involved in this amendment, first of all, the implied indication of a mistrust in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor dealing with the subject.

The adoption of this amendment, whether the introducers intended to imply that motive or not, if carried by this convention will carry that implication to the country at large. And the effect, instead of being helpful, will be extremely harmful.

And then we oppose the amendment for the further reason that in the event that your Executive Council is able to bring about an understanding, satisfactory to every organization involved, including the Progressive Mine Workers, it would be precluded from taking action on the readmission into the American Federation of Labor of the United Mine Workers Union unless a special convention was called or unless we delayed the action until a year hence on this question.

Surely, no delegate would want to place either of those agencies upon a basis of that

kind. And then assuming that perhaps one or two organizations would be dissatisfied with the arrangements to be entered into—in view of that fact again the Executive Council would be required to call a special convention to deal with these minor difficulties that perhaps one or two organizations may allege. In other words, this amendment will give the opportunity to those who have only a minor complaint, to prevent the consummation of the affiliation of the United Mine Workers Union.

I think the prior action of the Executive Council in their dealings with the CIO and with any other organization within the CIO or without it has indicated clearly and unmistakably that the Executive Council can be trusted with this matter. Indeed, the conventions time after time have taken such action from the very first inception of the division in the ranks of labor. The Executive Council has been given authority to deal with the CIO or any of its affiliates or any organization outside of the Federation, and by prior conventions the Council has been given authority to act in these matters. Your vote at this time would imply that your Executive Council is not to be entrusted with these matters, and in giving vent to such distrust or mistrust would tie the hands of your Council. It makes it impossible even if a unanimous agreement were reached, to put it into effect without the difficulties of calling a special convention or delaying it until the coming convention.

Then let me ask you to place yourselves in the position of an organization with whom you are negotiating. If the hands of the Council are tied as you would tie them, why they would simply say, "What is the use?" You have no authority; you can't take up any matter, you must call a special convention to deal with any and all matters provided there. Such a procedure is not only impractical. I think it is unwarranted and I think it should not receive any consideration by this convention in the arguments advanced in favor of it—an appeal to the delegates to be courageous and to decide these questions for themselves and not to shirk their responsibilities. Yet, this committee concurs in that and hence we offered the suggestion that we have, that you do deal with this question in a practical and courageous and justified manner.

One who is supporting the amendment stated he believed he could concur 99% in the committee's report. Well, I am more than happy

to hear that because if all of us can concur 99% in this report then there ought not to be the slightest deviation as to the decision to be reached on this question. And then the allegation has been made: yes, we want the United Mine Workers in affiliation with us, but we don't want its President for this or for that reason. And then we have the appeal to prejudice or prior action, why they ought not to be admitted. Why 600,000 men should be made to pay the penalty for what those who make the charge believe the ill-doings of one man. Bear in mind that involved in that opposition is the fundamental principle of autonomy of each and every one of our recognized organizations in affiliation with this organization, and if we may exclude one organization on the ground that we don't like its president or its secretary-treasurer or any of its officials, pray, then, are we not laying the foundations that will jeopardize the autonomous rights of those affiliated with us? Do we pass judgment of retention of affiliation by the character of representation selected by the membership or the manner in which it is selected? Certainly not! That is the autonomous right of each and every one of us and pray do not allege that as a cause or refusal of that re-admission into this Federation.

Now may I say just a word about the report of the committee. What does the report of the committee do in the first instance? It calls attention to the tender of affiliation submitted by the United Mine Workers. It calls attention to the difficulties encountered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to accept or to adopt that tender of affiliation in the form in which it was tendered. Shall I go into that? Of course the tender is: "take us as we are and we take you as you are," meaning that they raise no objection to the Progressive Mine Workers or anything else, and that we should raise no objection to them, and in fairness to the United Mine Workers it must be said that in our conferences they said, "even if we acted upon that that it would not mean an extension of jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers," which they had when they left the American Federation of Labor. But the Council said no and your committee, too, expresses difficulty in recommending acceptance of affiliation as recorded in the Council's report. We of the Council say no, we will not accept you on your terms. Then we proceed to lay out the procedure of a formula by which readmittance into our councils may

again be had. In so doing we viewed this matter entirely from one point of view, and that is from the point of view of unity in the house of the family of labor. And we view that, not because of fear that might come to us internally by the admission of the United Mine Workers, but rather by fear of dangers, without that are coming to us, once this great human catastrophe is at an end, when peace will again come to us and when these millions of men and women shall be re-converted into peace time pursuits, and these other millions will be coming back from the service looking for jobs in our industrial and economic life. There is the great danger with which we shall be confronted, and that is the fear we have, and to meet that fear we preach unity, and it is upon that conception we recommend the formula contained in our report.

Now, what is that formula? That formula is designed to protect the interests of each and every affiliated organization, for, after all, our first duty, our first responsibility is to those in affiliation with the Federation.

And what do we say? We say that within the next thirty days any and all organizations having a grievance against the United Mine Workers of America advise the officers of the Federation of that grievance, of that complaint, of that transgression of their jurisdiction, and support that claim with substantive proof or evidence. Why do we make that? If your committee or someone is to negotiate, they at least must know what parties are to be protected, what complaints have developed and to what extent, for otherwise your committee or whoever may be negotiating with the United Mine Workers of America will be entirely in the dark. But when once apprised of the complaints and evidence is presented, we shall then be in position to intelligently act to protect your interests and the interests of every one concerned.

Then, having received that information, what is the next step? We, the officers shall, either by conference between the respective organizations complaining with the United Mine Workers of America, or through its committees, if that be possible or desirable—negotiate with whom? With the Miners in reaching that adjustment, and it is confidently expected that if negotiations are carried on in that manner, very little will remain to be decided by the Executive Council.

But should, perchance, some differences still arise, I am sure if they are grave in nature and character this Executive Council is not going to bargain away the jurisdictional rights and advantages of any organization merely for the admittance of the United Mine Workers of America. But if, perchance, minor difficulties are in existence, would you not trust the Council then, in view of these greater dangers and this desire for unity, with the power to decide this matter?

Then insofar as the Progressive Miners are concerned, their interests, too, are protected by the report of your committee, for they are placed in the same category with our other National and International Unions.

Reference has been made to the constitutional prohibition, and yet this report is made in conformity with Article IX, Section 11. Read it and understand the import of it, and do not place a false interpretation upon it. The report is made in conformity with that, and we recommend, therefore, that the procedure outlined be endorsed and approved by you.

Yes, we then ask that the Executive Council be empowered with still greater authority, and that is to take such other action as may be essential.

We have federal labor unions involved. They are not national or international unions, but their rights, their interests must likewise be protected, and your committee has embraced all these considerations in making this report.

I dare say that no one who might have dealt with this question could have compiled a report more cogent, more compatible with the laws of the Federation than is contained in this report, and yet hold out hope for unity in the ranks of labor, for admittance not alone of the Mine Workers but of other organizations that will follow.

Yes, this will set a precedent, indeed, it is following a precedent, for I recall very distinctly the first committee chosen by the Executive Council, upon instructions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to meet with a like committee of the CIO. After we had many meetings we finally submitted and practically agreed upon a formula identical in character to that which we proposed in this report. That formula was endorsed by the following convention, although it was rejected by the CIO.

Then I had the fortune or the misfortune

of serving on the second committee delegated to meet with CIO representatives, as indicated by Delegate Tobin. There, too, this formula was proposed and rejected by the representatives of the CIO, and my understanding is that even in the most recent conference last year that same formula had been proposed by our representatives and rejected by theirs.

Having approved this formula time and time again are we now, that we are on the eve of making some success, of realizing to some degree our hopes, our ambitions, our aspirations for unity in the labor movement, are we now to say no, that all we have said heretofore counts for naught?

Yes, this convention, in addition to President Green, have asked all the erring organizations formerly in affiliation with the Federation to return to our fold, and what are we to do now? What are we to do now—set up obstacles to make a hollow mockery of our invitation, of our appeal, of our declarations, of our pious appeals to again return to the house of labor?

May I call your attention to the fact the re-admittance of the International Ladies Garment Workers was had upon the same formula proposed in this report. Why, then, should there be any division on this question? Ought we not gladly and joyously join with each other in the great possibilities that lie before us, the unity of labor essential once this conflict is over, for when it is over problems that we may now have will pale into insignificance in comparison with the grave problems that we will be confronted with when we again return to a peace-time economy.

I say to you that this report has been considered from every point of view, with the thought in mind of safeguarding the rights and interests of the affiliated organizations, whose protection must come first, and yet it lays the ground work for the admittance of erring organizations on a basis honorable to ourselves and equitable to themselves.

I hope the amendment will be defeated and the report of the committee overwhelmingly approved.

Delegate Brown, Electrical Workers: Mr. President and delegates: We of the Electrical Workers believe we have had as much trouble with District 50 as any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We are constantly in trouble with District 50.

We are constantly before some board, some government agency trying to iron out difficulties caused by District 50.

But in the interests of peace, in the interests of harmony, and having faith in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with a member of our own International organization serving on that Council, we have faith in him and we have faith in the other members of that Council, and we know that when this case comes before them justice will be done. Therefore, the Electrical Workers are not in favor of the amendment to the report, but are in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan Federation of Labor. Mr. Chairman and delegates to the American Federation of Labor, you may think it strange that a delegate from a central body should inject himself into a controversy of this kind, and I want to assure you that I would not do so if it were not for the fact that what may be done here today will have a more far-reaching effect upon the standing of the American Federation of Labor unions in our district than anything that has happened in a number of years.

There is no part of the trade union movement in America that has had to fight with the CIO on a larger scale than we in the city of Detroit, and despite the professions of the spokesmen for the CIO that Detroit is a CIO town, I want to assure you that some two hundred local unions of the American Federation of Labor in Detroit have been able to hold their own and to fight off the attacks on the American Federation of Labor unions.

My friends, we can see on the other side of the road already the evidences of disintegration. What you do here today will have much to do with putting the house of the American Federation of Labor in order, so that it can capitalize on the opportunities that are bound to present themselves in our district in the near future.

There is no group within the American Federation of Labor that opposed John L. Lewis any more than we did when we found what the program was. Our people lived in a hell for the first few years of the CIO movement, when the overnight labor leaders furnished by the Communist party had the bit in their teeth and were running down the middle of the road. We had to order our affairs in

such a way as to preserve what we had and to reach out at every opportunity, and I believe the record will show that our unions in Detroit have given a pretty good account of themselves.

The people of our community, some who embrace the leaders of the CIO, are now beginning to be able to evaluate the kind of service that the American Federation of Labor unions have been able to render as against that furnished by some of the newcomers to the trade union movement in our district.

I want to assure you, my friends, that many of these men who are strutting the stage today as leaders in Detroit are men who were not so long ago presidents of company unions—and that includes R. J. Thomas, President of the U.A.W. CIO.

I hope that this convention will see fit to accept the recommendations of the committee. I do not believe there should be any fear on our part that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is going to do the wrong thing or do anything that is going to hurt the interests of the International Unions who may have a controversy with District 50 or any other branch of the United Mine Workers of America.

I am sure that we are all conscious of the fact that whatever the Executive Council does in the interim will be subject to the consideration and the approval of the delegates in the convention of the American Federation of Labor, the same as any other act of the Executive Council must be submitted to the convention. I have no fear that the Executive Council is going to set aside the interests of any International Union and outweigh that against the advantages to be gained by a settlement of this controversy with the United Mine Workers.

The refreshing things that happened here today was to see the International President of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs organization take the platform and support the report of the committee. I say it was refreshing because it gives the lie to an ugly rumor that has been circulated around this convention that certain people were opposed to the return of the United Mine Workers, because certain people outside of the trade union movement did not want a unified labor movement in America and that the President of the Teamsters Union was lending himself to that. I am glad that Brother Tobin took the stand

and made his position as clear as he did so that no longer could anyone dare to repeat such a scurrilous rumor.

And when the charge was made that was an inference that Bill Hutcheson had gone soft, when the question was asked, has he forgotten John L. Lewis, I think it would have come with better grace to have stated that despite any personal difference now or in the past, the leader of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is big enough to set those personal differences aside in the interests of a unified trade union movement. Already there are rumors—not rumors but substantial evidence, my friends, that large segments of the United Automobile Workers of the CIO have tried to get into the United Mine Workers. The group in the General Motors plant at Flint, Michigan, would much rather be following John Lewis than they would the present leadership in the United Automobile Workers.

If we are looking for a united labor movement in America let's embrace the opportunity that will start the avalanche. If the United Mine Workers were back in the American Federation of Labor today what effect do you think it would have on the vote in the International Typographical Union, which takes place next month? Anything that is done here in this convention that will give encouragement to those men in the ITU who want their International back in the American Federation of Labor will help them in the securing of a favorable vote when the vote is taken next month.

I am sure, my friends, that if we can bring Mr. Lewis and his United Mine Workers back into the American Federation of Labor there need be no fear of any damage that he can do, even though your fears may be that he comes with a mischievous intent—and I don't believe that is so. Certainly if those who have controlled the destinies of this organization these many years could prevent him from taking over in 1935 and 1936, in the increased membership that we have acquired since that time, acquired in an orderly manner, they would be in a position to place the strength of his organization much more down the line in the scheme of things.

But I do know this, that the leader of the United Mine Workers of America has a score to settle with some of the world savers that he made in the CIO, and there is nothing

that would be more to our advantage than to take John and his Miners back into the American Federation of Labor and give him the task of driving these boys back into their holes. I am sure he knows how to do it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, for the benefit of the delegates here I want to tell you something of Detroit. It is still a pump handle town—make no mistake about that—and it has a population made up of the bottom of the barrel from the four corners of the earth. The industrialists of our city, in their program of repression against the trade union movement threw the United States immigration laws out the window and contracted for cheap labor not only in Europe but in Asia and in Africa. They combed the hills of the South and the pine forest territories of Michigan, the wastelands of Canada, and they brought the boys into Detroit by the boatload and the carload, and it is no wonder the trade unions there were not able to assimilate those new cousins of ours; it is no wonder, my friends, that that kind of a population lent itself to the manipulation of those who were only too willing to play one race against the other, one nationality against the other and one religion against the other.

Leaders today of the United Automobile Workers were a few years ago running around the factory with literature of the Ku Klux Klan. A great educational campaign must be put on, and it will never be successful unless it is conducted by those who know our community. I think the one man who knows it in the trade union movement in America is the President of the United Mine Workers, because he stood the industrialists of our district on their ear and made them like it.

Despite what may be said in opposition, considerable progress has been made. Many of the abuses in the plants that the men complained of have been eliminated. We must give them credit to the degree that they have had success. My God, my friends, what a story it would be if the power and the opportunities that those folks have were in the hands of experienced people in the trade union movement! The record would be much different than it is today.

I wonder if, in indicting John Lewis and other men who have walked the stage as he has, many times at variance with the sentiments of their associates in the convention, if in appraising them we fail to appraise

ourselves? What becomes of our responsibility to give directions to those men who have a consuming ambition, a great ability and an aptitude for leadership? I am sure we can't shed ourselves of that responsibility by criticizing the other fellow. We have our own responsibilities, and if what has happened here in the last decade has been good or bad, we are to blame ourselves in a measure that we were unable to make the best of the tools that God gave us, if we don't give those intellects that have the ability to lead the kind of direction they ought to have.

I say in closing, Mr. Chairman, I hope that what you do here today will not be considered entirely in the light of controversies that might exist in the American Federation of Labor between a few people and Mr. Lewis in the Mine Workers Union about people that they think he ought not to have. My friends, the controversies you will get out of that are no greater than those that exist here today. If it is a question of the 25,000 Progressive Miners I dare say there are 25,000 more people in the American Federation of Labor that the several International Unions are contesting today, who say they should be theirs, but they are in the other fellow's organization. That is not the important thing. It is important to you, yes. It is important to any International official to maintain the prestige and the position of his International Union. But what about what is important to the American working people?

Here is an opportunity to bring about unity in the trade union movement so that we can present a united front to those who are now using the division in labor to strafe labor and turn the forces of government against our interests. The regimentation we are getting out of the war effort, much of which is not necessary, is but a part of the program of the Manufacturers Association to destroy all of the new unions as soon as the war is over, and then destroy the rest of us if they have the tools to do it with.

I am sure, my friends, that the division that exists in labor today is the only thing that makes for the happy situation that the employers are so able to capitalize on. They have trade unionists in both camps who are honest men, who want to do the right thing fighting with each other because of this division in the ranks of the trade union movement. I don't think we should fear that the

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which has guarded the interests of the Federation so jealously during these ten years, is not going to do anything that will jeopardize the fundamental interests of the trade union movement, and I hope that the committee's report will be adopted, and that in the few short months to follow we will see the 600,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America back in here, that we will see the 80,000 members of the ITU back in here.

Delegate McMorrow, Street Railway Employees—

And then I know, my friends, that it won't be long before Mr. Sidney Hillman and Dalrymple and a goodly portion of the United Automobile Workers will be following soon.

President Green: Delegate McMorrow, the rules of the convention provide that each delegate may speak five minutes.

Delegate McMorrow: I will not speak that long.

President Green: But those rules have not been enforced. I can see now, however, from the attitude of the delegates, that they are anxious to vote, so may I request that in according the speakers the widest privilege here to discuss this very important question you conform now to the rules of the convention.

Delegate McMorrow: Mr. Chairman and delegates: representing an International Union that is old in this Federation and that has been a victim of all the isms known to the labor movement, the CIO and all of their ilk, I cannot see now but that the recommendation of the committee is the correct solution of this problem. I come from Detroit where I live occasionally. I am not like Martel, I would not make the place my home, but I know what we have to contend with, and I have about come to this conclusion, that there is so much good in the worst of us and so much bad in the best of us that it ill behooves any of us to criticize the rest of us.

In view of that feeling I am in favor of the recommendation of the committee and I hope it is adopted.

The question was called for by a large number of delegates.

President Green: Will the delegates bear with the Chair for a moment? I feel if I

should remain silent when such an important subject as the one now being considered by the convention is being acted upon, my position may be misunderstood.

For that reason I wish to speak just briefly, and I assure you it will be brief. Ever since the leaders of the dual movement marched out of the American Federation of Labor in 1935 I have stood as your representative and the instrumentality through which you speak, appealing to each and all of them to come back home and to take their place within the house of labor.

That appeal was based upon my understanding of the aims and purposes and philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. It is my understanding and firm belief that when the pioneers of our movement laid the foundations upon which a great superstructure of organized labor has been erected, created a house, a home for labor, they believed that that was the house and the home for labor in the United States of America. And so I have asked them to come back and they are coming back, and, with your permission, I will stand at the door of labor extending my hand and welcome them back. We sounded a note of warning when the leaders of the CIO marched out of the American Federation of Labor with nine International Unions affiliated with it and formed a dual, rival, rebel movement. We said then: "You are wrong, you are doing a great injury to the cause of labor." I sounded a note of warning and said, "You will live to regret your action. You may not know now you are committing a grievous wrong, but eventually you will." And now, behold you, the architect of that rebel movement that was erected has turned his face to the American Federation of Labor and is asking us to accept him back home. Is there any significance to be attached to that? What interpretation must we place upon such action? Well, it is my opinion that the years have mellowed his judgment. He has admitted he is wrong. The fact that he is coming home must be interpreted as an admission that a mistake was made. But it is not my purpose to indulge in criticism or fault-finding because in deciding questions of the kind presented to you for decision now, we cannot permit a feeling of hatred or passion to influence our judgement. Do we believe in a united labor movement in America? Are we in favor of mobilizing the numerical and economic strength of labor in the United States and Canada? Do we believe

that there is room in America for only one labor movement? If we believe that, are we in favor of subordinating our feelings, of forgetting things that hurt, of overlooking humiliation even, and saying to those who have wandered away, "come back home and live with us?"

We cannot preach and advocate a united labor movement and at the same time act against realizing that objective. I repeat again, they are coming home. The reason they are coming home is because dual movements rest upon an unsound foundation. They are bound to disintegrate. They must be situated upon a premise, and that premise must be a philosophy, and the American Federation of Labor has stood for over sixty years upon a solid, sound and eternal foundation. There is no other house of labor upon the American continent—just one. There is no other house erected upon a sound and solid structure except the American Federation of Labor. It is the American labor movement. It represents labor. It has steadfastly proclaimed it was the agency of the workers of this country speaking for them, acting for them, and working for them.

Now, if we are big men, broad men, rising above the mire of hate and suspicion and passion, then we will practice what we preach and we will serve in every possible way to unite labor in America. That is the issue involved in this question. It transcends every other consideration.

I know the hundreds of thousands of miners associated with the United Mine Workers of America—men who love us and who love our movement—men who gained their understanding of trade unionism in the darkness of the pits and in the dangers of the mines. That is the university from which they graduated and now periodically hundreds of them give their lives in the service of our nation, they are part of the soldiers of production.

Are we afraid to take them in? Shall we refuse to take them in, these noble men who have been loyal to trade union principles for a half a century? We cannot, without committing a grievous wrong, keep the door locked when they knock for us to open it. We must hear their appeal, their cry, and respond like real trade unionists to that appeal.

I regret that a division was created within the Miner's Union. I know all about it because I lived through it. I know what it meant and how it arose and all the details

about it. The Progressive Mine Workers Union, a splendid organization, was once a part of the United Mine Workers of America—a united family there. And then division came. The Progressive Mine Workers was a part of the Miner's Union. The line of distinction between them is not perceptible now and the cause of the miners of America will be served in a wonderful way, beyond our comprehension, if we can succeed in uniting them into one union. I hope and trust that we may be able to accomplish that which seems to be an almost impossible objective now.

Now, my friends, I feel we have been vindicated. Our appeal for unity and solidarity has been vindicated. We cannot say no. We must not say no. In bringing them back we must only see that the interests of those in our family are protected, that their rights are preserved. And that, in my opinion, the committee's report covers in a very full and complete way. It states that conferences must be held, the difficulties overcome, and the United Mine Workers brought back, in accordance with the rules, policies and laws of the American Federation of Labor. That is a solemn obligation and if you adopt the committee's report you will be instructing them to follow that policy.

Now, my friends, let us measure up to the requirements of this situation. Let us capitalize again in favor of the American Federation of Labor. Let us put it on a high plane away and above and beyond petty things, small things, and let us show to the world that the American Federation of Labor and those who compose it are big men—big minded men—men who buried their petty differences, but who rise to new heights of service for the working people of America.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I now move the previous question.

President Green; Delegate Koveleski moves the previous question. All in favor of the motion say "aye." Those opposed say "no." The motion is carried and so ordered.

Now this is a solemn moment. I know and I can understand how you sitting here are caught between conflicting emotions, but we are ready to vote. The question now recurs upon the report of the committee, but first of all upon the amendment offered by Delegate Lynch. Secretary Meany will read the

amendment so that you will understand its meaning and its scope.

Secretary Meany: The amendment deletes this portion of the next to last sentence of the committee's report, beginning with these words: "Executive Council be empowered with full and complete authority vested in the convention itself to determine and dispose of whatever issues have failed of adjustment within a reasonable time and by the processes hereinbefore recommended to take such additional action as may be necessary to the end that an early reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers can be had on a basis in keeping with the traditions, conditions and requirements of the Federation as may be determined by the Executive Council," and substitutes therefore this amendment: "The Executive Council be instructed to pursue further negotiations with the United Mine Workers of America and report the progress made to the next annual convention of the A. F. of L. or a special called convention of the A. F. of L."

President Green: The question now recurs upon the amendment. All in favor of the adoption of the amendment will please hold up your right hand. Those opposed will do the same. There is no question but that the amendment is defeated.

The Chair rules the amendment is defeated.

The question now recurs upon the report of the committee. All in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee please hold up your right hands. Those opposed will use the same sign. It seems to me that the vote is unanimous in the adoption of the committee's report, and the Chair so rules that the report of the committee is unanimously adopted.

Delegate Lynch, Pattern Makers: Let the record show that the delegates of the Pattern Makers League are opposed to the reference of such authority to a committee without the approval by a convention.

President Green: The Chair will recognize Delegate Koveleski.

SPECIAL ORDER—ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move we have a special order

of business tomorrow morning at 10:30 o'clock for nomination and election of officers of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Now the Chair will recognize Secretary Frey of the Committee on Resolutions for a continuation of their report.

The Secretary of the committee continued the report as follows:

WAR LABOR BOARD

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 117 and 120 and Resolutions Nos. 19, 26, and 88.)

National War Labor Board

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Wm. Nagorske, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The President's general Wage Freeze Order has made it mandatory for War Labor Board approval of very nearly all wage increases, and

WHEREAS, The many thousands of cases that have been filed have caused a tremendous burden on the several Regional Boards situated throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, A majority of the cases filed are for wage increases among the low income brackets, and

WHEREAS, The W. P. A. subsistence survey released September 15, 1942, shows a figure of \$1,603.00 as a minimum amount of money required per year for bare maintenance of a family of four, and

WHEREAS, At the time the facts of this survey were released there was no Victory or Withholding Tax in effect which caused the further reduction of the amounts of money available for family maintenance, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That to facilitate the processing of Form 10 throughout the country, that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled adopt a program to endeavor to secure governmental approval of a negotiated or agreed upon wage up to the figure of \$1,600.00 per year without approval of the National War Labor Board, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and incoming Executive Council be instructed to use all means possible to bring about the intent of this resolution.

The Little Steel Formula

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, Joseph Levitsky, International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The Little Steel Formula adopted by the War Labor Board to the effect that no increases shall be given to the workers above 15 per cent on the wages prevailing in January, 1941, and

WHEREAS, This so-called Little Steel Formula has become contrary to the real situation regarding wages and prices, and

WHEREAS, The Little Steel Formula has actually reduced the standard of living of the workers by forcing them to pay much higher prices while at the same time freezing their wages, and

WHEREAS, While wages have been frozen, profits were constantly increasing, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, demands the abolition of the Little Steel Formula and that the National War Labor Board should recognize and approve negotiated increases agreed upon between labor unions and employers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That if the National War Labor Board will refuse to abolish the Little Steel Formula in its entirety it shall at least modify it to an extent that the wage increases permitted to the workers above the wages prevailing in January, 1941, shall be increased from 15 per cent to 25 per cent.

War Labor Board Wage Rate Brackets

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, A situation has arisen which requires prompt action to preserve the rights of all International Unions, and

WHEREAS, We find the Regional War Labor Boards are setting up as they call, sound and tested going rates, and said rates will affect all organizations going before the Regional Board; the rates set up being non-union rates. For instance, the New York City Board has set up classes A, B, and C, for Polishers when during the entire history of the organization one minimum rate has always been established. With the approved change it will be necessary not alone to combat the employer but also the Regional Board as the sound and tested rates are not the ones paid by the industry and negotiated by agreement, and

WHEREAS, There has also just been released a sound and tested going rate for the foundries of Cincinnati, Cleveland, Colum-

bus and Toledo, Ohio, in these rates there being three different classes of molders—floor, bench and machine—floor \$1.10; bench \$1.00; machine 90 cents. The same applies to core-makers only the low rate is 80 cents; then they are classed as A and B mechanics. The above are the rates for common laborers. Yet this same Regional Board in Cleveland approved a minimum rate of \$1.17½ for all molders and coremakers with no classes and 72½ cents as a minimum for common laborers. Such a policy is not a sound and tested one as those who prepare the wage data go to the non-union plants and then, without consulting the unions, they proceed to say these are the sound and tested rates for the industry, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Boston, Mass., in October, 1943, protest this method adopted by the Regional War Labor Boards in securing these rates and setting up different classifications affecting skilled trades.

In considering this part of the Executive Council's report, your committee included Resolutions Nos. 19, 26 and 88. In lieu of these resolutions, and in support of the Executive Council's report on this subject, we submit the following for your approval:

Your Committee takes this opportunity to call to your attention certain specific facts in the development of the National War Labor Board worthy of serious consideration.

The Creation of the War Labor Board

On December 17, 1941, President Roosevelt called together representatives of Labor and Industry for the now historical "Industry-Labor Conference on War-Time Problems". In the course of the meeting, representatives of the American Federation of Labor proposed that for the duration of the war there should be no lock-outs and no strikes; that all disputes were to be settled peacefully through a labor board made up of an equal number of representatives of labor, industry and the public. This suggestion was adopted unanimously by the participants in the Conference. The A. F. of L. accepted fully its responsibility to maintain maximum production and voluntarily obligated itself to forego the use of the strike weapon for the duration of the war.

When this voluntary proposal of a peaceful method of settling labor disputes was presented to the Chief Executive, he embodied it into Executive Order No. 9017 and thereby

created the National War Labor Board on January 12, 1942.

An all important fact to be emphasized is that the National War Labor Board was not originally the product of governmental action. The President simply implemented the wishes of Labor and Industry representatives who were aware of their responsibilities in time of war. The War Labor Board came into being with the consent of those whom it was to serve. Unfortunately, this democratic ideal has not been adhered to.

Wage Control: Executive Order 9250

The first departure from the principle of voluntary regulation occurred on October 2, 1942 when President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 9250 providing for the stabilizing of the national economy. Acting under authority vested in him by the amendment to the Emergency Price Control Act, the President directed the National War Labor Board to regulate wages.

Executive Order No. 9250 completely changed the nature of the War Labor Board. It now became another governmental war agency created by Executive Order and assigned a job to do. The unique quality of voluntary regulation was considerably altered; only the structure remained unchanged.

This alteration in the fundamental nature of the National War Labor Board can be most clearly demonstrated by describing the evolution of the Little Steel Formula.

The Little Steel Formula

Six months before the National War Labor Board was ordered to regulate wages, its members recognized the need for stabilizing wage rates if inflation were to be avoided. In the *International Harvester* case of April, 1942 the Board indicated clearly that wage control was a necessity if the economic health of the nation was not to be impaired. The only aspect of this conclusion which was not unanimously accepted was the method by which stabilization was to be attained.

There were honest differences of opinion over what *percentage* of general wage increases were to be allowed to offset increases in the cost of living. When these opinions

were expressed by votes of the Board members, the majority defined 15% as the proper figure. The Labor members were in the minority. However, they accepted the decision of the majority because they fully recognized the great national emergency with which our country was confronted.

On March 23, 1943 the A. F. of L. members presented to the War Labor Board a formal petition requesting reconsideration of the 15% allowance for correction of maladjustments. The majority of the Board was forced to admit that the cost of living had risen well above 15% of what it had been in January, 1941. Nevertheless, the majority did not believe that the spread between wages and the cost of living was sufficiently large to merit increasing the 15% allowance. The net effect of the petition was the admission that if prices continued to rise, then the Board would take positive action to remove any injustices.

The "Hold-the-Line Order" (Executive Order No. 9328)

On April 8, 1943 Executive Order No. 9328 was issued by the President and a national wage policy was both created and enforced by government edict. The substitution of this government-sponsored wage policy for the voluntarily created Little Steel Formula came as a complete surprise to every member of the National War Labor Board. No longer was the wage policy of the Board subject to determination by a majority of its members; from now on the Director of Economic Stabilization would control the War Labor Board's wage policy.

The new national wage policy was so unrealistic as to be completely unworkable. Led by the A. F. of L. members, the Board issued a unanimous statement that it could not successfully regulate wages under the drastic provisions of Executive Order No. 9328. The Board indicated clearly that genuine wage regulation not only limited wage increases but also maximized production. Under the provisions of the newly declared wage policy, production was sure to decline and the nation's war effort jeopardized.

Only after a month had been spent inducing Economic Stabilization Director Byrnes and the President to reconsider Executive Order No. 9328 was a "clarification" issued on May 12, 1943. Even then the provisions of

the original Little Steel Formula were only partly restored.

Originally, and under Executive Order No. 9250, the Little Steel Formula had permitted modifications in wages to correct maladjustments, to eliminate inequalities, to eliminate sub-standards of living and to aid in the effective prosecution of the war. Executive Order No. 9328 restricted the basis of wage increases to the correction of maladjustments and the elimination of sub-standards. The "clarification" restored completely the "effective prosecution of the war" principle and substituted the ironing out of wage "inequities" for correction of wage inequalities.

The true significance of the May 12th modification of Executive Order No. 9328 becomes clear when the fact is realized that organized labor had obtained wage increases between January 1, 1941—before Pearl Harbor—and May, 1943 which equalled the 15% allowed under maladjustments; that relatively few A. F. of L. members were receiving sub-standard wages; that rarely did the War Labor Board grant increases on the basis of aiding in the prosecution of the war. In other words, wages of A. F. of L. members could now be increased only under the principle of "inequities" and this basis was so unjustly constructed as to mean essentially a wage freeze.

Wage Inequities and Wage Brackets

Determination of whether or not a wage inequity existed under Executive Order No. 9328 and the May 12th clarification is an involved process. The first step is the creation of a "wage bracket" or range of "sound and tested rates" for every job classification in a labor market. The minimum sound and tested rate is used to determine whether a contested wage rate was inequitable or not. Rates below this minimum may be increased to the minimum. Wage rates above the minimum are frozen for the duration of the war.

The application of the wage bracket concept to the wage rates of A. F. of L. members effectively eliminates the possibility of wage increases for the future. When wage brackets are set up the minimum rate is in most instances a non-union rate. Union rates are within the bracket and can not be changed. Even worse, organization of work-

ers is effectively hobbled since the wage rates of newly organized employees can not be raised above the minimum or non-union rate which represents the bottom of the wage bracket.

Finally, there have been numerous instances in which the definition of a job classification has threatened to destroy a working condition for which the American Federation of Labor has fought to attain for many years.

Government Hierarchies

Your committee submits that not only have the members of the American Federation of Labor suffered unjustly from the government imposed regulation of wages, but the National War Labor Board is steadily being subjected to an ever increasing number of other governmental agencies. The finality which characterized the decisions of the original voluntary War Labor Board has steadily been nibbled away.

Under Executive Order No. 9250 the effect of Labor Board wage decisions involving prices were subjected to the scrutiny of the Office of Price Administration and the Director of Economic Stabilization. Under Executive Order No. 9328, its wage decisions are only provisional until both Economic Stabilization Director Vinson and War Mobilization Director Byrnes have given their approval. In other words, the very essence of the tripartite War Labor Board has been denied. One or two men now regulate wages which affect prices. While the number of such cases is, at present, small, the importance of those cases is not. Furthermore, the probability that the proportion of such cases will increase is great. Wage regulation bids fair to become wage freezing in an economy where the prices of other goods and services have not been successfully frozen.

The Smith-Connally Act

As though the treatment accorded the members of the American Federation of Labor by a governmentally dominated War Labor Board was not in itself sufficient to cause them to question the continued validity of the Board, Congress has seen fit to further harass and badger A. F. of L. union men. The passage of the Smith-Connally Act was a new high point in anti-unionism in this country.

No peace-time national labor legislation approaches this Act in its brazen effrontery. The Act boldly legalizes strikes and places at naught the record of the American Federation of Labor in settling disputes peaceably through the voluntarily created National War Labor Board.

Conclusion

Your Committee is fully conscious of the need for wage regulation and for a definite program of fighting inflation, but it does not subscribe to that philosophy of government which assumes that the ends desired justify the means. Your committee does not believe that all governmental edicts purporting to fight inflation are equitable.

Nor do we believe that the national interest is well served when government-fixed wage formulas supplant wage policies hammered out by democratically organized bodies which have been voluntarily created. The Little Steel Formula represented the considered judgment of a majority of a democratically constituted Board actively participating in the labor relations of the nation; they were genuine representatives of labor, industry and the public on the Board. Nevertheless, their contributions have been ignored and the judgment of one man now guides the wage policy of the nation. To a people accustomed to democratic principles this one-man rule is repugnant.

Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor should formally request the President to initiate action which would restore the National War Labor Board to its former position; return to the Board its power to adjudicate finally all labor disputes by democratic processes; and remove from its back the ever increasing load of super-agencies.

Finally, your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor should continue its efforts to guarantee that the nation shall be victorious in war. The A. F. of L. has always subscribed to the principle of voluntary arbitration of labor disputes. It cannot and will not, we are sure, after hostilities have ceased, agree to the continued existence in any form whatsoever of the National War Labor Board, and will not countenance domination by the Government in any form or character of its right to bargain collectively fully and freely.

Secretary Frey: I move the adoption of the committee's report.

Committee Chairman Woll: I second the motion.

Delegate Laderman, Ladies Hand Bag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers: Owing to the importance of this part of the Resolutions Committee's report and owing to the fact that most of the delegates did not hear it because of the noise, I move that we discuss this part of the report as the first business tomorrow morning.

Committee Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, there is still much for your committee to report. What they have to present should be of much interest to this convention. We have gotten along fairly well into the second week, and it might be well if a motion was adopted at this time to hold an evening session tonight for some of this work to be transacted.

Delegate Laderman, Ladies Hand Bag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers: I would like to speak on this part of the report if it is going to be discussed now.

President Green: Go ahead, we will work until the hour of adjournment.

Delegate Laderman: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I consider this question of the War Labor Board of far greater importance than the previous question that was given so much time. I think that the War Labor Board and its rulings will have a far greater effect on our movement now and in the near future.

We have introduced this resolution because we feel that the War Labor Board is the bottleneck in the war effort at the present time on the home front. I believe this is the most important question on the home front because their decisions affect the lives of millions of our members, and you are not going to get anywhere on this question merely by asking them to stop delaying decisions.

We must begin to review our whole policy on the question of the War Labor Board, and then we will be able to get the proper and full cooperation on all of the other matters on the war effort on the home front. We will not be able to get the proper and full cooperation on all of the other matters on the war effort on the home front unless we bring some redress upon the situation.

We have asked that the voluntary agreements made between management and labor be taken out of the hands of the War Labor

Board, because we think that that is an important matter that will help generally in the morale of our people, and in the discipline of our people and in the building up of our movement. In England they did not give up their right to collective bargaining because the war broke out. Now collective bargaining is no longer effective because it has the veto power of the War Labor Board. We must retain the right of collective bargaining, and when labor and management agree upon a proposition after due deliberation and discussion in the presence of a conciliation department agent, there is no reason why the War Labor Board should turn it down.

We have situations where the War Labor Board granted us one cent increase in Philadelphia. Because the skilled workers were getting 65 cents they appealed for an increase of five cents an hour, and the Board cut it down to a penny. There are other decisions of a similar nature throughout the country. But the important thing is that the War Labor Board process is in serious dispute. In most cases the War Labor Board has already agreed that 50 cents an hour is below the subsistence level and that we should have the right to agree to 50 cents an hour minimum to beginners. If we do that, why must we go to the War Labor Board with that question? Why can't the War Labor Board say that all agreements on a 50-cent minimum should not have to come before the War Labor Board?

If there is anything that is helping in the turn-over problem it is this question. Brother Keenan and others have reported on the turn-over problem, but the War Labor Board can help immediately by making its decisions.

There is also the question of vacations with pay. They have gone on record to approve vacations with pay for one year of employment. If they approve that why must we come before them and waste four or five months to get approval from the War Labor Board? That recently happened in the city of Chicago, where the workers came before the War Labor Board and they did not get it until the end of September when they were no longer able to take it. It is hurting our morale, it is hurting our discipline, it is seriously injuring the collective bargaining process in our unions.

I want to appeal to the Executive Council and to all of the unions to see that these procedures are changed by the War Labor Board itself, because you will not be able to get it through the people who sit there now,

the supervisors, because these supervisors cannot understand the psychology of this delay that is hurting our people all around. It hurts us in the effort to collect money for the Red Cross, for the Community Chest, because the workers are demoralized, they don't know whether they have the right to do what they are doing or not, and the unions are pleading for patience. Nevertheless the workers are restless and disorganized. We must do something to change that, because if we don't it will hurt the whole war effort for the most crucial year next year.

President Green: There is another speaker who wishes to speak on this report and the hour of adjournment having arrived, may I ask that the delegates here will agree to a suspension of the rules and meet tonight, say, from eight o'clock until nine thirty?

Vice President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions has considerable to report, and if you want your convention to adjourn tomorrow night in ample time to make your train reservations I think you should meet tonight.

Delegate Bugnizet, Electrical Workers: A lot of us have appointments and others are not present. You should have spoken of that earlier. Have a meeting tomorrow night to finish up, if necessary.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, would it be possible for us to continue in session one more hour, suspend the rules and meet for another hour and then adjourn?

President Green: If there are no objections we will continue in session until 6:30 o'clock. It is suggested that we suspend the rules and stay in session until six thirty. Are there any objections to the suspension of the rules accordingly? Hearing none, we will proceed.

Delegate Busby, Alabama State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: Like the former speaker I certainly think this is the most important matter that has come before this convention since we have been in session. My experience with the War Labor Board in efforts to get increases in pay teach me that it is one of the greatest menaces to the labor movement that we have ever been confronted with. I think every effort should be made by the American Federation of Labor to do something to stop a little group of people from acting on a pretense

of carrying out a law, and instead of carrying it out actually raping it. If you remember the act that created this situation, it was a so-called stabilization act provided for the purpose of stabilizing wages, salaries and prices, if you please. The word, "stabilizing" would naturally imply that they were on an even keel and on an even basis, and then if one gets out of line, to put the others with it would be to stabilize. And here we find at the very beginning, seemingly, the proper thing was done. They had the Little Steel case and they found from a report of the Department of Labor that the cost of living had gone up 15%. And so they stabilized it by giving the steel workers the 15%. And lo and behold, what do we have next? Not a single thought from the law itself but somehow creeping into the idea was the thought that the Little Steel increase should be a formula. Of course, the word "formula" would indicate a pattern, something to go by.

Then we find the word "freeze" beginning to be used, and so in every instance the War Labor Board has finally got to the point where it has an iron clad rule in violation of the law itself, that nobody can get anything more than 15%. That is not stabilizing, by any means.

I come from down in the South where for 100 years it has been said by the corporate interests that the people in the South can live cheaper than they can in the North, and hence there should be a differential in the wage scale. The American Federation of Labor has always fought that theory. The labor movement throughout the country has opposed that theory, but the War Labor Board has clinched that theory, and today they say that you must live cheaper in the South, whether you like it or not.

Some few weeks ago I presented a case to the War Labor Board of a great manufacturing interest in the south where they make cornmeal that you people up here in the North hear about them eating down there. It so happens that all the workers in these various mills were colored people and their scale was 40 cents an hour. That scale had been boosted from 25 and 30 cents to 40 cents by the Wage and Hour Act, and two different trial examiners representing the War Labor Board, after hearing the case, said that those Negro workers were only entitled to the 40 cents. Yet we were able to show that the meal, when they ground the corn and turned

it out—they had to take their wives and babies and go to the store and pay \$4.20 a bushel for the meal they ground for 40 cents an hour.

In a formula of diet that expert dietitians have prepared, using that and using the prices in that same territory, it would cost \$25.00 a week for a man and his wife and three children to buy what expert doctors and dietitians have said is absolutely necessary, and anything below that would be in the form of a pellagra diet. I dare say those poor fellows were only making \$16.00 a week, and the War Labor Board put their approval on it and said that was all they were entitled to eat.

Yes, they play into the hands of the Southern manufacturers, and I can now understand and realize what one of our great judges meant when he wrote into the history of Alabama and said to you cotton mill owners of the New England States, "For God's sake, bring your mills into the South, where the women and children will be glad to go to work and they will go to the spinning wheel and the loom with a gladsome song on their lips, thanking God for an opportunity to work, regardless of what they get."

The War Labor Board in Washington has upheld that advertising put into Alabama history, and they are upholding that idea that those people down there should be made to do that.

Last November we filed a case with the War Labor Board for all of the truck drivers in the South. You have been reading in the papers for a day or two about them all being out on strike, and no doubt many people will condemn them. We have a truck line running from down in the far South into New York City. We have truck lines running into Chicago and throughout the country, and the War Labor Board has refused to give recognition, refused to decide that case up until this present moment. And yet the truck driver, when he gets on the truck and starts with his load of stuff to New York City or Chicago gets 2½ cents a mile with a 35 mile driving limit until he crosses an imaginary line over in the Middle West, the Ohio River, and when he crosses that line his salary is automatically raised to 3.4 cents a mile. He goes on into Chicago at 3.4 cents, but when he gets back, if he happens to belong to any of the Southern Locals, his salary is reduced to 2½ cents. We filed that case last November. We argued the case in January, and that is the last any-

body in the South has ever heard of the case.

The leaders, the representatives of the truck drivers I know, without being there, have been on the job day and night, begging and pleading with these men to get back on the job and go to work. We realize the necessity and the importance of them going back. It has been said in the papers that there are 25,000,000 tons of freight lying on the docks that can't be moved. I am happy to read today that they did agree to go back, and I hope it won't occur again, but I say to you that the War Labor Board in Washington should be given some thought here today and if necessary tomorrow, because they are the ones who stopped that production more than anybody else.

There is no one connected with it who could possibly say that we have any legal or just excuse for turning those boys down since last November. I tried a case a few weeks ago in Mobile, Alabama, where the president of the corporation in which I was asking for an increase sat by my side and begged and pleaded with the representative of the War Labor Board to grant an increase. He would not sign for it then because we were asking for more than he would give, but he said that these men were entitled to more money and he could not keep them without more money. That looked like I could get something, and lo and behold, the representative of the War Labor Board made a ruling that the men were not entitled to anything.

Down in the shipyards on the Gulf there were men painting on the ships in Mobile. The boss got it in for one of the boys. He did not like him. The boy had a wife but he was within the draft age and the boss laid him off for six days. The business agent of the Painter's Union gave him another job in a town somewhere and the shipyard company immediately notified the War Labor Board, and I shook hands with that boy when he was being inducted into the Army for not doing what they wanted him to do.

That is what they are telling them down in the South—you cannot object to this wage, you have to work for it whether you like it or not, and when we present our petitions to the War Labor Board, they turn them down or they say there is a manpower shortage. They have officials all over the country trying to work some plan to create more production.

Just a few weeks ago in the Birmingham Central Body a request came in from a firm up in Alaska who said they wanted some men

and they were willing to pay \$1.00 for men to dig a ditch, and \$1.50 for truck drivers. They were willing to guarantee them 48 hours a week, and with the great manpower shortage, with the Governor and everybody else saying day and night that the women and everybody else should go to work in order to overcome the manpower shortage, in the Birmingham Trades Council 2500 men answered that call. They have got them down there and they have them capable of doing the work.

If you can remove the obstacles created by the War Labor Board and give those poor men an opportunity to live they will work and they will produce sufficient to win this war and they will create the production that is necessary. But when you force them to live on a pellagra diet, when you force them to work for 40 cents an hour, they gradually come to the point where they cannot produce. That is the condition the War Labor Board is creating as far as the South is concerned today. And, men, I think everything necessary ought to be done to bring about the necessary changes. I know that every delegate in this convention is concerned about this wage question. I know that each and everyone of you who might have had cases to go before the War Labor Board know just what I know. I have handled the preparation of the cases for the truck drivers in the Southeastern area. I have various types of cases that I have to present, and the result is that I get nothing, and I certainly believe something should be done about it.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CIO

(Executive Council's Report, page 39)

The Executive Council in this portion of its report, relates the activities of the A. F. of L. and the CIO Peace Committee in connection with the joint effort made to establish unity between the A. F. of L. and the CIO.

The convention last year reaffirmed its earnest desire that every effort be made to establish unity between the two organizations. The joint conference held December 2nd, 1942, did not reach any understanding on

the cessation of "raiding" during the period of negotiations. An agreement was reached for the establishment of a joint A. F. of L.-CIO Committee to hear and decide any disputed jurisdictional differences which might arise between the two organizations, and to submit to arbitration such disputes as they were unable to adjust.

This agreement was approved by the Executive Council at its meeting January 18-27, 1943. At that time the Executive Council directed that it be the policy of the American Federation of Labor not to undertake to raid CIO unions where they held collective bargaining rights, and that the CIO similarly agree.

Later on at the meeting held March 31-April 1, 1943, at the meeting of the joint unity committee the representatives of the American Federation of Labor proposed that preliminary to a discussion of organic unity, a no-raiding agreement be entered into between the two organizations. The representatives of the CIO were unable to agree to a no-raiding plan. This meeting of the joint unity committee resulted in a disagreement, and adjourned without making provisions for holding future meetings. None have since been held.

It is the conviction of your committee that the AFL Unity Committee be continued so that no opportunity which presents itself to establish unity may be overlooked.

The convention last year while discussing the necessity for unity, expressed the conviction that a thorough-going and open-minded discussion of unity would be difficult if not impossible if raiding tactics were to continue. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to sit around a conference table to seriously discuss peace while the armies of the respective parties were engaged in active warfare.

Your committee submits the thought that in peace time, raiding the membership of another organization is at best questionable, and in many cases a dishonorable activity. During wartime such raiding is as reprehensible as it is truly unpatriotic.

Your committee is advised that the membership of the Typographical Union are to shortly take a referendum vote on the question of re-affiliating with the American Federation of Labor. We sincerely hope that this vote will result in bringing this great union back

into the fold; that the Typographical Union are assured that in returning, their autonomous rights will be fully observed, and protected; that they are further informed by this convention that the conditions previously agreed to by a committee of the Executive Council, A. F. of L. and the officers of the International Typographical Union will be fully observed, and carried into effect.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions No. 36 and 112, which are as follows:

Trade Union Unity

Resolution No. 36—By Two Rivers Central Trades and Labor Council, Two Rivers, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, The American Labor movement is today still divided, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of Central Labor Unions realize that at present the reactionary Senators and Congressmen are gunning for the scalp of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, All affiliated organizations are today hoping and praying for unity among the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., so as to hold what labor has gained, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record without fail, for unity and harmony for the American Labor movement and for the more effective prosecution of the war effort and for the protection of organized labor war workers who are fulfilling their duties.

Labor Unity

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Saokett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, America was never in greater need of unity on its home front than it is now, in order to repel the attacks of its enemies and to properly execute a victorious offensive against them, and

WHEREAS, The call for Labor Unity issued by President Roosevelt has received the warm response of William Green of the A. F. of L. and Philip Murray of the C.I.O., and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions have strengthened our war effort by establishing working unity committees, joint labor endorsements, and other forms of essential cooperation throughout the entire country, and

WHEREAS, In this very trying period for democracy everywhere, it is the foremost duty of organized labor regardless of union affiliation to do everything in its power to defeat barbaric fascist reaction, which can most effectively be accomplished through the unity of the labor movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor resolve to do all in its power to aid in making labor unity a working reality in their community, and urge all success to the negotiations between the committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Resolutions Nos. 36 and 112 relate to the question of labor unity. The action just taken upon the Executive Council's report makes it unnecessary that separate action should be taken on these resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Publicity and the Labor Press

(Executive Council's Report, Page 103 and Resolutions Nos. 1, 5, 16, 21, 23, 33 and 76.)

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organization of workers has proven to be the greatest single factor in the advancement of mankind, and

WHEREAS, The very life of the Organized Labor Movement is dependent upon the support and cooperation of the general public, and

WHEREAS, The enemies of Organized Labor, knowing this to be true, have carried on a vicious campaign to discredit and condemn their humane work, and

WHEREAS, They have been partially successful in their efforts to discredit the Organized Labor Movement by carrying on an organized campaign through the press of the nation, by radio, and by personal contact, and

WHEREAS, Labor has failed to carry out its responsibility in getting the truth to the people, and

WHEREAS, It becomes necessary for the forces of Organized Labor to enlarge the scope of their present activities in the interest of their membership and the future welfare of our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 68rd Annual Convention,

assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record in favor of the establishment of a Department of Public Relations within the American Federation of Labor.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 5—By Tulare County Central Labor Council, Visalia, California.

WHEREAS, During the period of the current war, the inter-relationship between government and labor has become greater than ever before in the history of the United States, and labor unions have been required to obtain approval from such government bodies as the National War Labor Board of changes in wages, hours, working conditions or union status, and from other governmental tribunals the necessary permission to undertake other functions, and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to create a proper understanding on the part of government officials of labor principles in their deliberations, which can be accomplished only by widespread sympathy and understanding of labor's views, and national publicity of labor's objectives and ends, and

WHEREAS, A hostile press and radio which is owned and operated by corporate anti-labor interests in the United States, has constantly attempted to create anti-labor sentiment in order to preserve their special privileges and vested corporate interests, and

WHEREAS, The machinations of this hostile press have confused the public and their representatives in Congress and encouraged other anti-labor members of that body, so that there has been enacted the infamous Smith-Connally Bill, and there has likewise been passed anti-labor legislation in such states as Kansas, Colorado, Utah, California, Minnesota and others, and

WHEREAS, The most effective counter-acting influence to these hostile and evil forces is an explanation to the public of the United States of the aims of organized labor through a Public Relations Department of the American Federation of Labor which can at once educate the public generally as to such ends and contact individually and personally the representatives in Congress, and

WHEREAS, A Public Relations Department of the American Federation of Labor operating as a central body may fulfill the above objectives as well as emphasize the great contribution American labor has made to the war effort by its unparalleled production of war materials, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby establish a Public Relations Department to be operated as a central body in the American Federation of Labor located in the City of Washington, D. C., for the purpose of:

1. Giving as wide publicity as possible to the purposes and objectives of the labor movement, as well as its great contribution to the war; and

2. Contacting and educating representatives of Congress to said aims and accomplishments of organized labor in order that such representatives will not be influenced to vote in favor of restrictive and indefensible labor legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That these directives be carried out through the establishment of a regular weekly Radio Program on a national hook-up and through widespread advertisement in the leading weekly magazines and daily papers.

Anti-Labor Propaganda

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the present time vicious anti-labor propaganda flows unabated through the press and radio, having as its purpose the unjust and unfounded discrediting of organized labor and labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, Such malicious and untrue propaganda is constantly distorted, emphasized and magnified throughout the length and breadth of the land, and

WHEREAS, The result of such untrue, false, and malicious propaganda is to place on both organized labor and labor organizations undeserved responsibility for whatever defects, deficiencies and inefficiencies there may be in our present war effort and in the state of our domestic economy, and

WHEREAS, In truth and in fact the real responsibility and liability for any such defects, deficiencies or inefficiencies can be traced directly to the influence of said propagandists, Fascist-inclined newspapers and employer associations, large corporations that have been derelict, negligent and deliberately dishonest in the fulfilling of Government contracts as evidenced by Congressional Committee Reports and the Records of the Federal Courts, and pressure groups representing powerful, private, monied interests seeking further privilege and power, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record in favor of the following program:

1. That a Fact Finding Commission be established by the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of investigating and making report on the following:

A. War frauds committed against the United States Government and large corporations, such as Anaconda Copper Company, the Curtiss-Wright Airplane Company, and other corporations that have been charged with manufacturing and preparing defective war materials, some of which cor-

porations have acknowledged their liability for such fraud in open court:

B. Propaganda activities by the National Association of Manufacturers, various newspapers, columnists, radio commentators and other persons and organizations designed to unfairly criticize and smear organized labor and labor unions and thus divert the attention of the American people from the real malefactors in the war effort;

C. The activities of many small but powerful financial interests who are more concerned with the making of unconscionable profits out of the war and maintaining monopolies, than with making real contribution to the war effort or fighting the growing danger of inflation because of rapidly rising living costs resulting from their activities and attitude;

D. The fomenters and encouragers of racial and religious discrimination and prejudices, thus spreading the seed of Fascism and at the same time interfering with the effective prosecution of the war;

E. Such other persons, organizations and activities who or which are engaged in un-American activities to the detriment of the war effort and domestic economy.

2. To disseminate to Central Labor Organizations and the labor press the results of such investigation, together with whatever other pertinent material it may have or collect to the end that the working man may have a true, unbiased and straightforward picture of the real internal dangers confronting the country, be advised of the real enemies of the country, be able to recognize the native Fascists and form an enlightened intelligent opinion on such matters.

3. Use such material so collected for the purpose of combating and destroying the vicious anti-labor smoke screen which has been thrown up to hide the illegal, un-American and pro-Fascist activities of others and for the purpose of defending and demonstrating the integrity, loyalty and patriotism of organized labor.

Radio Commentator for Labor

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are a number of radio commentators who are making statements that are untrue, biased, unfair and very detrimental to labor, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor is presently powerless to answer these untruths and misrepresentations of facts, and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that organized labor should have a medium of making known to the public the true facts of and concerning labor disputes and its position concerning matters of public importance, and

WHEREAS, It is important to organized labor to build and keep the good will of the general public, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, go on record in favor of engaging a radio commentator to present Labor's true viewpoint through its own spokesman.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates E. J. Volz, Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers' Union of N. A.

WHEREAS, Anti-Labor legislation has been enacted into law in an increasing number of states, and Congress has been prompted to pass the Smith-Connally Bill over the veto of the President, and in complete disregard of the remarkable wartime production and service record of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, A spirit of opposition and of antagonism toward trade unionism is being systematically promoted among the armed services by those who would weaken, if not destroy, our trade unions, and

WHEREAS, To combat these alarming developments labor must launch an extensive educational and publicity program, first among its membership, and then the general public, to drive home the true state of affairs to the American people. While recognizing the value of the American Federationist, Labor's Monthly Survey, and the hundreds of good Labor Publications, nevertheless there remains the necessity of coordinating our present efforts, supplemented by a plan to reach the American public generally, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. consider the feasibility and advisability of setting aside an appropriate sum of money out of its General and Defense Funds or other means available for the purpose of placing before the American public, through the press, radio and other forms of publicity, not only Labor's side of any pending controversial question but making more fully known the constructive contributions having been and being made by the workers and their trade unions in the carrying on of war production, of relief and government financing, to the securing of an equitable and lasting peace, to the maintenance and extension of democracy in all our varied relationships, to the improvement of the conditions and rewards of labor in all fields, to the educational development and social improvement of all our people, and in holding secure the principles and ideals that have made America a great nation, a great democracy of free men, of free enterprise and of free trade unions.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Harry W. Acreman, Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Public opinion is the controlling factor in all human relations, and we believe that it is impossible to have an enlightened public opinion on any question unless the facts are presented without prejudice to the people, and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor in America is without an adequate public relation program or medium whereby the facts regarding Labor, its acts, aims, object and aspirations may be presented to the public in a fair and impartial manner, without which it is impossible for Labor to have its just share of public approval of its acts, and

WHEREAS, The prejudicial press and radio, biased individuals and selfish, vacillating politicians have not overlooked the opportunity to magnify Labor's mistakes and blunders—often to a degree of utter falsehood—and almost never has it praised Labor or given it credit for the magnificent acts and record it has made in bringing happiness and comfort to the toiling masses of millions of men and women, boys and girls of America over a period of more than 50 years, and the 99 per cent of the loyal patriotic union men and women now engaged in war production, whose record of production is almost miraculous, while the unapproved, unauthorized and unpatriotic acts of the 1 per cent have been publicized to an alarming and unreasonable degree, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates, in convention assembled, that we hereby call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take such action as in their judgment best to create a fund to support an adequate public relations program to be created by the Executive Council, and have same submitted to the coming AFOL convention which convenes in Boston, Massachusetts, October 4, 1943, for approval.

A. F. of L. Public Relations Department

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Minnesota State Federation of Labor at its 1943 Convention voted to establish a Public Relations Bureau for the purpose of carrying on educational activities to acquaint the public of the vital facts and truth about economic social and legislative actions, and

WHEREAS, The attack on the labor movement through propaganda and by legislation is a national program, and

WHEREAS, The activities of the State Federations of Labor cannot, to any extent extend beyond their own borders, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor establish a Public Relations Department for the purpose of counteracting the vicious propaganda that is now being used against Labor as well as the legislative measures that are being promoted,

In connection with the foregoing your committee considered Resolutions Nos. 1, 5, 16, 21, 23, 33 and 76. All of these resolutions are designed to increase public knowledge and understanding of the educational, beneficial, patriotic and constructive activities of the Federation, and have as their objective the creation in the Federation of a public relations department.

Your committee finds itself in accord with the spirit of all of these resolutions, but does not concur in the thought of creating a public relations department, separate and distinct from all such activities carried on by the officers and the Executive Council of the Federation.

We would call attention to the splendid work having been and now being carried on, not alone by the Federation but as well by several of its departments and a number of our national and international unions. It is evident good use has been made of every available opportunity presented through the public press, the public forum, the radio, screen, and other means of communication in presenting organized labor's constructive efforts to the community and to the nation, to industry and our national economy, past and current; and in meeting unjustified and unwarrantable criticism and attack designed to place our movement in a false and unfavorable light.

However well may have been our past activities in this direction, there is room for improvement and enlargement of these activities. To that end we recommend, first of all, that the officers of the Federation make every possible effort to have all activities of this character of the several departments, and of our national and international unions, coordinated with like activities of the Federation.

We further recommend that the Executive Council, through its officers or a committee appointed for this purpose, consider how these public relations activities may be furthered and effectually enlarged, and that it likewise consider the setting aside of an appropriate sum of money out of the Federation's funds and insofar as its finances will permit, for this purpose, and that in the event it is essential or desirable to further enlarge such a fund for the purposes indicated, that the national and international unions be solicited for such voluntary financial contributions as will enable the Federation to engage in an

effective and all comprehensive public relations campaign.

Your committee understands that progress has been made by the Special Committee on the Labor Press and that it proposes to submit a report to an early meeting of the Executive Council.

The bona fide labor press has been of such great service to the labor movement in the past year that your committee feels the American Federation of Labor should make every effort to provide wider opportunities for its growth and development.

Your committee heartily concurs with the conclusion of the Executive Council that the "Labor For Victory" radio programs of the American Federation of Labor have been of great value in informing the public of labor's great contributions to the war effort.

We recommend that this convention formally express the whole-hearted appreciation of the American Federation of Labor to the National Broadcasting Company for making this radio time on its nation-wide network facilities available to the American Federation of Labor without charge as a public service.

Your committee is indeed pleased by the fact that President Green has appointed an outstanding committee to study ways and means by which the American Federation of Labor can be of greater service and assistance to the bona fide labor press which upholds its policies. This action was taken in conformity with the instructions of the 1942 convention at Toronto. The personnel of this new committee, composed of Vice President Matthew Woll, President E. E. Milliman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Secretary-Treasurer R. E. Woodmansee, of the International Labor Press, guarantees that its recommendations will be of practical and constructive benefit to the bona fide labor press.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 62)

We appreciate the fact that our legislative representatives have had to encounter obsta-

cles during the war months. So many controversies seek solution in Washington, so many interests are there to force solutions in their individual interests, that liberation and objective decisions are made most difficult. We recommend concurrence in this Section of the Executive Council's Reports including all subsections referred to therein—and referred to this committee and separately reported on.

ANTI-TRUST SUITS AND PROSECUTIONS

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 99, 100 and 101)

The history of the attack upon organized labor by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice is reported in detail in three previous Executive Council reports. The present report is most significant for it indicates that in all probability the final chapter in the dramatic legal attack upon labor's fundamental rights, through civil and criminal prosecutions instituted by the Anti-Trust Division, is herewith written.

This past year saw but two cases instituted against labor unions, one civil and the other criminal. In these two cases the Anti-Trust Division asserted its final theories upon which it sought to destroy labor's constitutional rights. In a series of almost fifty separate suits it sought to have the courts declare that it was a criminal violation of the Anti-Trust laws for a labor union to strike to prevent the use of cheap non-union material; or to strike to compel the hiring of additional labor if the employer declared such labor was unnecessary; or to strike to displace an established bargaining agency even though the established agency was a company union; or to strike over a jurisdictional controversy.

Every attempt to establish these doctrines was repudiated by the Supreme Court of the United States. Although the defeat of the Anti-Trust Division was conclusive, it attempted by the two suits instituted this year to seek again the establishment of its discredited theories.

In the civil suit which was brought against the American Federation of Musicians, the Anti-Trust Division sought an injunction in the Federal Court at Chicago on the contention that it is unlawful for musicians to ob-

ject to the use of, or refuse to make, mechanical devices, such as phonograph records, even though the use of such devices renders thousands of union musicians unemployed.

The Musicians' Union vigorously defended the suit. Judge Barnes rejected the contention of the Anti-Trust Division and upheld all contentions of the Musicians' Union. The Anti-Trust Division appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court. That court promptly threw out the appeal and upheld Judge Barnes.

We had a right to expect that this decision of the United States Supreme Court would, for all time, put an end to further attempts of the Anti-Trust Division to destroy organized labor. Yet, it proceeded once more to harass our unions, this time by criminal indictment of the Brotherhood of Painters and a number of its San Francisco affiliates jointly with several employer organizations.

The Anti-Trust Division contended that the Brotherhood of Painters and its affiliates were guilty of a criminal conspiracy to violate the Anti-Trust laws for having agreed with employers not to use the paint spraying machine, a machine which years of experience had proved to be injurious to the health of painters using it. Here, too, the Brotherhood of Painters and its affiliates forcefully resisted the attack by the Anti-Trust Division. The case was heard by Federal Judge St. Sure at San Francisco. He held that it was not a criminal offense for the Painters' Union to refuse to permit its members to work on paint spraying machines if the union believed such machines injurious to the health of its members.

This was the final judicial blow to the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice. It refused to go further—it did not even attempt to appeal from this decision.

Mr. Thurman Arnold, who headed the Anti-Trust Division when all of the litigation referred to was instituted, has since been appointed to the Federal Bench. The appointment was not a reward for services well performed, for no predecessor heading the Anti-Trust Division has such a colossal record of consistent defeats.

As we stated in the opening paragraph of this report, your committee believes that prosecutions of labor unions for alleged violations of the Anti-Trust laws are at an end.

We have suffered greatly in the last five years because of these legal attacks. Indictments containing numerous false allegations were printed in the public press throughout the land, thus leading an uninformed public to believe that labor was guilty of many criminal acts. In addition to this widespread press publicity, Mr. Thurman Arnold, as head of the Anti-Trust Division, toured the country and wrote syndicated articles condemning organized labor for engaging in practices which he declared were criminal and which in every instance the courts declared were legal. Officials of American Federation of Labor unions had to go through the processes of criminal procedure, suffering arrests, depositing bail, being finger printed and submitting to arraignment before the courts. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent by our unions in defending these false and unlawful prosecutions.

In spite of all this, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates maintained a vigorous and brilliant defense of its constitutional rights; the complete victory obtained is our just reward.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR PLANNING

(Executive Council's Report, Page 160 & 161)

We commend the prompt compliance with the directions of the Toronto Convention in the appointment of the Post-War Planning Committee. As the report of the Executive Council states, the committee must consider a gigantic task fully aware of the opportunities involved in a change-over of such huge proportions.

We recommend approval of the work of the committee which has been initiated and urge that its work be aided in these two ways:

First: That the Federation set aside an adequate fund to enable the committee to have the necessary technical assistance; and

Second: That the Division on Post-War Studies in the Department of Labor be lifted to the Departmental level and its responsible head made the Second Assistant Secretary of Labor, and the Congress be asked to increase

the appropriations accordingly. This Division has supplied our Post-War Planning Committee with most valuable and useful information so that it is obvious the Division with wider scope and larger resources could be of great service to Labor locally as well as nationally.

It is obvious that governmental contributions to post-war planning and reconversion can best be performed by the established agency serving special fields such as the Departments of Labor, Commerce, Agriculture and Interior, and the Federal Reserve Board. These Departments which service basic functional groups, can materially aid localities, industries, corporations and plants to facilitate conversion and thereby help mobilize local and individual responsibility.

An inter-Departmental council composed of representatives of the agencies with post-war studies and services would provide a needed clearance center of information.

We urge the Post-War Planning Committee to carry through its plans for special reports and industry studies as well as its Notes for Speakers as a device to keep the rank and file informed on post-war problems and proposals.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, the committee has a report covering some nine pages, so that there would be an adequate coverage and a narrative of our experiences with Federal and State anti-labor laws during 1943. It is a record, more than a recommendation. The purpose of the committee, and perhaps of the trade union movement would be served if, instead of reading this now it was merely made a part of the record. I so move.

President Green: Any objections to that course? Hearing none, the report is adopted and it will become a part of the record.

FEDERAL AND STATE ANTI-LABOR LAWS PENDING AND ENACTED IN 1943

(Executive Council's Report, Page 91)

Never since the American Federation of Labor was organized has there been launched such a concerted drive to destroy free trade unionism, as was launched by reactionary forces in the various state legislatures which

met this year. And never were the reactionary forces as successful in their attack upon labor's rights as they were this year.

The number of states that passed anti-labor laws, and the vicious nature of these laws, causes us to wonder how it was possible to pass these reprehensible laws in twelve of the states; and we wonder further why the worst laws were passed in agricultural states and states where little or no labor strife has been experienced in many years, as, for instance, Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, South Dakota, Kansas and Texas. The answer lies in the fact that the anti-labor forces recognized that while the general citizenry was absorbed with the war effort, it was opportune to frame, introduce and pass these laws, without much attention being given to the opposition.

Thus, reactionary organizations, such as the Christian American Organization, Associated Farmers, Inc., State Manufacturers Associations, joined forces and drafted a series of bills adapted to the particular state in which they were introduced.

The bills filed in Idaho and South Dakota emphasized the protection of the sheep shearing industry; the bill filed in Florida dealt chiefly with the outlawing of the closed shop, since the Attorney General of that state had crusaded against the closed shop for over a year. The bill filed in Massachusetts dealt with restrictions of permit fees; the Michigan law with prohibitions relating to transportation; Pennsylvania's law pertains to political contributions; Colorado emphasizes compulsory incorporation, etc.

The bills were given to farm organizations to sponsor and this accounts in a measure for their passage.

It would take considerable time to analyze in detail the provisions of each bill. Your committee refers you to the comprehensive analysis of this legislation commencing on page 69 of the Executive Council's report.

A study of the bills discloses that most all of them are founded on three basic ideas:

1. That before unions or union representatives can function as such they must either incorporate or secure a license or register with the state.
2. That a labor dispute must be confined to an employer and his immediate employees so that unions as unions cannot be in dispute with an employer; and

that striking, picketing, or boycotting in furtherance of labor disputes shall be legal only when authorized by a majority of the employees.

3. That the operation and management of the internal affairs of unions, such as the method of election and term of officers, the amount charged for dues, initiation fees and assessments, the basis on which members are admitted, financial accounting, expenditure of union funds, disciplining of members, etc., are under the supervision and control of the state.

Each of the state anti-labor laws passed this year has one or more foregoing principles embodied within it. For instance:

Alabama—Alabama requires, among other things, registration of labor unions and the early accounting of all receipts, expenses and assets. It outlaws the closed shop and prohibits strikes and picketing in the absence of a majority vote of the employees. It outlaws the permit system and prohibits unions of supervisory employees.

Arkansas—Arkansas makes it criminal for workers to assemble for the purpose of forcefully preventing any worker from engaging in a lawful vocation. "Force", however, is not defined and a simple strike may be held to constitute force.

Florida—As a result of a vicious campaign conducted by Attorney General Watson, not only did the legislature pass a resolution submitting a constitutional amendment for the vote of the people, the object of which is to outlaw the closed shop, but the legislature passed a stringent prohibitory law whereby unions in that state are required to obtain a license as a condition of operating in the state. Under this law, jurisdictional strikes are outlawed, other strikes are invalid unless a majority of the workers have voted in favor of calling the same. Initiation fees are limited to \$15.00. Representatives of unions must obtain a license.

Idaho and South Dakota—The legislatures of Idaho and South Dakota passed identical bills. Any interference by a union with products grown, processed, manufactured or transported from any ranch, farm, feed yard or shearing plant is illegal. Soliciting of workers employed in these industries is

illegal. Picketing or boycotting of these industries is outlawed.

Kansas—Kansas passed a licensing and registration law and it is necessary for unions to obtain such licenses in order to operate within the state. The Secretary of State is empowered to grant or refuse the same. Detailed financial accounting is required and it must be made public. A "hot cargo" provision is included whereby it is made illegal to refuse to handle, install, use or work on non-union material.

Massachusetts—The law in this state prohibits unions from charging non-members permit fees or other fees which are higher than that charged regular members under the constitution of the unions.

Michigan—The law of this state prohibits any activity which interferes with the loading, unloading or movement of any vehicle with the intent to prevent, hinder or delay transportation.

Minnesota—The legislature of this state passed several laws vesting considerable control in the governor and referees appointed by him over the internal affairs of trade unions. Jurisdictional disputes may be tried by these referees. Alleged misconduct of union officials may be tried by the referees, and a union's right to act as a bargaining agent may be denied by the degree of the referees. Striking, boycotting and picketing against plants processing agricultural products are made unlawful.

Pennsylvania—This state passed a law prohibiting political contributions by trade unions, similar to the provision pertaining to the same subject in the Smith-Connally Act.

Texas—The law of this state emphasizes state control of labor unions for it contains numerous provisions limiting the charges unions may make for initiation fees, dues, assessments, etc. In fact this law contains the absurd provision making it unlawful for unions to collect "initiation fees, dues, fines, assessments, or other pecuniary exactions which will create a fund in excess of the reasonable requirements of such unions."

Colorado—For final reference to the specific state laws your committee has selected the Colorado law because this law is a composite of the laws of all the states referred to and is no doubt the worst of the anti-labor laws passed by any of the states this

year. Also, it is the first law to be tested in the courts and concerning which a decision of the trial court has already been rendered.

The Executive Council's report discloses that there are two basic theories on which the many restrictive provisions of this law were founded:

1. Compulsory incorporation coupled with the regulation, supervision and control of the internal affairs of labor unions.
2. Restrictions on activities arising from labor disputes with employers, such as, striking, picketing and boycotting.

A suit was instituted in the Colorado state courts by the Colorado State Federation of Labor and to which the American Federation of Labor was made a party. Our General Counsel, Judge Padway, under direction of the Executive Council, joined with the counsel for the Colorado State Federation of Labor in the commencement of this suit and in the preparation and filing of briefs on the argument before the court. The contentions of the American Federation of Labor and the Colorado State Federation of Labor were to the effect that the law violates the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution in that it deprives unions of property rights without due process of law and denies to unions the right to exercise constitutionality guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of press, the right of public assemblage; also, unions are denied equal protection of the law in that these restrictive provisions, while imposed upon labor unions, are not imposed upon other non-profit organizations, such as chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, fraternal societies and farm organizations.

Your committee is happy to report a major victory for the American Federation of Labor in the case referred to because the trial judge upheld all of the contentions of the unions with respect to the provisions dealing with compulsory incorporation and regulation of the internal affairs of trade unions. As to these, the trial judge held that the same did violate the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution and, therefore, were invalid. The trial judge held against the unions with respect to two provisions dealing with labor disputes wherein restrictions are imposed on the right to strike, picket and boycott. However, the most damaging parts of the law which interfered with labor's fundamental rights were those requiring compulsory incorporation and the regula-

tion of the internal affairs of trade unions. If that portion of the law had been upheld every international union and every local union operating in Colorado would have been required to incorporate and to render annual corporation accountings and to submit to complete regulation and control of its internal affairs. Both the Attorney General and our counsel have given notice of appeals to the Supreme Court of Colorado. The Attorney General appeals from the court's decision invalidating the compulsory incorporation provisions, and our counsel appeals from the court's decision upholding the restrictions upon striking, picketing and boycotting.

Your committee advises that upon instructions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, our General Counsel has joined with local counsels of other states in instituting suits testing the constitutionality of these anti-labor law enactments.

A suit has been instituted in the Federal Court of the State of Kansas. Briefs were filed and the case argued before three federal judges. After argument, one of the judges died, another judge has since been substituted and a re-argument is being had this week before this court in Kansas.

A suit has been instituted in the State of Texas. Argument will be had before the court in this case October 18.

Other unions not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have proceeded to test some of the provisions in the law by submitting to arrest for alleged violation of the law. However, our General Counsel advises that in such suits only the validity of one provision may be tested in each case; whereas, under the procedure adopted by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates a civil suit is instituted permitting a test of the validity of all of the provisions in the law at one time.

Suits have been instituted in the states of Alabama, Idaho and Florida. Briefs are being prepared and arguments before the court will follow. Pending final determination of these suits, President Green has advised all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor to abstain from compliance with the law at least until a court of last resort has passed on the validity of such laws. At the time this order was given, President Green explained that it would revolutionize the present structure of trade unions and upset normal functioning of

our unions were compliance to take place at once.

It may be well to conclude this portion of the report dealing with state anti-labor legislation by reciting the summary of the Executive Council's report, appearing on page 77 thereof:

Summary. It is apparent that the foregoing legislation passed by the 12 states designated has one fundamental objective, that is, the complete destruction of labor unions, or the rendering of them so weak and ineffective as to amount to virtual destruction. By these enactments there has been launched in this country the philosophy of the totalitarian states—Fascism—which includes the destruction of free trade unionism. The American Federation of Labor has advised its state affiliates not to comply with these state laws until final adjudication as to their validity is had in the courts of last resort, for compliance with these state laws at this time would revolutionize the trade union movement, and destroy in a great measure the normal, usual, and lawful functioning of our trade unions.

The state federations of labor have been advised to retain legal counsel and institute suits testing the validity of these laws. Several states, among them Colorado, Texas, Kansas and Idaho, have already instituted such suits. Other states are about to do the same. The American Federation of Labor has offered the cooperation, aid and assistance of its general counsel in the prosecution of these suits and our counsel and his staff are associated in the bringing and trial of these cases. It is yet too early to report on the outcome of any of the cases. From time to time the American Federation of Labor will report on the decisions rendered by any of the courts passing upon these matters, so that our affiliates and members may have future guidance.

The report of the Executive Council, on pages 69, 70 and 71, discusses the Hobbs Bill and the War Labor Disputes Act. Your committee, therefore, deems it appropriate to report on these two subjects at this time.

As pointed out in the Executive Council's report, the Hobbs' Bill seeks to repeal the present so-called "anti-racketeering act" and substitutes a new law making it a felony, punishable by 20 years' imprisonment, or \$10,000 fine, or both, to interfere by "robbery" and "extortion" with interstate commerce. The Federation sought to defeat the passage of this bill; when enactment seemed inevitable, the Federation sought an amendment. Although the amendment submitted was not adopted in precise form, in substance, it was adopted thus rendering the bill less harmful. The House passed the bill and sent it to the Senate where it is now pending. The

Federation is opposed to this bill and will exert all efforts to defeat it.

War Labor Disputes Act—(Smith-Connally Bill)—The history and contents of the War Labor Disputes Act, also known as the Smith-Connally Bill, have been reported on by the Executive Council in some detail. Also, President Green caused a legal analysis to be made of it by our General Counsel, which was circulated widely soon after the passage of the Bill. Therefore, your committee considers it unnecessary to discuss in detail the various provisions of this Bill. Your committee does, however, desire to re-emphasize the absolute lack of need for this legislation. On the contrary, labor's "no strike" pledge, which has contributed to the wonderful war production record of labor, is emasculated by this Act, for under it strikes, stoppages and other interference with production are expressly authorized.

The Smith-Connally Bill was born of hatred and malice on the part of reactionary congressmen for labor. We are led to believe that some of these reactionary legislators were disappointed over labor's magnificent war production record and that they desired to pass legislation which might induce labor to violate its pledge and destroy this record. In spite of the invitation to labor to interfere with production, contained in the Smith-Connally Bill, the American Federation of Labor has reiterated its "no strike" pledge and has directed all of its affiliates to continue to comply therewith.

Your committee, however, condemns the Smith-Connally Act and those who voted for its passage on other grounds. The Act is an insult to millions of loyal American citizens for it imputes to them an intention to interfere with the war effort. The Act also re-establishes the abhorrent and discredited doctrine of common law conspiracy in labor disputes so prevalent during the years of government by injunction. By some of its provisions it seeks to impose involuntary servitude on American citizens.

Your committee recommends vigorous condemnation of the Smith-Connally Act. It calls upon all members of the American Federation of Labor to examine the record of congressmen who voted for this Bill and to repudiate those who voted for it.

Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor demand of

Congress the immediate repeal of this outstanding insult to the workers of this nation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 102-103)

With the growth of membership of the American Federation of Labor, the chartering of new locals, the establishment of many new Federal war agencies and the extension of jurisdiction and powers of old ones, many new legal problems confront the American Federation of Labor. Presidential and departmental directives alone, which were issued in the past year and which affect the rights of workers, are so numerous that a good portion of the time of the General Counsel and his staff is required in analyzing their legal effect and advising the officers of the Federation and their affiliates of their rights and obligations under these directives.

But most important in the field of legal activities is the tremendous task imposed upon the Federation this year and in the year to come to aid and assist state federations and their affiliates in attacking state anti-labor legislation passed by the states of South Dakota, Idaho, Kansas, Colorado, Arkansas, Texas, Minnesota, Alabama, Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. In another report, dealing specifically, with state anti-labor legislation, your committee treats this subject in greater detail.

It is the purpose of your committee to make known by this report, that in spite of the increase in legal activities, the Federation has maintained the high efficiency of its legal department. Several hundreds of legal opinions on various matters were rendered the Federation. Several court cases of importance were prosecuted and defended, most important of which is the Tampa Shipbuilding Company case. In this case, the Attorney General of the State of Florida attacked the closed shop contract of the Metal Trades Department with the Tampa Shipbuilding Company, on the ground that "closed shop contracts" are illegal and against public policy. General Counsel, Judge Padway, argued the case in the Florida Supreme Court on July 6. A decision is expected very soon.

A number of Labor Board cases, most of which involve federal labor unions, were tried and argued. Opinions on state labor legislation were given, and our General Counsel was directed to testify before state legislative committees on the effect of state anti-labor legislation.

The General Counsel was directed by the Executive Council to prepare and assist in the preparation of the state suits involving anti-labor laws and to brief and argue these state cases in the courts. This, he has proceeded to do.

* Our General Counsel, Judge Padway, and his associates, are rendering the Federation splendid, competent and efficient services which merit our commendation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Repeal of Smith-Connally Bill

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates W. G. Desepre, C. C. Coulter, G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Never before in the history of our Country have we been faced with as great a problem as at present which calls for our wholehearted support and unity of action, and

WHEREAS, Labor, in an effort to do its part, unselfishly pledged to have no strikes for the duration of our national emergency, and

WHEREAS, Labor has adhered to its pledge and the amount of man-hours lost because of strikes has dwindled to less than one-five-hundredths of one per cent of the man-hours lost in peacetime, and

WHEREAS, The passage of such an anti-labor legislation as the Smith-Connally Bill has greatly impeded the honest and sincere efforts that labor is making to help our nation in its hour of need and fosters bitter resentment among the laboring people to the extent that our efforts will be diverted from our most important task which is to work toward a speedy and victorious conclusion of the war, and

WHEREAS, Since the passage of this bill there have been more unions asking for the Federal Government to conduct a strike vote among their members than if this bill had not become a law, and there would be no thought of even taking a strike vote let alone having a strike sanctioned according to the provisions of the Smith-Connally law, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record requesting the repeal of this anti-labor law, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call for the defeat of those Senators and Representatives who voted for its passage.

In view of the action already taken on the Executive Council's report, no separate action was necessary on this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 162)

As the Executive Council report states, the individual aspect of post-war planning is represented by the question: "Will there be a job for me?" The planning aspect involves getting rid of those basic devices that shifted us into a war economy and reconverting into peacetime production. Two main war economy controls are war contracts and war production plants with government control of strategic materials and finished products. In liquidating the war economy, there must be civilian control with a return to private initiative. The government has two major responsibilities in the conversion proceedings: (1) a uniform policy for contract cancellation and (2) administration and disposal of war property and production facilities owned by the government so that conversion will be promoted without contributing to inflation.

As there is no over-all department of supplies, contracts have been made by the various procurement agencies of the agencies needing supplies, and hence divergent policies might be expected if termination of contracts is left to these agencies. We recommend, therefore that the American Federation of Labor urge upon Congress the creation of a civilian agency charged with full responsibility for contract cancellation and consisting of an administrator and a policy board on which industry, labor and agriculture are represented. There will be hundreds of thousands of contracts to be cancelled. Terms of cancellation should be negotiated so as to enable the companies to utilize their capital for conversion with a minimum of delay. Audits and court procedure or conventional economies on contracts would result in expensive delays for industries and workers. This contract cancellation agency should make quarterly reports to Congress.

The disposal of surplus plant facilities and stock piles of raw and finished war materials and lands acquired for military purposes, is another civilian responsibility to be exercised with knowledge of industrial needs and interests as well as the rehabilitation needs of other countries. These facilities and materials must be returned to a peacetime economy in an orderly and constructive way. We recommend that Congress be asked to authorize a custodian to dispose of these lands, properties and materials, aided by a policy board on which Labor, Industry and Agriculture are represented. This agency should have full authority to dispose of such surplus properties with the duty of reporting quarterly to Congress.

These two agencies are essential steps in providing maximum employment quickly for those dependent on industries for an opportunity to earn a living and to provide employment for the soldiers who will be mustered out of war duty.

Union Problems

We wish to emphasize the importance that the Executive Council places upon the need for a strong responsible union movement in post-war days. Workers will need such an agency to regain positions lost through wage freezing. We recommend that all unions be on the alert to increase basic wage rates as rapidly as possible. Bonus systems disguised as wage incentive plans divert attention from the main objective.

We agreed to wage stabilization as a war measure and the effectuation of wage stabilization agreements we believe is the key to stabilization of the work force. The wage policy now enforced is wage freezing, not stabilization, for stabilization implies adjustments regularly as needed to preserve balance. If this policy cannot be altered sooner, it will be wiped out with the restoration of normal work hours. The shift to 40-hour weeks must be without reduction in weekly earnings.

International

We hope that Congress will declare our basic foreign policy without unnecessary delay. Such a declaration is necessary to enable our foreign representatives and the Executive Branch to develop plans and negotiate agree-

ments. We believe that world organization to keep the peace must begin with understandings reached between the governments of democratic nations and extended as rapidly as possible to other nations which manifest their desire in good faith to cooperate for the objectives served by democratic institutions. The right to representation of labor and other functional citizen groups must be provided in all-world agencies. This right is a condition essential to protection against bureaucracy.

We are especially concerned that agents of the United Nations entrusted with rehabilitation of conquered countries and restoration of local government and agencies of justice shall understand their responsibility to be the mobilization of local forces to restore their own practices and institutions. One of the first groups to be brought into conferences for this purpose should be the workers. If their organizations are destroyed, they should have opportunity to revive some form of collective actions for their services will be needed to revive economic services as well as local government. The representatives of the United Nations should not attempt to govern the territory, but should get together representative groups to develop their own government. We have no patience with proposals for outsiders to re-educate Germany or Italy or any other country. Every country has a right to its own educational system and its own culture. Our only responsibility is to provide opportunities for representative groups to restore their own national life and to act in co-operation with like groups of other nations.

Good Neighbor Policy

There are very special ties that unite us to the wage earners of Latin-American countries as well as the other countries of the New World, and we should plan to have an effective part in extending and enriching the objectives of our Good Neighbor Policy.

There are plans under way for the industrial development of Latin-American countries as Inter-American labor cooperation is needed to imbue firmly in such plans, provisions for labor to participate in industrial development by higher wage rates, better working conditions and higher standards of living.

We note with gratification the administrative reorganization which all agencies with

international obligations under the State Department which facilitates the development of Inter-American labor plans through two permanent agencies—the State Department and the Pan-American Union. This reorganization strengthens our proposal for labor attaches with embassies in industrial countries.

Our State Department as well as international agencies will be increasingly in need of dependable information on the labor organizations of the various countries in the post-war period. We want statutory authorization of such labor attaches with provisions for their nomination by the Department of Labor on the basis of practical labor experience and certification to the Department of State. All "labor experts" in governmental departments should be selected by similar methods.

Post-War Housing

The Executive Council recommends the resumption of housing programs throughout urban and rural communities and we urge endorsement of this recommendation as a basic provision in all community programs. Construction of houses serves two purposes: (1) provision of jobs for construction workers and workers in supporting industries, and (2) better living conditions for the citizens of the communities.

We recommend that this section of the Report be brought to the attention of all central and state bodies with the suggestion that housing be included in all community programs. Private construction should have the leading role in all plans.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Representation of Labor in Solving Post War Problems

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The accumulation of wealth is the result of the hands and brain of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Realizing that Labor produces all wealth through its efforts, and

WHEREAS, Labor with all its contributions to the welfare of society has not been and up to this time is not represented ade-

quately in the administrative, supervisory and productive capacities, and

WHEREAS, Labor many times is held accountable for blunders and mistakes of careless planning by so-called "experts" and politicians of which Labor has little or nothing to say in the selection thereof, and

WHEREAS, We are facing the most critical period in American world history, and

WHEREAS, With a five hundred billion dollar debt to face us at the war's end, and to provide employment for ten million members of the armed services, and the possibility of a serious unemployment situation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its 63rd Annual Convention, assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, endorse a program of full representation of Labor on all boards, panels and commissions, to the end that Labor may be fully represented in all deliberations pertaining to solving post-war problems.

Labor Participation in Post War Planning

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Ted Williams, Birmingham Trades Council, Birmingham, Alabama.

WHEREAS, The Postwar World is of greatest concern to those who labor, and the plans which can and must be made today to take care of Labor's welfare tomorrow naturally will be thrown upon the shoulders of Union Labor, and

WHEREAS, There has been a noticeable omission from various Postwar Planning Committees and Commissions of men from Union Labor's ranks, when representation should have been given A. F. of L. unions, since this organization rates highly today as a factor in the economic life of many communities throughout the nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention in Boston, Mass., go on record approving Labor's participation in post-war planning in every city by representatives of the Central Bodies, and urging that every City Central Body immediately become active in the postwar planning field by forming strong, intelligent committees with definite programs which will prevent unemployment after the war, create new projects and maintain the record memberships of various local unions after war hostilities cease.

Separation Pay for Ex-Servicemen and War Workers

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Wm. Nagorske, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Millions of men will be released by war industries and from the armed

forces following peace, which will mean mass unemployment of greater magnitude than following the peace of 1918, and

WHEREAS, Such unemployment will cause untold suffering and will endanger the jobs of millions engaged in civilian production, and

WHEREAS, Such unemployment is unnecessary in a nation with resources as great as ours and can be avoided with timely planning, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record instructing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to do everything within its power to have a government board set up with labor fully represented to:

1. Cooperate with other government boards and agencies with respect to securing information as to contemplated curtailment of production in war industries or cancellation of war contracts, so as to be in a position to have advance information as to lay-offs of workers and that the said workers may be given this information so as to give them ample time to seek other employment and to see to it that such lay-offs are on a graduate scale.

2. Cooperate with all government agencies in promoting a long-range road program and other government work as may be in the best interest of the public, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor support legislation for separation pay for ex-service men and war workers until they find jobs.

Labor Representation at the Peace Conference

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Wm. Nagorske, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Wage earners in all industries in America and Allied Nations are doing everything in their power to help defeat the Axis countries, so that democracy shall be retained, and

WHEREAS, When and after victory is won, labor should be given the privilege to be represented at the Peace Conference and take part in forming the policies that may affect all nations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, instruct the officers and incoming Executive Council to sponsor and promote labor representation and participation at the Peace Conferences.

Post-war Public Works Program

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the end of the present war this country will be faced with the serious problem of changing back to peace-time production, and

WHEREAS, It is very probable that widespread unemployment will result, and

WHEREAS, Millions of men and women now in our Armed Forces will be anxious to return to civilian life with an income to provide them with a decent standard of living and our public officials, federal, state and local, charged with responsibility for the advancement of a plan to the end that these persons returning to civilian life can with the least possible delay adjust themselves to civilian life, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the Congress of the United States, the State and Local officials, to plan a public works program under the Federal Works Administration with an appropriation sufficient to provide jobs at union wages and standards of employment so that our citizens will not again have to go through the humiliation of being compelled to accept WPA relief or sub-standards of living.

Post-war Planning Committee

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Next to winning the war and establishing peace throughout the world the most serious problem confronting our country is the conversion from production for destruction to production for consumption, and

WHEREAS, Under the most favorable conditions there will be wide spread unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Unless serious and extensive thought is given to the problem immediately we may find ourselves at the cessation of hostilities without a well thought-out plan of making such conversions, and

WHEREAS, Labor will be compelled to carry the largest burden unless a plan which can be applied with the least possible delay is drafted; therefore, labor should be the most concerned in reference to this question, and

WHEREAS, Labor alone is powerless to marshal and put into operation any plan to alleviate the suffering that may result, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we call upon our governmental agencies, Federal, State and Local, to immediately take the necessary action to form such a committee with equal representation

on the part of management, labor and government, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request this committee to make a study of the industries in their localities which in all likelihood will cease all operation, those that will be greatly curtailed and on the other hand make a study of industries which have been curtailed because of the war activities so that knowledge will be had where certain groups of individuals in the war industries can be fitted into consumer goods industries that can be expected to increase operations and further that said committee should have recommendations as to how government can assist these industries to immediately commence operations and that said committee should also assist war time industry in converting to peace time industry.

Six-Hour Day

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Post War Problems of production and employment foreshadow the difficulty, if not distress, of millions of young workers being demobilized from the armed forces and of additional millions being discharged from manufacture and transportation of war materials, and

WHEREAS, During the war period technological advance, particularly expressed in terms of labor saving machinery, has made enormous strides thus rendering more acute the task of finding jobs for all in a peace-time economy who are willing and able to work, and

WHEREAS, This technological development, constantly enriched by the discoveries of science, has already laid a foundation on which the needs of the population, including the needs for exports to other parts of the world, in a normal peace-time economy can be provided for abundantly in much less time than what now constitutes the generally accepted workday, and

WHEREAS, The problem of maintaining the American standard of living when the emergency of war production ceases is intimately bound up with the task of finding jobs for all who are willing and able to work, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, give, as a part of post-war plans now being considered and as a means of helping spread available jobs in that period to the greatest number of people, serious attention to the establishment universally of the six-hour work-day for all workers in industry and trade.

Labor Representation at the Peace Conference

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Atlantic Charter gives the general basis for a just and abiding peace, and

WHEREAS, The workers, who in the main, fight and pay for the wars in blood, sweat and tears, have an abiding interest in the terms of the peace and the construction of the post-war world, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all it can to demand that organized labor be represented at the peace conference, so the peoples of the world can live in peace and harmony.

In connection with the Executive Council's report on Post War Problems, your committee gave considerations to Resolutions Nos. 4, 6, 17, 20, 77, 78, 81 and 83, all of which deal with some phase of post war problems.

Your committee is in accord with the object sought by all of these resolutions, and therefore recommends that they be referred to the Executive Council, to be taken up in connection with the convention's action on the Executive Council's report on Post War Problems.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SOCIAL SECURITY

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 53 and 80)

We recommend hearty approval of the progress made by the Committee on Social Security and the President of the American Federation of Labor in the preparation and introduction of legislation to provide a comprehensive and adequate social insurance system for wage earners of this country. A great change and interruptions of employment lie ahead, and there is no prospect of ever abolishing for individuals those emergencies that prevent earning of incomes—sickness, physical and mental incapacity, old age, military service, and loss of jobs. The American way to provide against emergencies is insurance, but wage earners cannot afford individual insurance covering these risks separately. Only by pooling the risks and making the insurance obligatory upon all wage earners can insurance be made available to small income persons.

The social insurance bill drawn up under the direction of the Federation's Committee is a courageous and constructive proposal to safeguard wage earners against dependency due to the most frequent and common causes.

Risks can best be measured nationally and the pooling of all funds conserves resources, although a national system sacrifices some standards that more favored areas could maintain. But the general coverage of emergencies such as the Wagner-Murary-Dingell bill proposes, cannot be maintained on an area basis by the same rates.

We note with approval that the President of the American Federation of Labor has made this bill the first proposal in the program for post-war conversion. The legislation is essential for two reasons:

(a) It provides as a right, emergency income for workers to insure them against dependency during the period of change.

(b) It restores the U. S. Employment Service to the Social Security Board and makes it a national agency with authority to perform its placement services essential to management and to workers.

We recommend that the Committee on Social Security work out with President Green a program for mobilizing labor action nationally in support of this measure as well as to provide the necessary assistance in presenting Labor's desire for this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 56)

The Report of the Executive Council shows that industry committees recommended a 40 cent an hour minimum during the past year for 400,000 workers and that the Administrator issued wage orders making this minimum applicable to 275,000 workers. These orders coupled with improvement in enforcement, are substantial progress. Increased costs of living and war deductions from pay envelopes make increases in low incomes imperative.

We hope that the 40 cent minimum will be speedily effective throughout the complete coverage of this legislation—with the government, industries and workers cooperating to make this standard completely effective. This standard which has represented betterment for millions is still far below a standard of health and comfort.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR STANDARDS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 57)

We record endorsement of the recommendations of the Executive Council that the administration of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Acts require the posting in all plants covered by the Public Contracts Act, of notices specifically stating the labor standards applicable, and that the Administration be urged to revive and fully extend the operation of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts law.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY

(Executive Council's Report, Page 105)

No more useful educational service is provided by the Federation than Labor's Monthly Survey. Provisions to make the Survey more generally available adopted by our last convention have demonstrated their timeliness in the general acceptance of the opportunity to subscribe.

The Survey has been most useful in making available promptly information on orders, procedures and policies of the war agencies as they affect workers.

We recommend the Survey to all union executives and active members.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

(Executive Council's Report, Page 104)

A most important service is rendered by our official magazine whose monthly appearance is widely hailed with interest and enthusiasm. Each issue reflects in permanent, useful form the events, the personalities and the problems of the immediate past.

We commend the decision to place the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST on the news

stands so that it is available to the general public.

We express what is in the minds of all when we recommend endorsement of present policies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HAWAII

(Executive Council's Report, Page 192)

As this Island is a supply and operational center for the Pacific campaign, there has been much Army and Navy construction. We note the very gradual release from military control and restoration of civilian government and controls.

We heartily commend the spirit and patriotism of union labor on the Island and recommend that all national and international unions be urged to give them aid and support.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ALASKA

(Executive Council's Report, Page 189)

Events of the past year have proven the wisdom of our purchase of Alaska from Russia. This territory is essential to our defense of this continent and a base for offensive operations in the Pacific. We are glad to note that union organization is keeping pace with defense construction and the developing of sustaining services and industries together with community life.

The organization of the Alaska Federation of Labor puts the workers of the Territory in a better position to take care of their economic and legislative interests. We urge all international offices to be alert to opportunities for organization in Alaska and to extend their membership.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PUERTO RICO

(Free Federation of Workingmen)

(Executive Council's Report, Page 184)

Your committee recommends an expression of our appreciation of the faithful devotion which has enabled the Free Federation to make its report of substantial progress in the extension and the improvements in trade union agreements. We note the advantage taken of Congressional investigations and the efforts made to cooperate with the Price and Ration Administration.

We recommend that every possible aid and support be given to this, our first territorial organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The hour of adjournment has now arrived, and the convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock, when we will begin promptly.

At 6:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 14.

NINTH DAY — THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

Boston, Massachusetts, October 14, 1943

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:50 o'clock.

President Green: For some reason or other the minister assigned to deliver the invocation this morning has not arrived. Consequently that ceremony must, of necessity, be foregone this morning.

And now after a big jump will again be a fraternal visitor here at Boston, Mass., to mingle again with the world's greatest labor movement, the American Federation of Labor.

Sincerely and fraternally accept our greetings for a successful convention and the same old spirit in which it is always held to safeguard the interests of this great labor movement.

Fraternally yours,

JEFF DAVIS, KING & EMPEROR
Hoboes of America, Inc.

COMMUNICATIONS

President Green: There is a message here from Jeff Davis, whom many of you know, representing the Hoboes of America which I will pass over to Secretary Meany without reading for insertion in the record.

There is also one from the Labor Committee of the Jewish National Fund which I will ask to have inserted in the record of today's proceedings.

The communications are as follows:

HOBOES OF AMERICA, INC.

Cincinnati, Ohio.
Oct. 6, 1943.

To the American Federation of Labor
now in Session at Boston, Mass.

Greetings:

The Hoboes of America, Inc., again send you a yearly message of our activities for the past year.

We are now a sworn membership of one million 20 thousand. 65,000 are in the armed services, ½ million in factories—ammunition and shipyards and have willingly joined the American Federation of Labor on the job or before the job as the case may be.

Yes we have covered much ground during the past year. West Virginia, Virginia, Georgia, the Carolinas, Florida and down in good old New Orleans with "Pop" Donnell, organizer of the A. F. of L. Then out on the Pacific Coast—after visiting Milwaukee, a great union town, going to Seattle, Portland, Oregon, into all three of Kaiser's yards, into Frisco, Los Angeles and then to Phoenix, Arizona.

WESTERN UNION

New York, N. Y.
October 8, 1943.

Convention American Federation of Labor
Hotel Statler
Boston, Massachusetts

On behalf of the Labor Committee of the Jewish National Fund sponsoring the Leon Blum and Louis D. Brandeis colonies in Palestine we extend heartiest greetings to the delegates assembled at the convention. We wish to express our deepest appreciation for the generous cooperation given to our committee in all its undertakings by the American Federation of Labor and its constituent organizations. The Leon Blum and Louis D. Brandeis colonies in Palestine built on the soil of the Jewish National Fund to receive thousands of refugees from the Nazi enslaved countries will for centuries to come stand out as a symbol of brotherhood and fraternity by the American Labor Movement to the uprooted Jewish people and all those oppressed by Nazi tyranny. The helping hand so graciously extended by Mr. William Green and the other officers of the Federation was at all times a great encouragement to our committee to achieve its success for such noble purpose. May your convention open another glorious chapter in the history of the American Labor Movement and the American people in general.

Labor Committee Jewish National Fund
LOUIS SEGAL, Chairman
H. EHRENREICH, Secretary

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Frey for a continuation of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

Secretary Frey continued the report as follows:

Social Security Act

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Pete Yablonski, George Meyers, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Federal Old Age Benefits System provides for retirement pay from the Federal Government to qualified persons beginning at the age of 65 years, and

WHEREAS, At the end of this war there will be millions of persons out of work for the period of adjustment, and

WHEREAS, When the adjustment takes place the industrialists will demand younger men and persons over 60 years of age will find it impossible to make a living, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all it can to amend the Social Security Act to read 60 years of age and also provide benefits equal to the American Standard of Living.

Your Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Smith-Connally Bill

Resolution No. 124—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Pete Yablonski, George Meyers, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, in common with the American labor movement has given full support to the war effort to the end that this nation and its allies will render decisive defeat to the Axis and all that it represents, and

WHEREAS, There exists today in this nation a small but powerful group who, since Pearl Harbor, have used every opportunity to spread disunity and defeat here at home, centering their campaign on splitting the labor movement away from their support of the war effort and into a position of opposition to the present conduct of the war, and

WHEREAS, The passing of the Smith-Connally "Anti-Strike" Bill over the President's veto, engineered by this above-mentioned group, is a serious defeat for the American labor movement which demands prompt and decisive action on the part of organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps to organize the full membership of the Federation into an emergency campaign of political activity to use all legal means to prevent this vicious law from hamstringing American Labor.

Inasmuch as the convention has already acted upon the Smith-Connally Bill no further action is necessary on the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Safety

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates Lloyd Thrush, John Marciando, International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America.

WHEREAS, In the United States unnecessary accidents and fires have increased tremendously in both frequency and severity, costing this nation the lives of many thousands of men, millions of man hours lost time and billions of dollars worth of materials at the most critical time in this nation's history, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has specifically requested, that we lend our complete support to an organized effort to reduce and, if possible, to eliminate all unsafe acts and unsafe conditions, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor finds itself in a position to further the war effort by full cooperation with the President of the United States, other executives of government, and the armed forces of this nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That safety shall be accorded the complete militant support of every officer and every member of the American Federation of Labor during the forthcoming year. That no effort or expense shall be spared in promotion of accident and fire prevention until deaths and injuries occurring in Homes, Traffic, Public and Industrial Accidents shall be reduced to the point of elimination, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a safety organization shall be created within the American Federation of Labor, under the direction of the Executive Council and that adequate safety, engineering and consultant services shall be immediately employed to assist in the formulation and direction of the Federation's Safety Program.

Your committee is in sympathy with the purpose of the resolution; with this comment

we recommend that it be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MANPOWER

(Executive Council's Report, Page 128)

The Report of the Executive Council indicates the estimated need for manpower, with the labor requirements of essential industries and the estimated national labor force up to January 1944. At that time we shall reach the peak of 65,900,000. The definite effort to use all available personnel is indicated by the decrease in unemployment, gainful employment of women, return of older workers to the labor market, importation of foreign workers, the training programs, the employment of children and soldiers, etc.

We highly commend the organization of representative management-labor committees by districts and areas, with the machinery to appeal to the highest authority. The Administrators have, however, encountered difficulties when they have attempted to by-pass this machinery to set up national determination of production urgency to fix local manpower regulations, and squeezing out local civil industries and services. This proposal also puts determination of labor priorities outside the management-labor committee.

Manpower is the human force necessary to carry out production plans. Such human force is inseparable from the personalities of free human beings just as manpower is inseparable from the managerial and material aspects of production. The key to manpower is consent of the individuals, while the key to production is cooperation.

The War Manpower Commission initiated a program based on consent and cooperation and the results were good. But with the development of stringencies the interests unfavorable to democratic cooperation and local determination of plans began to use centralization of policy-making with orders to localities.

Your committee recommends that we urge the maintenance of voluntary, decentralized administrative machinery and that study be given to improving this kind of machinery

rather than to the development of compulsory methods or a National Service Act.

The causes of labor turnover have been lack of adequate housing, transportation, stabilization of wages within industries, between industries and localities, inadequate stores and services to sustain community needs, fatigue caused by long hours and delay in transportation, inadequate medical services, inadequate schools, separation from families, etc. Workers cannot continue to live and work indefinitely under conditions that needlessly undermine their vitality. Efforts should be directed to correct these causes. When the communities and plants are more suitable for workers, then emphasis can safely be directed to mobilize workers in response to needs. Unions are the most dependable and experienced agencies through which to accomplish this end. U. S. Employment Service should welcome trade union cooperation.

Imported Workers

We recommend further that when foreign workers are imported that, in addition to the safeguards necessary to assure them decent living conditions, safe working conditions and fair compensation, there should be created a commission of wage earners of the country concerned and the United States, to act as a supervisory body to which the imported workers can appeal grievances not otherwise adjusted. Such a commission should inquire into reports of abuses of foreign workers such as already have come from states where Mexicans have been imported.

Prisoners of War

We are deeply concerned as citizens as well as workers over the employment of prisoners of war. Such employment involves the welfare of our soldiers who may become prisoners in enemy countries as well as conditions of work for our citizens here and the reputation of our nation for practices of fair dealing with all men.

Our State Department as well as the War Department should have a part in formulating policies to be followed with respect to prisoners of war.

We recommend that the President of the United States should be asked to create a

commission to study this subject and recommend policies to safeguard all interests. Such a commission should include a representative of the State Department, the War Department, but should be mainly civilian with adequate representation of labor, management, and farmers.

The Geneva Convention on prisoners of war stipulates only that prisoners of war shall not be employed on projects contributing directly to the conduct of war, but does not provide for the protection of hostages or deal with employment of prisoners in privately owned undertakings. The way that our country may deal with prisoners of war becomes the justification for similar policies to our soldiers who are their prisoners.

No Compulsory Service for Private Gain

So far the Management-Labor Committee has been fairly successful in keeping manpower a cooperative undertaking. Field Order No. 3 provides for the right of appeal on any Order or regulation to management-labor representatives at the next level. While individuals and labor representatives have not always taken advantage of their right to appeal, that right is available to all who believe their rights are invaded and it is only a matter of becoming aware of their rights.

Regulation No. 7 specifically provides that the Manpower Administration shall make the maximum use of existing hiring channels: "To the maximum degree consistent with this regulation and with the objectives of employment stabilization programs, local initiative and cooperative efforts shall be encouraged and utilized and maximum use made of existing hiring channels such as private employers, labor organizations, professional organizations, schools, colleges, technical institutions and government agencies."

Under this provision union locals are authorized to enter into agreements with the local employment office so as to integrate the work with that of manpower, or international unions may make agreements with the U. S. Employment Service.

Under the optional provisions of Reg. 7, regional and area manpower directors, together with Management-Labor Manpower Committees may include in their local stabilization programs planned to meet their spe-

cial needs, provisions designed to protect individuals from loss of seniority or other re-employment rights, to promote effective utilization of manpower by employers, to afford individuals a greater measure of protection against arbitrary discharge, etc. To guide area and regional manpower committees in protecting workers against undue and unjust hardships the national Management-Labor Manpower Committee worked out a series of recommended provisions. These recommendations have been sent to all labor manpower representatives and may be obtained from national headquarters.

Efforts have been made to circumvent this democratic machinery by giving decisions upon labor priorities to a committee independent of it. According to the West Coast Priority Order, decisions upon production urgency were to be made in Washington and a local labor priority committee would adjust labor priorities to carry out production urgency locally. The Labor Priorities Committees were to consist of representatives of the contracting Federal agencies. The American Federation of Labor representative insisted that all labor priority orders must be referred to management-labor committees for consideration in advance of promulgation.

There are powerful interests seeking to discredit efforts to solve manpower by voluntary cooperation as an excuse for the enactment of a compulsory service law. Organized labor and industrial management must redouble efforts to make cooperation a success. We know that manpower resources are far from exhausted, that labor utilization in many private plants and government institutions is inefficient and very wasteful, that estimates on which manpower policies are based are far from exact. We know also that no outside authority could be entrusted with control of human lives without the most meticulous specification and protection of rights and assurance of fair conditions and under most necessitous emergency. Even then involuntary servitude is not justified.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor's Rights

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Labor has continuously demonstrated that they were willing to sacrifice

equally with employers and business interests by their often reiterated "no strike" pledge, which has been recognized by increased production records, the execution of which is noted by numerous "E" awards by the Army and Navy in organized plants throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, After the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the slogan was "Free Labor Will Win," but since the inception of the War Manpower Commission Stabilization Program, there has been a concerted effort on the part of the War Manpower Commission to curtail the activities of labor and their representatives to an alarming extent, and

WHEREAS, Since the establishment of Labor Stabilization Program of War Manpower Commission, there have been more man hours of work lost, and of which there has been no press notice given, by reason of their requirements of a Statement of Availability, than has been lost by strikes and absenteeism for the duration, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention at Boston, Massachusetts, go on record as instructing its officers to make every effort to protect and safeguard by every means possible, the rights and benefits guaranteed to every individual under the Bill of Rights, by protesting against actions of the War Manpower Stabilization Program, the much-talked-about conscription of labor, any anti-labor measures that might be detrimental to the working people, whether it be by Executive Order, anti-labor congressional action, or by Bureaus set up by Executive Order or congressional action, or any such action that would be deemed for the purpose of hampering the free rights of collective bargaining.

The adoption of the Executive Council's report makes separate action on this resolution unnecessary.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: Immediately after the election of officers the Committee on Resolutions will continue its report.

President Green: The Chair now presents to you Secretary-Treasurer Meany for an address upon the report submitted yesterday on the War Labor Board.

REPORT ON WAR LABOR BOARD BY SECRETARY MEANY

Mr. Chairman and delegates: I wish at this time to make a report for the representatives of the American Federation of La-

bor sitting on the National War Labor Board in Washington. These representatives are Brother Matthew Woll and myself, as regular members of the Board, and Brother Martin Durkin and Brother Robert Watt, as alternate members.

The reason we feel a report should be made to this convention, in addition to the report and action of the Resolutions Committee yesterday, is the fact that we feel there is possibly, in the minds of the delegates some mystery about the War Labor Board and there is possibly some lack of understanding as to just what the Board's functions are. In addition, and this is of tremendous importance, we feel that labor should know just what sort of a Board is holding complete power over the economic welfare of 50,000,000 workers. We also feel that this convention should know just what sort of a Board we got as the result of a bargain Labor made with our Government and the representatives of industry in December of 1941.

We know what we bargained for. We feel now that you should know what we have. And it is also important to make this report so that the general public will know that labor is aware of what is going on. If we didn't make some sort of a report we might be accused of stupidity, because we didn't get what we bargained for, and the convention and the people represented by the delegates present should know this.

In December of 1941 we made a very simple agreement. Representatives of industry and labor, with representatives of government, agreed that for the duration of the war, and in the interests of the national welfare, we would substitute peaceful methods in the settlement of labor disputes for the methods available to us under our free democracy. We would substitute a simple method by which men would weigh and estimate the merits of a dispute by a tri-partite system, arriving at a decision as to what was the proper disposition of the dispute. We agreed that this method would be substituted for strikes, lock-outs or any other method in which force was used.

For a short time after the War Labor Board was established, we had this simple method. Each dispute was settled on its merits. Since then we have gradually built up a complicated structure with twelve regional offices throughout the country and

with almost complete governmental control over Board action.

On the so-called voluntary wage agreements where there is no dispute, in the period of four months early this year, there were 34,000 cases of that type decided by the Regional Boards—not cases affecting 34,000 men but 34,000 cases. These are known as Form 10 cases. These are cases in which the employer and the employee had agreed as to what the wage and working conditions should be in a particular plant or in a particular industry.

Under the complicated set-up we have these cases that begin or originate in the local Wage and Hour Office by filling out a form. The Wage and Hour Office then decides if the case comes within the jurisdiction of the War Labor Board. The form is then sent to Washington and from there to a Regional Board. The Regional Board has final power to settle these disputes if there is no price relief or price ceiling involved.

If the Regional Board disapproves there is an appeal open to either the Regional or National Board. If the appeal goes to the National Board, it goes to a Research Department and then to an Appeals Committee and then to the National Board for final action. The procedure on dispute cases is for the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor to step in, see what they can do to adjudicate the dispute; failing that, to submit it to the War Labor Board and then it goes to the New Case Committee of the War Labor Board, and from the New Case Committee it goes to either a Regional Board, a special commission or a panel. If in turn it goes to the Regional Labor Board it may be disposed of through a hearing officer, a referee or a panel. At the present time the National War Labor Board, with its regional branches has 2300 employees throughout the country. Of these 872 are what are called technical men. We have a Wage Stabilization Division, a Disputes Division, a Legal Division, a Review and Analysis Division, a Research and Statistical Division, and so down the line.

All of this has tended to change the original set-up of this Board. We are now in the hands of the technicians, as it were.

In addition, there has been a gradual break-down on the part of the government in the original structure of the Board. Instead of disputes being settled by the good

judgement and reasoning of the members of the Board, they are now settled by certain rules promulgated by Executive Order, Acts of Congress, and the administrative orders of certain departments of the government. In other words, we do not have a free Board. We have a Government controlled Board at every step of the way.

The Board has not been allowed to do a good job. Back in June of 1942 the Board promulgated what was known as The Little Steel Formula. Labor protested against this formula on the ground that it was too rigid and that we did not want to be bound by a set of rules that would perhaps prevent us from doing justice in a certain case. However, the Board by a vote of eight to four, with the labor members dissenting, promulgated The Little Steel Formula.

The Little Steel Formula in itself is based on what I would say is some reason, some justice. The theory of it is that the cost of living had gone out of balance with the wage structure of the country, and that therefore, the wage structure of the country should be allowed to rise sufficiently to balance off again with the cost of living. In May of 1942 that differential was 15%. Now that differential is well above 25%, so that if The Little Steel Formula is based on equity it should now be 25% instead of 15%.

However, the government has adopted not the Formula but the 15% figure. In March of 1943 the American Federation of Labor representatives on the Board moved for the readjustment of The Little Steel Formula as far as its figures were concerned, upward. The Board decided against this move again by an eight to four vote, but in its decision, written, of course, by the public members of the Board, the Board stated that it had control of the Formula; that the Formula belonged to the Board; that it was a decision arrived at by a democratic process, and that while they would not raise The Little Steel Formula at the time, it was stated definitely that if the cost of living continued to rise the formula would have to be readjusted in justice to the wage earners of the country.

That was on the 23rd of March. On the 8th day of April we had the so-called hold-the-line order, and on that day and through that order the War Labor Board lost control of The Little Steel Formula. It had no right after April 8th to change the 15%, which it

had notified the public on March 23rd it would change if necessary in order to preserve a balance between the cost of living and wages.

On April 8th The Little Steel Formula and the 15% embodied in that Formula became the law of the land. The War Labor Board was stripped to a large extent of its power to readjust wages beyond the Little Steel Formula. The result of this was that the War Labor Board stopped in the middle of its wage stabilization program because it could not apply its reasoning and render its decisions on merit in certain industries where a partial job of stabilization had been achieved. It meant that the Board had to readjust its philosophy, readjust its approach to these cases, and it meant that the Board stopped working on the 8th of April.

For a period of five weeks the War Labor Board and its regional offices disposed of practically no cases. There was a complete breakdown of the machinery from one end of the country to the other in the midst of war, due to Executive Order 9328 which was issued on April 8th.

Subsequently, on May 12, the Director of Economic Stabilization, Justice Byrnes, issued a modifying order restoring to the Board some of its powers. However, that order is a makeshift. It provides for these so-called wage brackets which are now causing our people so much hardship.

There is no cure for the troubles that beset the War Labor Board except the cure recommended by your Resolutions Committee yesterday to restore to the Board its power to act, the power that it possessed when it was originally set up. Under the present machinery all we get on some of these cases is delay after delay.

I would just like to summarize one or two cases for you to show you just what the Board is up against and just what the unions are up against who are trying to produce for the war effort, trying to keep their members on the job despite the delays and despite the provocation that comes from the employer's knowledge of the fact that his people will not strike and that they are hamstrung by the War Labor Board as presently functioning.

In June of 1942 the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, a member unit of the American Federation of Labor, signed an agreement with five packing houses in Louisville. This

agreement covered everything except the one item upon which they could not agree. They could not agree upon wages. Collective bargaining had gone as far as it possibly could, but they could not agree upon wages because of the fact that the packers felt that they should get a higher price before they would pay higher wages. This case went to the War Labor Board September 24th, 1942. It was given to a panel. That panel brought in its recommendations in April of 1943—recommendations which were made after volumes of testimony had been given before the panel and the panel had been advised by the hundreds of technicians and experts in research and analysis who are on the staff of the War Labor Board in Washington.

On July 4, the panel submitted additional recommendations and on the 27th day of August, 1943, the National War Labor Board unanimously approved of a 10% wage increase for the people who have a starting rate of 45 cents for women and 60 cents for men—people definitely in the low wage group. Thus we had a unanimous decision of the Board rendered on August 27th, 1943 on a case that started on June 15, 1942, giving these men and woman a 10% increase and a corresponding increase in piece work rates.

On September 16, 1943, fifteen months—fifteen months mind you—after the case started, and a month after the War Labor Board had unanimously decided on this increase in wages as the result of fourteen months of study in the case, Judge Vinson, Director of Economic Stabilization, denied the wage increase and nullified the decision of the War Labor Board. He was able to undo in a few weeks what the contestants themselves, the employers who sat on the Panel, the employers and workers who sat on the War Labor Board, the entire staff of four or five hundred technical experts of the War Labor Board who had reached a unanimous decision after fourteen months of study, and Judge Vinson threw it out after having it in his office two weeks. They are back where they started. This is the type of a governmentally controlled agency in which the destiny of the people you represent for the duration of the war, as far as wages and working conditions are concerned, rests. I submit to you that the present War Labor Board procedure, hemmed in as it is by government control, through administrative order, through Executive order, through the whims of par-

ticular individuals, individuals who have charge of these various departments having supervision over the War Labor Board—I submit that the present condition and the present procedure is provocative of strikes. Under such procedure labor's no strike record becomes more important and more commendable than ever before. In addition to every other provocation which we have in these trying times, in which men desire direct and immediate action, we have this government agency delaying cases month after month.

So I say to you here today that it is to labor's eternal credit that it has built up a no strike record such as we see in face of the conditions as they are in relation to government supervision of wages and conditions of employment.

Let me cite another case. This involves the Work-Glove industry.

A special commission was set up to study this industry. The War Production Board which is concerned with war production discovered that production was suffering due to a lack of cotton work gloves. A number of women have gone into these industries and we all know that men and women working around machine shops need these cotton work gloves. The War Production Board found that a serious situation existed. They came to the War Labor Board with representatives of industry and representatives of labor and they asked that the War Labor Board give relief to this industry by a ten per cent increase that would enable the industry to keep going and meet the manpower conditions which prevail.

The War Labor Board—public members, employer members, and labor members—with the complete backing of the War Production Board, which is charged with production for war, recommended a ten per cent increase for workers in the fifty cent an hour class, in order to meet this manpower situation.

Despite that recommendation of the War Labor Board, unanimously arrived at, and despite the War Production Board's request that this relief be given in this industry, Economic Stabilization Director Vinson decided otherwise. He said that it just could not be done.

It causes us to wonder at times just whose team he is playing on when he denies the action of a governmental agency concerned with war production for the purpose of increasing

war production or preventing a decrease in war production.

The present procedure under which the War Labor Board operates with government control by these various agencies, to me, represents a complete violation of the agreement we made in December of 1941. We bargained for a Board which would settle these disputes under the democratic process of majority rule, upon the merits of each particular case. We haven't such a Board today.

So, in behalf of the labor members on this Board we want to go on record as favoring the report of the committee submitted to you yesterday, as the only method by which this Board can be restored to its power to really give service to labor and industry throughout this war effort.

We are fully in accord with the recommendation that this Federation request the President of the United States to restore the War Labor Board to its original powers which the representatives of labor bargained for and thought they received in December of 1941.

We are thoroughly in accord with the recommendation of the committee that this Federation request the President of the United States to remove these super agencies from the back of the War Labor Board.

We are thoroughly in accord with the report of the committee in which they say, despite these handicaps, we have got to carry on and do nothing that will in any way impede our chances of victory.

We are also thoroughly in accord with the report of the committee that under no circumstances do we want a Labor Board for the settlement of industrial disputes that looks anything like this War Labor Board after the war is over.

Railroad Workers

President Green: Vice President George Harrison, who represents the non-operating railroad workers of the nation, will supplement the statement made by Secretary Meany regarding the policy pursued by the War Labor Board by reporting to you upon the tragic, distressing experiences through which the railroad workers have passed in dealing with the Railway Mediation Board. He will tell an interesting story. I wish that every delegate commissioned to attend this con-

vention and the public generally—as many as can find it possible to be present—would listen to this story, a story that will touch you deeply, a story of the tragic experiences through which the railroad employees have passed. That statement will follow the completion of the special order of business this morning.

SPECIAL ORDER — ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President Green: The special order of business set for this morning is the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year. The convention yesterday directed that the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year and the selection of a convention city for next year be made a special order of business for 10:30 o'clock this morning. The time has arrived now to comply with the special order of business, and the Chair asks President Moreschi of the Building Laborers to preside.

President Joseph V. Moreschi, Hod-Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union, in the chair.

Chairman Moreschi: Now, delegates, the special order before the house is the nomination and election of officers, and I deem it a great pleasure to have Mr. Green choose me. I don't know why, but I shall do my best to perform this duty. The first order is the nomination of the President.

President

Chairman Moreschi: The Chair recognizes Delegate Duffy of the Brotherhood of Carpenters.

Delegate Duffy, Brotherhood of Carpenters: Delegates, I realize we have quite some work to perform before this convention adjourns.

I have been asked not to make a nominating speech for the candidate I have in mind for President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term. I am agreeable to complying with that request, provided if that candidate is elected by this convention that he cut out his address of acceptance. We want to get through if we possibly can today, and I hope we will.

I have spoken of this candidate on many occasions. I am allowed to talk but not to make a speech. I have told you of his qualifications—there is no use in repeating them again.

I take great pleasure in nominating now for President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming year, my old friend and co-worker in the American Federation of Labor, William Green.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, seconded the nomination.

Chairman Moreschi: It has been regularly moved and seconded that Brother Green be nominated as President of this American Federation of Labor. Are there any further nominations? If there are no further nominations, the Chair will declare the nominations closed.

Delegate Koveleski: Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Moreschi: According to the action of this convention, I officially declare Brother William Green elected as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

I take pleasure in presenting to you William Green, the President for the ensuing year.

President Green: Chairman Moreschi, officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this historic convention—I will comply with the stipulation made by my good friend, Secretary Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and refrain from making a speech, but I will resort to the other method. I will talk to you for just a few moments.

It is always difficult for me to command language that would adequately express my deep appreciation of the honor which you have conferred upon me from time to time

and which you have again conferred upon me this morning. For you have repeated the call for service this morning which you have made on many previous occasions.

As the years go by I am tremendously impressed by the spirit manifested and the unanimity of this action demonstrated in the selection of myself as President of the American Federation of Labor. You come here as the sovereign representatives of more than six million workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. You reflect their judgment and their will in the deliberations of this convention, and in a solemn and responsible way you pass upon questions which vitally affect the well-being of those whom you have the honor to represent. For that reason I know that you do not consider the selection of a President of the American Federation of Labor as an incidental matter. I interpret your action, therefore, as the expression of well-considered judgment, and I thank you for the honor which you have conferred upon me.

I shall give to the work, during the coming year so far as I am able to give it, the same faithful service which I have given you for all the years since I have been serving you as President of the American Federation of Labor. There will be no attempt to conserve energy, either mental or physical, and all I have of strength and power and time and thought I will give to the work of the American Federation of Labor and to the service of those you have the honor to represent. I do not know that I ever responded to your clarion call to service at a time more important than at the present moment. For that reason I am increasingly conscious of the many responsibilities resting upon me.

We will pass through a most fateful year. The coming year will be of tremendous importance. We will face political decisions during the coming year which will be of great importance to the working people of our country.

In addition to that we will have to carry on this great conflict, this great World War, until victory is finally achieved. No one can penetrate the future. No one can foresee the trend of events. No one can tell what fate may have in store for us.

But there is one thing of which I am certain, just as certain as I am of the principles

of life and death, and that is that the great American government, along with its Allies, will march into Berlin and Tokio and take charge of those governments. We have already invaded Italy, and the Italian people, understanding the purpose of our troops who have invaded that country, know that it means liberty and freedom and a higher standard of living for the people of that great country.

And so it will be to other countries—freedom, liberty, the right to live, the right to pursue a normal way of life, the right to live in accordance with the rules laid down by Divine Providence. We will play our part during the coming year as we played it during the past year. I shall give to the service of our government the best I can give. I shall endeavor to mobilize behind it, as I know I can, the full support of the American Federation of Labor.

And I announce with voice which cannot be misunderstood to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States that there is one loyal American organization that will stand by him and live with him and die by him, if necessary, in order to win this war.

And now in conclusion may I say that I shall continue to call to those who left us, to plead with our wayward comrades who have gone into the highways and byways of unsound and false experimentation to come back home and live with us. Those who left us will find the rooms in the house of labor which they formerly occupied still furnished, waiting for their return. We only ask that they come back as they left us, with no additions and no complications.

I know it will be the purpose of the Executive Council to protect the interests of every Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, those who have remained loyal, those who have refused to listen to the siren voice of those who called for followers into the field of false experimentation—their interests must and will be protected to the full limit of their rights in the American Federation of Labor, when the wayward sons return.

Then we will carry on out into the fields where men remain unorganized. We will carry the message of the American Federation of Labor. Our appeal will be to their hearts, to their consciences, to their senti-

ments, to themselves to come with us and live with us and work with us as brothers and comrades in a common cause.

I face the coming year with a deep sense of responsibility. I know what it means. It will be a fateful year, but we will face it courageously; we will never compromise on principle or surrender any of our rights.

And in response to this unanimous call you have made, this unmistakable call, this loud, clarion call, I answer that I will work and serve for you during the coming year as the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice Presidents

Now we will proceed to the election of the First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. The Chair will hear nominations for that office.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: I will try to keep within the limits of the request made on me. You have just heard President Green's speech of acceptance for the coming year as President of the American Federation of Labor. He requires help. The Vice Presidents of the American Federation of Labor, with the President and Secretary, constitute the Executive Council of the Federation. On their shoulders rests the responsibility, between this convention and the next convention as far as the labor movement is concerned. He wants, we want men of standing and experience on that Executive Council.

The man I have in mind for First Vice President has both. He has forty-five years' membership in the trade union movement. For thirty years he has been an International Officer. He must have had some experience. Last Friday he had served twenty-eight years as the President of his international organization. He has been coming to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for twenty-eight years. You elected him many times on commissions and committees. On two occasions you elected him as delegate representing the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress. He acted as a member of the War Labor Board in World War No. 1. He has been a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for a number of years.

I tell you these things so you will know he is a man of experience. It gives me

pleasure at this time to nominate my dear, good friend, my co-worker, my co-officer, my co-delegate to this convention, William L. Hutcheson, the General President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate McCurdy, United Garment Workers: I rise to second the nomination of William L. Hutcheson and request that the delegates of this convention instruct the Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for William L. Hutcheson for First Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

President Green: Are there further nominations? If not, the Chair declares nominations closed. The vote will occur on the nomination of William L. Hutcheson for First Vice President.

Delegate Franklin, Brotherhood of Boiler-makers, moved that the Secretary-Treasurer Meany be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother William L. Hutcheson as First Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William L. Hutcheson for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision I declare William L. Hutcheson elected First Vice President for the ensuing term.

Now the Chair calls for nominations for Second Vice President.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: Mr. Chairman, I have been privileged to participate in a small way in what I consider to be one of the most important functions that the delegates to these conventions are called upon to perform. That is the election of their national officers and their leaders, upon whom is placed the responsibility of conducting the affairs of the members of this Federation during the ensuing year, and, as Senator Mead so well said, the other day, we must have confidence and faith

in these men. After all that is the structure, the basic structure of the foundation of this Federation and of this splendid country—faith and confidence in the men we select as our leaders.

Then, too, it seems to me as we look back over the years that the American Federation of Labor has been particularly blessed in the men they have selected to lead them.

Now I am going to present to you the name of a national officer who has served you as Second Vice President for almost twenty years. As I looked upon him yesterday, serving as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, and noted the clarity of his mind and his physical appearance, I felt that somewhere along the line he must have sipped of the fountain of youth, as it seems to me he looks just as young as he did twenty years ago.

The Second Vice President was born in Continental Europe, in the little Republic of Luxembourg. He came to this blessed land as a small boy. He has been blessed by nature with a splendid intellect and has developed character during the years that have followed his landing in New York.

But after all, gentlemen, regardless of how he may have been blessed by God Almighty, He just gives us the same as America does—an opportunity to develop ourselves, whether we are an individual or an institution, and we must have a capacity to work. It is only through labor that we develop ourselves and any institution in which we may hold membership.

This man is one of the hardest workers in or out of the American Federation of Labor.

I wanted to review his career, but I recognize that this is not the time or the place to make any extensive remarks. Consequently I want to place before you with a great deal of affection and respect the name of the Vice President of the International Union of Photo-Engravers of North America, Matthew Woll, for Second Vice President.

President Green: Matthew Woll has been nominated for Second Vice President.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second the nomination of Matthew Woll.

President Green: Are there further nomina-

tions? If not, the Chair declares nominations closed.

Delegate Madsen, Painters: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot as the unanimous vote of the Convention for Matthew Woll as Second Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll for Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision and the announcement made by the Secretary-Treasurer, I officially declare Matthew Woll elected to serve as Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Third Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Bagley, Musicians: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I will nominate for the office of Third Vice President the same person who has so faithfully served you in that capacity during the years that have passed—Joseph N. Weber, of the American Federation of Musicians.

Delegate Castronovo, Musicians: I second the nomination.

President Green: Are there further nominations? If there are no other nominations the Chair declares nominations for Third Vice President closed.

Delegate Field, Musicians: I move that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the election of Joseph N. Weber as Third Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with your instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Joseph N. Weber as Third Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Joseph N. Weber

elected Third Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourth Vice President.

Delegate Brown, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, we have heard a lot about the previous candidates for office and their qualifications. The man whom I speak of at this time has all those qualifications and virtues. He has served our organization the better part of his life. He has been a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the past thirteen years. He has served organized labor well, and without going into any further detail at this time I want to nominate G. M. Bugniagnet as Fourth Vice President.

Delegate Paulsen, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second that nomination.

President Green: Are there further nominations? If not, nominations are closed.

Delegate Regan, Electrical Workers: I move that the Secretary cast one ballot as the unanimous choice of the convention for Brother Bugniagnet.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for G. M. Bugniagnet for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare G. M. Bugniagnet elected Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifth Vice President.

Delegate Farnan, Maintenance of Way Employees: Mr. Chairman, the gentleman I desire to nominate for the office of Fifth Vice President is the present incumbent of that office. I do not intend to detail his activities on behalf of the American Federation of Labor or his qualifications for that office. I place before you for your consideration George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers and Expressmen of America for the office of Fifth Vice President.

Delegate Wheatley: I desire to second the nomination of Brother George M. Harrison.

Delegate Raftery, Painters: Mr. Chairman, I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Brother George M. Harrison as Fifth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George M. Harrison for Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare George M. Harrison elected Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations for Sixth Vice President.

Delegate Gillespie, Teamsters and Chauffeurs: Mr. Chairman, it gives me great pleasure to place in nomination for re-election to the office of Sixth Vice President our General President, Daniel J. Tobin.

Delegate Adamski, United Garment Workers: I wish at this time to second the nomination of Daniel J. Tobin, my friend and associate for thirty-five years.

Delegate Merlino, Barbers: I offer a motion that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Sixth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Meany: in accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin as Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin as Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement made by Secretary-Treasurer Meany I officially declare Brother Daniel J. Tobin elected as Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Seventh Vice President.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers: Mr. Chairman, I desire to place in nomination, Harry C. Bates, President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union for the position of Seventh Vice President.

Delegate Moreschi, Building Laborers: I wish to second the nomination of Brother Bates for Seventh Vice President.

Delegate Maloney, Engineers: I also want to second the nomination of Harry C. Bates.

Delegate O'Donnell, Bricklayers: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the election of Harry C. Bates for Seventh Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates for Seventh Vice President.

President Green: In accordance with the decision and the announcement of the Secretary I officially declare Brother Harry C. Bates elected Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now the Chair calls for nominations for Eighth Vice President.

Delegate McMorro, Street and Electric Railway Employees: I wish I had the time to eulogize the man I wish at this time to propose for Eighth Vice President of the Federation. I will say this, that it is good to have lived to know him, and it affords me the pleasure of my life to nominate my old pal, William D. Mahon, for Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate W. F. Robinson, Richmond, Virginia Central Body: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, it affords me great pleasure to second the nomination of W. D. Mahon, who has guided the destinies of our Amalgamated Association for some fifty-one years.

Delegate Arnott, Street Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention in favor of W. D. Mahon, as Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for W. D. Mahon as Eighth

Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision, the Chair officially declares Brother W. D. Mahon elected as the Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations for Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Barney, Railway Carmen: Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time to nominate as the Ninth Vice President, Felix H. Knight, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.

Delegate McCormick, Railway Carmen: Mr. President, I rise at this time to second the nomination of Felix H. Knight as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Vaillancourt, Railway Carmen: Mr. Chairman, I move that the nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention in favor of Brother Knight as the Ninth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Felix H. Knight as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your instructions and the announcement just made by the Secretary, the Chair officially declares Brother Felix H. Knight elected as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I have the pleasure and honor to present to this convention again the name of the General President of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers and Bartenders for the last thirty-five years, my friend, Edward Flore, for the office of Tenth Vice President.

Delegate Kearney, Boston, Massachusetts, Central Body: I rise to second the nomina-

tion of President Flore. It was here in the city of Boston in 1911 in old historic Faneuil Hall that we elected Edward Flore General President of our International Union. He has been guiding the destinies of our International successfully ever since, and I move that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Brother Flore as Tenth Vice President.

Delegate McPetridge, Building Service Employees: May I second the nomination of Edward Flore for the Tenth Vice Presidency of the American Federation of Labor, and may I report to this convention here and now that a jurisdictional dispute of long standing has come to an end and to a complete agreement, for which we are very thankful.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman, I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Edward Flore as Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward Flore as Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement just made by the Secretary, the Chair officially declares Brother Edward Flore elected as the Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Edgar, Machinists: Mr. Chairman and delegates, with a deep sense of responsibility to my organization and to the American Federation of Labor, I desire to nominate for Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, the International President of our organization, Harvey W. Brown.

Delegate Egan, Connecticut State Body: I wish to second the nomination of Brother Harvey Brown for Eleventh Vice President.

Delegate Shave, Virginia State Federation: I move you, sir, that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this

convention for Harvey W. Brown as Eleventh Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harvey W. Brown as Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and in conformity with your instructions, the Chair officially declares Brother Harvey W. Brown elected as the Eleventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now the Chair calls for nominations for Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Stevenson, Molders and Foundry Workers: It is with a great deal of pleasure that I rise at this time to nominate the present incumbent, Brother William C. Birthright, President of the Barbers Union.

Delegate Maloney, Operating Engineers: I trust I may be pardoned for breaking into these election proceedings the second time, but I do want to say a brief word about my good friend who has just been nominated. Four years ago when there was a vacancy on the Executive Council the delegates looked around among the various international unions and they selected Brother Birthright. He is a regular guy, a splendid fellow with a great heart, and it is a great pleasure indeed for me to rise to second the nomination of William C. Birthright as a member of the Executive Council.

Delegate Merlino, Barbers: I move you that the nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for William C. Birthright as Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William C. Birthright as Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and in conformity with your instruc-

tions the Chair officially declares Brother William C. Birthright as the Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now the Chair calls for nominations for Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Burns, Government Employees: Mr. President and delegates to the convention, as a delegate representing an organization composed entirely of employees of the United States Government, I desire to nominate for the position of Thirteenth Vice President the present incumbent of that office, the President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Mr. William C. Doherty.

Delegate Horlbeck, Letter Carriers: I second the nomination of William C. Doherty for Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate McGuigan, Letter Carriers: I move that the nominations cease and that Secretary Meany be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for William C. Doherty as Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William C. Doherty as Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and your instructions, the Chair officially declares Brother William C. Doherty elected as Thirteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now the Chair calls for nominations for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Durkin, Plumbers: Mr. President, as brevity is the order of the day, I wish to follow the example of the previous speakers and place in nomination the name of a young man who is a member of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters. He had served his Local Union as Business Agent and had done the job so well that he attracted the attention of the labor organizations of New York State, and they selected him to head up their Federation of Labor.

As President of the New York State Federation of Labor he is responsible in a great measure for the fine labor legislation placed on the statute books of the State of New York. When the American Federation of Labor decided that they needed a man to take the place of the previous Secretary-Treasurer who had retired, they selected this young man to fill that position, and we all know that he has done a wonderful job as Secretary-Treasurer. Without any further ado, I wish to place in nomination the present incumbent, George Meany.

Delegate Murray, New York State Federation: I rise at this time to second the nomination of a young man who has served the State of New York in an outstanding manner. As President of the New York State Federation of Labor, as the previous speaker has said, he has placed on the record books of that State legislation that has proved of real value to the working men and women of New York State. I am expressing to you the sentiment of the working men and women of New York State when I say it is a pleasure, an honor and a special privilege to second the nomination of George Meany for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Kovleski, Hotel and Restaurant Workers: I move that the Assistant Secretary of this convention cast the unanimous vote of the convention for George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Assistant Secretary Grages: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your decision and in accordance with your instructions, the Chair officially declares Brother George Meany elected as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Secretary Meany: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I certainly appreciate the action of the convention here this morning, and I think the best way to show my appreciation is to make my remarks quite short.

I am in hearty accord with President Green's remarks this morning that our No. 1 job is to get out and win this war. We have come a long way since we were in Toronto one year ago, as far as production is concerned and as far as our military forces' successes in the field of action are concerned. It seems hardly possible that just one year ago Montgomery was backed up against the gates of Cairo and had not yet turned Rommel back, and that the Russians were still fighting with their backs to the wall at Stalingrad, and that MacArthur had moved hardly a few miles from Port Moresby. We have come a long way, but we have a long way to go, and this American Federation of Labor must continue to give its vital support as an instrumentality for the American people on the production lines to bring victory. That is our first job.

Our second job, and a job I am sure we will do well, is to protect the interests of our members and the working people of this nation while the process of victory is coming to accomplishment.

Thank you.

Fraternal Delegates

President Green: The next order of business is the selection of fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Brown, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, due to the uncertainty of war and the uncertainty of business and the uncertainty of travel at this time, I think this convention should leave the selection of the fraternal delegates to the Executive Council. Therefore, I move that the Executive Council be ordered, if such necessity rises, to select the fraternal delegates to these countries.

Delegate Paulsen, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second that motion.

The motion was carried by unanimous vote.

Convention City—1944

President Green: The next order of business is the selection of a convention city for 1944. The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany.

Secretary Meany: May I suggest that I be allowed to read a list of fourteen invitations we have received from three separate cities, and that the communications from these people be placed in the record. I think it will save considerable time, rather than to read all fourteen communications.

President Green: Are there any objections to the course outlined by Secretary Meany? Hearing none, the course will be followed.

The communications are as follows:

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 11.

George Meany, Secretary
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

May we again extend the invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1944 Convention in Kansas City. We are in a position to offer unexcelled hotel and all other necessary accommodations to the Convention. Our city is in the heart of America and is not so crowded as many other cities during this war. The climate in Kansas City during November at which time I presume the convention will be held is the finest. Cool, vigorous, clear days are the rule. During last November the average maximum temperature was 57 degrees and the average low was 47 degrees. This type of weather is common and ordinary for our city during this month. Wishing you and all the delegates present a pleasant and constructive convention and looking forward to being your host next year, we remain,

Fraternally yours,

LEONARD T. WILLIAMS,
President
Central Labor Union of
Kansas City, Missouri.

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 13.

George Meany, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

Local Lodge Number 92, Machinists, Kansas City, appreciate your efforts in bringing 1944 Convention to Kansas City.

J. G. CAMPBELL, Business Agent.
Local 92.

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 13.

George Meany, Sec.-Treas.
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

On behalf of 1860, United Garment Workers members in this area. I urge you

to support the selection of Kansas City, as the 1944 A. F. of L. Convention city.

ROY LAMBERT,
Financial Sec'y and
Business Representative
Local Union 47.

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 13.

George Meany, Sec.-Treas.,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

The Carpenters District Council and all Affiliated Locals would appreciate your support in bringing the 1944 A. F. of L. Convention to Kansas City, the Heart of America. We assure you all support possible to make Convention a success.

J. O. MACK, President,
Carpenters District Council
in 1944, A. F. of L.

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 5.

George Meany, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Hotel Statler, Boston, Mass.

Painters District Council, Number Three, extends to you an invitation to hold the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Kansas City, Missouri. Kansas City has the facilities and ample hotel accommodations for handling a convention of this kind. We have a municipal auditorium with ample committee rooms available. Wishing you a most successful Convention and hoping to see you in Kansas City at the next A. F. of L. Convention.

A. D. WILLITS, Sec'y,
Painters District Council No. 3.

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 4.

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Hotel Statler, Boston, Mass.

Plumbers and Gas Fitters Local Union Number Eight of the United Association of Journeyman Plumbers and Steamfitters wishes to extend an invitation to the officers and affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor to hold their 1944 convention in Kansas City, Missouri.

RICHARD A. JONES,
Business Rep., Local 8.

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 13.

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

Please use your influence in selecting Kansas City for 1944 A. F. of L. convention. *We are amply able to entertain and feel it would be beneficial to that.

F. AGALATAS, President
Laundry Workers,
International Union Local 238.

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 14.

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

The Teamsters Joint Council No. 56 joins the Labor movement of Kansas City in inviting the American Federation of Labor Convention to Kansas City in 1944. We believe this city can well accommodate a convention of this kind. Therefore, we are soliciting your support in bringing the convention to our city.

L. C. OLIVER, President,
Teamsters Joint Council.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Lakecharles, La., Oct. 12.

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

On behalf of La. State Federation of Labor I am privileged to submit the name of America's most interesting city as the scene of 1944 convention of the American Federation of Labor. Ample accommodations, splendid climate and noted hospitality assure all a pleasant visit if New Orleans is selected.

E. J. BOURG
Secretary-Treasurer,
La. State Federation of Labor.

Baton Rouge, La., Oct. 11.

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Statler Hotel, Boston, Mass.

May I extend to your organization, on behalf of the staff of Louisiana a most cordial invitation to hold your 1944 convention in New Orleans. This city has splendid accommodations in the way of hotel facilities and in addition, is nationally known for its fine hospitality and varied points of scenic and historical beauty. I trust you will find it possible to accept.

SAM H. JONES,
Governor of Louisiana.

New Orleans, La., Oct. 3.

George Meany, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor in Convention
Assembled BSN.

New Orleans would indeed consider it a pleasure to serve as host for your next Convention and would feel honored to service such a distinguished group as yours.

ROBERT S. MAESTRI, Mayor.

New Orleans, La., Oct. 3.

George Meany, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
in Convention Assembled.

We most cordially join with local and state labor organizations in urging you to accept their invitation to hold your next meeting in New Orleans. We assure you it will be a pleasure to have you meet with us and we pledge our hearty cooperation with

local group in helping to make meeting most successful and enjoyable one.

Wm. G. ZETZMANN, Chairman,
Convention and Visitors Bureau.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

October 11, 1943.

To the Officers and Delegates of the
American Federation of Labor Convention.
Dear Sirs and Brothers:

We desire to invite the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1944 convention in the City of Detroit as the guests of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor. You have already received invitations from the Mayor of the City of Detroit and the Governor of the State of Michigan asking that you hold your 1944 convention at Detroit.

Should you accept this invitation, it will be the first time in fourteen years that the American Federation of Labor has come to our city with its annual convention. While we know that we made the visit to Detroit in 1926 a pleasant one, we want to assure you that we are in a much better position now because while in 1926 Detroit was regarded as the headquarters of the anti-labor forces of America, today it is one of the best organized cities of America.

If you hold your convention in Detroit in 1944 you will be serviced by a hotel industry that is one hundred per cent organized and under contract with the American Federation of Labor unions having jurisdiction. Since your last visit to Detroit, we have acquired for the American Federation of Labor trade unions the finest Labor Temple in America. We would like to make the American Federation of Labor convention the occasion of the official dedication of this building, completely free from debt, and we can well do this. Acceptance of this invitation will set a goal for our people to work for and which I know you will be glad to enjoy with us when this goal is achieved.

Contrary to the opinions accepted in some labor circles, Detroit is not in the hands of trade unions dual to the American Federation of Labor. Our organizations have grown and prospered and not only retained their position but have organized new industries. It has greatly contributed to the increased membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The acceptance of our invitation to hold your next convention in Detroit will give the American Federation of Labor a splendid opportunity to evaluate the work done by its agencies in Detroit and to place before the citizens of our fair city, in a most striking manner, the advantages of working men accepting the American Federation of Labor as its bargaining agency.

Trusting that we shall have the pleasure of having you with us, we beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,

DETROIT AND WAYNE COUNTY
FEDERATION OF LABOR
FRANK X. MARTEL, President.

STATE OF MICHIGAN
EXECUTIVE OFFICE

Lansing, October 4, 1943

To the Members of the
American Federation of Labor
In Convention in
Boston, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

As Governor of the State of Michigan, I extend you a cordial and urgent invitation to select our beautiful state as the place of your next convention.

I am informed your representatives have been extended an invitation to meet in Detroit next year, and I take pleasure in most heartily supporting this invitation with the sincere hope that you will see fit to meet at this convenient mid-west point which has been termed the Arsenal of Democracy.

Sincerely,

HARRY F. KELLY,
Governor

CITY OF DETROIT
EXECUTIVE OFFICE

September 29, 1943

To the Members of the
American Federation of Labor,
In Convention in
Boston, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

A sincere invitation is extended your association by Detroit to hold your 1944 meeting with us. As Mayor of the City of Detroit, I assure you a sojourn in our city will be one long remembered by your membership.

We in Detroit are really in this war. Our citizens are called upon to produce arms and armament in quantity undreamed of before Pearl Harbor, they are furnishing untold numbers of men and women for our armed forces . . . they are subscribing their dollars for war bonds.

We know your meeting if held here will give your members renewed inspiration for their tasks because of their personal contact with "the Arsenal of Democracy".

Detroit will be honored to be your host in 1944.

Sincerely,

EDWARD J. JEFFRIES, Jr.
Mayor

President Green: Now the Chair will recognize delegates for the nomination of a city for the holding of the 1944 Convention.

Delegate Quarles, New Orleans, Louisiana Central Body; President Green, the Executive Council and delegates to this convention: I am not going to take up your time with a

long description of our fair city and state, because most of you have visited that city in the past.

I am here to place in nomination a city that has the facilities to hold an American Federation of Labor Convention the size of this. We have the proper hotel facilities, the proper meeting halls. The Mayor of the city of New Orleans and the Governor of the State of Louisiana, the business people down there and the civic organizations have asked that I come to this convention and ask you to come back to that city with your next convention in 1944.

Now we have had two weeks of fine weather in the city of Boston, meeting with as fine people as we have in this nation. I can assure you, the convention coming as late as it will next year in November, that you will also have two weeks of fine weather and with as fine people as there are in this nation.

Mr. Chairman, I am not going to take up the time of this convention to say anything further, but I wish at this time to place in nomination the city of New Orleans for the 1944 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Martel, Detroit, Michigan Central Body: Mr. Chairman, I know it is rather difficult to compete with the city of New Orleans, because I remember about four years ago we had a splendid convention in that city, but I want to place before this convention the nomination of the city of Detroit, the industrial capital of the United States and the arsenal of democracy.

I want to invite this convention to come to Detroit so that the people of that great industrial district can better appraise the American Federation of Labor. I believe that the presence of this convention in the city of Detroit will go a long way to make possible a comparison of the kind of trade unionism that the industrial workers of that city can have, as compared with the kind of trade unionism they are getting in the automobile industry.

I know it is a pleasant thing to have the convention in a city like New Orleans where the weather is a little warmer than it will be in Detroit in November of next year, but I want to assure you, my friends, that what we may lack in temperature we will make up in entertainment and facilities.

In the city of Detroit the hotel industry is one hundred per cent organized in those trades in the American Federation of Labor that have jurisdiction. All of our major hotels are under closed shop contracts. Every bit of service that you will get in the hotels, including the terminal barber shops, will be furnished by members of the American Federation of Labor under closed shop contracts.

We have the hall, we have the hotels, and we have every facility, and it will afford the delegates to this convention an opportunity to see in actual operation production on the largest scale in this country of those things that this nation is now turning out to win the war. We hope to have you in Detroit. You haven't had your convention there since 1926. Recently we purchased in that city what I believe to be the finest labor temple in the United States. We owe a little balance on it and, incidentally, if any of you international unions want to make a contribution to help us pay it off, we will be glad to receive your check.

But, I assure you, Mr. Chairman and delegates, if you will come to Detroit, we will make the drive to pay for that building and dedicate it as the labor temple of the American Federation of Labor unions free of debt at the next convention.

President Green: Are there further nominations? If not, the Chair will declare the nominations closed.

The question now recurs upon the invitation extended by the representatives of Labor from New Orleans and by Delegate Martel from Detroit. We will first vote upon New Orleans.

All in favor of selecting New Orleans as a convention city for 1944 for the American Federation of Labor will hold up your right hands.

All in favor of the selection of the city of Detroit as the 1944 convention city hold up your right hands.

It is the opinion of the Chair that the delegates have overwhelmingly voted in favor of New Orleans, Louisiana, as the convention city for 1944, and the Chair, therefore, declares New Orleans officially selected as the 1944 convention city for the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Quarles, New Orleans Central Body: President Green and delegates, I want

to sincerely thank you, in the name of organized labor for making your decision to come to New Orleans next November. I assure you that you will be royally treated when you come down to that old city, the most interesting city in America.

President Green: That completes the special order of business, but as I stated before, we agreed after the special order of business that Vice President George M. Harrison would address the convention immediately and tell you a very interesting story. I wish you would all remain right here in the hall until Vice President Harrison tells that story.

The Chair presents with a feeling of pride and satisfaction, Vice President George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks.

Statement of Vice President George M. Harrison on the Railroad Workers Wage Controversy

President Green, Officers and delegates, visitors to the convention—I well appreciate the tremendous amount of business before this convention and I regret the necessity of occupying any of the remaining time of the sessions of the convention, but I feel that the wage policies of our Government, which are of such great importance to the prosecution of the war and the welfare of the nation, makes it obligatory on me to say a few words to this convention in respect to that most important matter.

While I am in attendance at this convention as an officer of my own organization and as an officer of the American Federation of Labor, I appear here at the moment as the spokesman for fourteen international organizations of labor affiliated for many years with this great American Federation of Labor, with particular reference to that part of their membership employed in the great railroad industry of our nation, embracing 1,000,000 men and women who operate the nation's railroads. I think we will all agree that the nation's railroad workers have been doing a splendid job in meeting the demands of the nation in a period of war for mass transportation. With one or two exceptions little or

no time has been lost in carrying on transportation for the past quarter of a century, and particularly during the period of the war we have faithfully carried out, without the loss of a single hour's time, the pledge that the American Federation of Labor made to our President when we were plunged into the war.

And so, railroad workers claim their just share of the splendid job that all working men have done to meet the needs of our nation in time of great peril. It is only because of that deep interest of this splendid group of men and women in the welfare of the nation that they now raise their voices about some policies pursued by some administrators of government that we feel are dangerous to the best interest of the nation itself.

The handling of labor matters by representatives of the federal government is nothing new to railroad workers. Beginning with the enactment of the Erdman Act in 1888, some fifty-five years ago, railroad workers have been subject to Federal law establishing procedure and determining labor relations in the railroad transportation industry. That is because of the tremendous importance of mass transportation to the nation itself. Transportation by railroad is the arterial supply system of our whole economic activity. The railroads are the assembly lines of all that we produce. We gather up the materials, take them to the factories, and then they are fabricated and we distribute them throughout the world to the points of consumption.

And so the nation has interested itself in a continuous efficient, uninterrupted flow of rail transportation, as I say, for the last fifty-five years. At the present time and since 1926, railroad labor disputes have been adjusted under a Federal law known as the Railway Labor Act. That law was the result of trial and error over a period of some thirty-two or thirty-three years preceding its enactment. We feel, and I think it is generally agreed that the Railway Labor Act is perfection in the orderly processes of maintaining satisfactory labor relations in a large industry essentially necessary to the welfare of the nation. That law provides an obligation, enforceable in the courts, of making and maintaining collective bargaining contracts and the settlement of disputes arising under such contracts through conference, negotiation, Federal mediation, voluntary arbitration, and

finally by the intervention of the President of the United States through an inquiry to be carried out by a Presidential Commission, so that the nation may be informed of the merits and the facts of any controversy that might threaten to interrupt the essential life's blood of our industrial machine. That law has worked well. It has assured and provided to the nation a continuous flow of these essential services, until just recently when some people who perhaps do not understand the difficulties of dealing with labor relations have undertaken to interfere with the orderly processes of that machinery.

To state the situation concretely, briefly and directly, the railroad workers of this country, numbering in excess of a million, in September of 1942 served legal notice for upward revisions in their wage scales of 20 cents an hour, with a basic minimum of 70 cents an hour. In due course, conferences where held upon a nation-wide scale, mediation ensued. Voluntary arbitration was not available because unacceptable. In due course the President of the United States intervened according to his statutory duty under Section 10 of the Railway Labor Act, and he appointed a commission of three to investigate the merits of the controversy over requested upward revision in wages.

Two outstanding, eminent economists were appointed to membership on that Board and the third member was an outstanding, reputable lawyer. The Board began its public hearings in the Federal court rooms in the city of Chicago on the first day of last March. Railroad workers and managers were summoned under Presidential powers to appear and give testimony under oath in regard to the merits of the controversy. Forty-four days of public hearing in the nature of a trial were consumed by that Board in hearing the controversy, and 6,338 pages of testimony and argument were submitted at that hearing by the parties; 471 exhibits, many of them voluminous, were submitted in that case. Economists were employed by the Unions, as well as the utilization of our own staff services. It might be said, conservatively, that we introduced two truckloads of statistical material exploring and examining the facts in all of the social and economic aspects of that case. An equally comprehensive presentation of material was made by the opposition.

On the 7th day of May, the Board went into executive session, and on the 24th day of

May the Presidential Commission filed with the President of the United States a comprehensive report awarding to the railroad workers of the nation an increase in their basic wage rates of 8 cents an hour, retroactive to February 1st, 1943. It was provided in the recommendations of the Commission to the President that the back pay or the retroactive pay would be paid in War Bonds amounting to \$85,000,000 in order that it could not be said that any inflationary results might flow from the distribution of such sums to the workers of the nation. The total increase in wages, exclusive of the retroactive compensation, was \$205,000,000, which the railroad workers of the nation had won.

In the report submitted to the President these learned and outstanding gentlemen, specialists in the field in which they were working, said that in their judgment the general increase of eight cents an hour was the minimum non-inflationary increase that the nation's railroad workers were entitled to receive, because thousands of them were suffering under sub-standard living wages; 120,000 received wages of 46 cents an hour or less; 544,000 received wages of 70 cents an hour or less, and 553,000 received wages above 70 cents an hour. The Board said that in addition they were awarding the increase because these workers had established that they were suffering from a gross inequity developed in the calendar years of 1941 and 1942, or the period of the war, because railroad workers, operating under federal machinery, had not been able to progress as rapidly in the determination of their wage demands as other workers had progressed during that period of time, and the railroad workers of the nation had only succeeded in raising their basic wage levels on the average ten cents an hour, while all other industrial workers of the nation, 30,000,000, had raised their basic wages, the straight time average hourly rate, during that period, on an average of 18.4 cents per hour. And if non-manufacturing industrial workers were excluded and only the manufacturing industrial workers were taken, they had raised their wages in the two calendar years just mentioned 21 cents an hour above the weighted straight time average hourly rate of 73½ cents per hour received by the one million plus of the nation's railroad workers. The Board concluded that if we were to go on with the orderly disposition of industrial controversies over wages and conditions of em-

ployment, such delay must not operate to the disadvantage of the workers of the nation.

On the 27th day of May the President of our great nation appealed to your speaker to accept the decision of that Board, because we were of the opinion it was inadequate and had so indicated our disappointment. But, as good citizens in a time of war, anxious to do everything humanly possible to contribute our bit to the successful defense of the nation, we capitulated and accepted the request of the President and regarded the controversy as closed. We arranged a conference with the managers of the nation's railroads for New York City on the 23rd of June, to execute formal contracts and make effective the changes in our wage schedules to implement the recommendation of the Board and the expressed wishes of the President of the United States.

And lo and behold, out of a clear sky on the morning of the 23rd day of June, at the time we were to assemble in the conference room to execute the contract, Judge Vinson issued an edict setting aside the 8-cent increase—no notice, no conference, no previous indication that any such action would be taken—very brief, terse, 350 words, declaring that the increase in wages granted the nation's railroad workers was inflationary and should not become effective.

Some four or five days following the 23rd of June Director Vinson issued an opinion in support of his decision, and in that opinion the Director said that we could get no further increase in pay because we had received in December of 1941, twelve months prior to the enactment of the Stabilization Law and seven months before the promulgation of the Little Steel Formula, an increase of 15 per cent, and we were only hereafter entitled to enjoy an adjustment in sub-standard living wages, with an immediate tapering off of inter-related job classifications, and that by comparison with sound, tested bracket rates within our own industry—we could not compare our wage levels with other industries of the nation.

Now we were engaged in a national dispute and every one of our industries are in the pot. Fifty years of collective bargaining has more or less standardized our wages and we are unable, even though we are 21 cents an hour below all other industrial workers of the nation, to correct such gross inequities

under the basic stabilization law of the nation.

Well, that was bad enough, but that is only half the story. The railroad corporations of this country now are making the greatest profits they have ever made in the history of our nation. Last year, after the payment of all operating expenses and taxes, they wound up with a clear profit of a billion and a half dollars. Yet we are told that three and a half millions, representing the nation's railroad workers and their families, rendering the most important service, loyally and patriotically and devotedly cannot enjoy part of their own creation to relieve the terrific pressure being exerted against them to make both ends meet in a rising war time economy; but if the money remains in the coffers of the railroad corporations it is non-inflationary; if it is distributed to the families of a million plus railroad workers it is inflationary.

Well, I agree that it would be inflationary in one sense; it would inflate the stomachs of these poor workers of the nation's railroads, and that is about all it would inflate.

I don't know where we are going when we have one man who, without examining one scintilla of the evidence in the case, without reading one page of the testimony, without any notice, hearing or previous warning, out of his wisdom, notwithstanding a signed declaration of two eminent economists who heard the case, that the increase would be non-inflationary, presumes, by the stroke of a pen and the writing of a terse message, to hold that it would upset the national economy if the workers were permitted to enjoy an adjustment of a gross inequity that everybody admits.

Now, my good friends, that is a dangerous method of dealing with the workers of this nation, and that is a dangerous method of dealing with labor relations, and if it is persisted in it will destroy the last vestige of orderly determination of controversies between workers and management of industry.

Can you imagine, after 55 years of historical developments, spending \$100,000 of our money and 44 days in public hearings, winning an impartial Presidential Commission's decision, that it is fair and in the best interests of the future stability of the nation's labor relations to handle the situation in that way?

Well, we have been since the 23rd day of June holding conferences with everybody in Washington. We have appealed to the President, but so far we have not been able to get an adjustment of this controversy.

Our situation is desperate, or I would not be here this morning. Our people are revolting against the organizations because they say that as leaders we are no damned good, we don't get results for them. CIO and the Mine Workers District 50 are promising the world with a fence around it. In their desperation they seek relief from any source. Thousands have left our industry. We are on the verge of a most chaotic condition in railroad transportation. Today we are short 100,000 workers to properly man the services of our industry. Our turnover is at a rate exceeding one hundred per cent annually of the total working force.

In the twelve months ending with June of 1943, the present year, according to the official report of the Railroad Retirement Board, we actually employed 1,340,000 new railroad workers not heretofore associated with or attached to the railroad industry to maintain a total working force of 1,350,000—10,000 less than a total 100 per cent turnover in our working force in twelve months.

What have the managers been doing in order to meet this desperate manpower situation occasioned by this upset in wage adjustment procedures and to bring a vital war industry into line with general wages paid in other industries of the nation? They have gone out and have hired schoolboys fourteen and fifteen years of age to run the nation's railroads. And right now the War Manpower Commission and railroad managers are putting on the pressure to let these children work in the industry after school hours. Heretofore, because of the hazardous nature of the industry, no person could get a job under 21 years of age without their guardians or their parents signing a release from all future liability in case of personal injury or death. Some states are permitting them to do it. I learned from our good friend, Commissioner Moriarty in the State of Massachusetts that he has stood steadfast against the exploitation of school children below eighteen years of age.

But that is not half the story. Through the ingenuity of our managers and some sympathetic government representatives, they have gone south of the border, to a sub-

standard living condition nation in relation to our own, and have imported thousands of Mexican Nationals under contract and put them to work on the nation's railroads at these starvation wages. That's bad, not because they are Mexicans, but because we go to a country having half the living standards that we enjoy, because we cannot get domestic labor to work for the starvation wages that one of America's outstanding industries is paying.

Well, as I say, that's bad. But here is the prize package. Now Mr. Henry Stimson, our Honorable Secretary of War, has called upon the Manpower Commissioner, the Honorable Mr. McNutt, to issue the necessary regulations and instructions to permit the employment of prisoners of war on the nation's railroads. My God, my friends! Railroadings is a most delicate operation. We carry on in the day and in the night. By split seconds our mechanism and our human working force must operate with the accuracy of a fine watch. It requires high type, responsible, devoted workers. Otherwise, if one operation goes amiss the whole machine brings disaster.

We only need to look to what happened in Philadelphia, when the lives of eighty of our people were snuffed out.

We are doing a heroic job with the old equipment that we have. We can't get any more, and in this year of 1943 we will handle double the total volume of railroad freight traffic that we handled in 1939 and we will do it this year with only 32 per cent more workers—a one hundred per cent increase in production with a 32 per cent increase in working force—the greatest achievement by an old, established industry in the history of the nation.

We can't go on. We can't operate the nation's railroads with school children, with Mexican Nationals who know nothing of our operations, and with prisoners of war. I can't get the reasoning of one who would turn loose a Nazi soldier, skilled in demolition practices under the Fuehrer, to run amuck on the nation's railroads. For security reasons I should not mention the possibility of destroying the lives of thousands of our people, and millions of dollars in property by just a slight readjustment of our intricate mechanisms.

We have said that we will resist this—not in our own interests but in the interests of

maintaining a steady flow of transportation to the nation and to our boys at the front.

We have reached an impasse. We have gone through all the machinery for thirteen months; we have spent \$100,000 of our money; we have won the decision of a Presidential Commission, and we are denied the opportunity to level off industrial wages generally—not completely but only partially.

I agree with the report of the Resolutions Committee telling you here this morning and late yesterday that it is a most dangerous practice to permit the resolution of these controversies by the exercise of the power of one man who does not even hear the case, a man sheltered in the vacuum of an office, a man who does not understand, by previous training or by facts available the underlying, deep seated fundamental principles dictating wage decisions.

Our people are demanding that we put out a strike ballot. We are conscious of our national responsibilities. We shall do nothing that will in any way obstruct the nation's war effort. But, on the same consideration, we cry out loudly now against those methods that we resist on the battlefronts of the nation. We ask for the democratic process. We will abide while the nation's welfare is concerned, come what may, from the operation of those processes.

I have taken more time than I intended, but we are suffering from one of the greatest injustices and one of the most arbitrary and capricious acts that has ever been perpetrated upon a large group of patriotic and loyal devoted citizens in a most vital industrial operation of the nation in a time of war. That explains why I take the time of the convention, because I can well appreciate that unless these conditions are rapidly adjusted, chaos impends in the machineries that have been developed for the determination of the wages of the working people of this nation that will seriously retard the best interests of the nation to carry on in the most efficient manner in this time of grave national concern.

Thank you.

President Green: Vice President Harrison has told you a most interesting story. The railroad workers won that case before a governmental tribunal. That tribunal decided that the increased earnings of the railroads justified the payment of an increase of eight

cents an hour to the workers. There is no price ceiling involved. The railroads did not need to increase the fare or the freight rates in order to pay this increase. It was to be paid out of the increased earnings made possible by the expert service of the railroad workers. The tribunal made a fair decision. But one man, just think of it, one man says no and that ends it. His decision means that all of the profits made on the railroads through the increased volume of business caused by this war shall go into the pockets of the owners of the railroads, and not a single penny into the wages of the workers. Is that just? It is an outrage.

So far as I am concerned I am burning with indignation. I could be arrested for what I think of the man who rendered that decision against the railroad workers of the nation. The money is earned; it is flowing into the treasuries of the railroads. According to Judge Vinson's decision it must all go along the one route into the pockets of the owners of the railroads—all of it!

God knows, that's inflation. What will they do with it? Not a penny to the poor workers on the section, in the counting house, in the freight depot, the station master—not a penny to them.

We protest against that outrageous decision; we protest with all of the vigor at our command, and so far as I am concerned I will say to George Harrison and those he represents that whatever they decide to do in order to offset that injustice and that decision the American Federation of Labor will stand with them and support them.

I thank Brother Harrison for the presentation of the matter and for the splendid story he told you.

Now Secretary Frey for a continued report of his committee for just a little while.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, your Committee on Resolutions gave thought to the many problems that have come into this convention through the Executive Council's report and through resolutions and believes it to be its duty to condense these so that we would have a concise statement of some of these problems.

No more fitting prelude to the committee's report could have occurred to pave the way for the report than that clear, intelligent, concise statement just made by Brother George Harrison.

The committee now desires to report on Conscription and Bureaucracy.

CONSCRIPTION AND BUREAUCRACY

Your Committee on Resolutions, because of certain problems now actively affecting our trade union movement, which contain a definite menace in the future, is impelled to present a report relative to the conscription of labor, and the rapid increase of arbitrary regulation and control through the "directives" issued by a number of Federal agencies.

In the effort to secure the greatest possible production of war material, there has developed in certain governmental agencies a belief that better production results will be secured by applying conscription to American labor. Those so believing have announced their intention to appeal to Congress to enact the legislation they advocate if the results they seek cannot be established through the method of issuing "directives".

They contend that as the country's liberties are at issue in the World War, our nation would be justified in establishing the conscription of labor so that labor would be controlled and forced, instead of being free. A measure of involuntary servitude would be established. Labor would work as directed, where directed, and under directed terms of employment and conditions of labor.

This directed compulsory labor would be forced to work for private employers, in private industries operated for profit. They would be deprived of the usual protection of their rights. They would be unable to work out their employment problems through the democratic method of collective bargaining with employers. Should labor be compelled to work under compulsion because of conscription, the customary democratic processes would be destroyed, and arbitrary compulsory direction would take their place.

The record of wartime production indicates that the individual worker in our war

industries now produces 2 1/3 times more per hour than his predecessor in 1918. The record of production of war requirements indicates that it is now approximately 600 per cent greater than in 1941.

This outstanding record of production is due primarily and almost wholly to the co-operation which has been established and maintained between management and labor—the management-labor committees; the outstanding cooperation of local and national officers of American trade unions with each other and with management.

We have reached the conclusion from a careful study of our wartime production results, that the already fabulous record for production would have been materially greater had it not been for the bungling and ineptness on the part of some public representatives charged with responsibility who, because of their lack of practical experiences in the relationships of men in industry—management and labor—harbored the thought that they knew better than both what was required and sought to impose regulations and rules to govern both groups through the issuing of "directives". The use of the discretionary power vested in them has largely led to justified irritation, confusion, and as serious as these, to the constant overlapping of the jurisdiction of numerous Federal agencies.

The astonishing record for production which has been made by American management and labor, the patriotic motives which have animated them, the wholesome degree of cooperation which they have maintained, should be convincing evidence that in our country the application of democratic methods under free institutions is infinitely superior to the spirit and the methods of conscription and compulsion.

Surely it can only be the stress of war upon those incompetent to understand our basic free institutions, who, at this critical hour, would advocate the regimentation of labor through the compulsion of conscription. We cannot, and must not do less than determinedly, and with every energy, oppose those who now advocate that the most effective contribution our country can make to save free institutions for the world is to apply to American workmen the conscription of labor and its regimentation which has been the basis for the industrial policy of the Axis Powers.

Tyranny in our country is just as odious when applied by totalitarian countries, but infinitely more dangerous to us. We should oppose it with every energy at our command as trade union representatives, and urge our membership to do likewise.

Our movement now faces another serious problem in the growing tendency to displace government by law by the rule of "directives" issued by officials who have had discretionary authority conferred upon them by Congress, or by administrative action. Discretionary power in government is neither more nor less than substituting the judgment of individuals for the protection, regulation, and rules established by law. It is the application of men's whims, fancies or prejudices instead of government by law. It was this application of discretionary power which made it possible for judges sitting in equity to issue those injunctions in connection with labor disputes which shackled labor's hands when it was oppressed. Whether in equity courts freed from all restriction on their conscience, or discretionary authority exercised by civilian agencies, the menace to the maintenance of even-handed justice between men is the same. Government by discretion and government by law in any country at any time, is incompatible. In their spirit, in their essence and in their method, they are in direct conflict with each other. They cannot long endure side by side. The deplorable development of government in our country by those vested with discretionary powers has already indicated their menace to our American institutions. Discretionary authority is the condition within government which makes bureaucracy the menace to government by law and to free institutions which it always has been.

It should be the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to devote its energies to the elimination of unwarranted discretionary authority wherever and whenever it is transgressing or replacing government by law—the law enacted by the peoples' duly elected representatives for the benefit and protection of the people.

We must insist that the regulation of our activities as citizens and as workmen by duly enacted legislation must be protected by the constant and fearless expose of what is developing under the insidious operation of government by discretionary powers.

We should pledge ourselves here and now, to oppose this development as vigorously as we will oppose the regimentation of labor through the conscription of labor.

We have pledged ourselves to contribute all of our resources and capabilities to the winning of the war. Let us now solemnly pledge ourselves while so doing, to use every energy we possess to protect the wage earners of our country from these twin evils—compulsory control of labor by the government, and government through discretionary authority.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD

(Executive Council's Report, Page 120)

This agency is still handicapped by the absence of an over-all board of strategy which we recommended last year. The Office of War Mobilization was a practical step in this direction, but such conspicuous omissions as manpower and civilian supplies from this agency, handicap it fundamentally. This, together with failure to concentrate all government procurement letting in a single agency, responsible for meeting all national needs, has resulted in many needlessly large stock-piles with shortages elsewhere, unwise concentration of contracts, with resultant manpower problems and shortages in housing and civilian services. But in spite of administrative and managerial failures, industries and labor have turned out amazing quantities and qualities of the implements of war.

We note with pride and gratification that a representative of the American Federation of Labor is now a Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board in charge of the Division of Labor Production. Through this representation it is now possible for Labor to make a greater contribution to the war effort. This Labor Vice-Chairman, Joseph Keenan, has been able to put labor representation where Labor experience and information are helpful in the development of industry orders and policies. Labor representation in the industry divisions of the War Production Board prevents needless waste of production facilities by favoring the large companies and companies with bad labor policies. As wartime decisions will affect the post-war situation, the benefits from this progress will be lasting. We recom-

mend the Labor Vice-Chairman be urged to expand opportunities for labor participation as rapidly as is compatible with constructive results, and that the principle of labor-management cooperation be given an opportunity to demonstrate its value in production as well as in the related field—manpower. The problems of both manpower and production must in the last analysis be solved in local production plants. National policies and regulations can only deal with general elements. Their application is a matter for local management and unions to work out. For this reason we further recommend that the Labor Vice-Chairman get the cooperation of the Management-Labor Council in reorganizing management-labor committees into responsible local arms of the War Production Board, dealing with their local production manpower problem.

The spirit of personal responsibility and local cooperation have made our nation a great economic power and can best be depended upon to defend her in this world war. We need to mobilize nationally for cooperation through our great private organizations. It is completely foreign to past experience and the genius of our people, to impose regimentation and to decide local problems in Washington.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRICE CONTROL AND RATIONING

(Executive Council's Report, Page 155)

Rationing and price control are two important tools of the over-all program to prevent and control inflation.

The Executive Council report describes what labor representatives have done to prevent further increases in the costs of living—an objective essential to protect wage earners against serious hardships.¹ Although price control has been steadily extended, it served to stabilize at higher levels. Such cut-backs as have occurred have not been important in reducing the higher costs of living.

The cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has been the basis for the administration of stabilization without consideration of the fact that this index does not reflect how wage earners spend their incomes, the substitutions they make as necessary econo-

mies, or the increasing proportion of wages going into taxes and war bonds. We urge studies of spendings in order to make sure that war sacrifices do not endanger the life and health of the nation's wage earners.

We urge greater attention to nutrition and to plans to have adequate eating facilities either in plants or in neighboring localities. Unions should look into the possibilities of cooperative restaurants or cafeterias so that workers could be assured adequate nourishment at work with facilities for providing food to be taken home in cases where mothers are also employed.

We urge the War Food Administration to include in its program the encouragement of the production of less expensive nourishing foods.

We urge the O.P.A. to insist upon the continuance of less expensive lines of supplies with no deterioration in quality.

We urge all unions to actively insist upon labor representation on all rationing boards and to hold these representatives responsible for service to wage earners. Where satisfaction is not forthcoming refer problems promptly to Federation headquarters.

We urge that women's auxiliaries be mobilized to work with union representatives on price control and rationing.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RENT CONTROL

(Executive Council's Report, Page 139)

As the Executive Council reports, rent control has been limited to defense areas and rents have been generally stabilized slightly below May 1942 levels. This means that the level set as feasible for administration has been more favorable to landlords than to tenants. However, the tenants are protected against unlimited advances.

Meanwhile, as the war continues, areas not classified as defense have no protection against rent increases, evictions, forced ownership and fictitious sales, etc. Local or state rent control may be needed to supplement the O.P.A. Rent Control.

We urge action upon the suggestion of the Executive Council that central labor unions conduct rent surveys or get community coop-

eration for such surveys as a basis for a protective program.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee Chairman Woll: Mr. President and delegates, that completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions, with two exceptions, the one being an instruction of the Convention to prepare a tribute to W. D. Mahon and the other a resolution of thanks for this convention, which two matters will be reported upon at the afternoon session.

I move you now that the report of the committee as a whole be adopted by the convention.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Statement of Delegate Kearney

Mr. President and Delegates: I want to report from Dr. Aaron Feldman, Medical Examiner of the Bartenders and Hotel Employees Local 34 of Boston, who was assigned to you during your stay in Boston, that this is the healthiest convention that has ever come to the City of Boston. Only one delegate of the twelve hundred delegates and

visitors sought the services of our medical examiner.

I also want to call to your attention an editorial in the Boston Post—one of our very large morning newspapers—and I desire to read it for the record.

Worth-While Convention

As the American Federation of Labor's national convention draws to a close, the delegates attending the conclave can look back with a real sense of satisfaction on their meetings. None of the frivolities that go hand-in-hand with peace-time national conventions were identified with this convention. The delegates have been deadly serious in their work.

The federation's convention has been a long one. It has brought out some serious discussions. There have been many matters thrashed out and many divergent views expressed. Yet, at no time has the true dignity of labor been affronted. Boston can take real pride in playing host to such a fine convention.

President Green: Having reached the hour of adjournment, the convention will stand recessed until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

At 1:00 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock, p.m.

NINTH DAY—THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

October 14, 1943

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:40 o'clock.

COMMUNICATIONS

New York, N. Y.
October 9, 1943.

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Statler
Boston, Massachusetts

Thank you ever so much for the opportunity you have given me to put into the records of your convention an expression of our profound gratitude for the continuous help and encouragement which the United Yugoslav Relief Fund has received from the American Federation of Labor. When we first organized about a year ago you and Mr. Woll were among our first sponsors. You and your

associates throughout the country have been steadfastly helpful ever since. As a member agency of the National War Fund we cannot ask for direct contributions but we do want you to know that the willingness of your organization to work with us and advise us on various problems as they come up is a source of great reassurance to us.

BART ADDRESS
National Director
United Yugoslav Relief Fund.

Washington, D. C.
October 13, 1943.

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Statler
Boston, Massachusetts

The veterans of foreign wars of the United States extend greetings and best

wishes to officers and delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. We express our appreciation to members of all unions affiliated with the federation for the part they are playing on the home front to furnish supplies, weapons and ammunition for those on the battle fronts. We are confident the affiliated unions and individual members of union labor will continue this miracle of production with the unselfish and patriotic view of winning the war at the earliest possible date. We desire to cooperate with the American Federation of Labor toward solving post war employment problems so that your boys and our boys may return from service to find employment and enjoy the full benefits of the American way of life. We are confident that by mutual cooperation and determination these problems will be solved.

CARL J. SCHOENINGER
Commander in Chief
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the
United States.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Stevenson of the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

Committee Chairman Stevenson: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the Committee on Shorter Work Day had no resolutions before it. It was not necessary to have any meetings; there have been no resolutions presented up to this time, so I am asking the President to discharge the committee with thanks.

Harry Stevenson, Chairman
Henry Valliancourt
James P. Meehan
Chris Lane
William G. Batty
Marshall W. Martin
William Cooper
Louis P. Marcianite
Sal B. Hoffmann
Gay Borrelli
Milton P. Webster
Harry J. Hagen
Samuel Ashton
Joseph P. McCoy
Walter Lenox
Isidore Frankel
William Van Houten
William Nagorsne
George W. Brayfield
Ray Kelsay
Robert Arnott
John B. Murray
Philip Kramer

President Green: The report of the committee will be accepted and included in the proceedings of the convention.

The Chair recognizes Chairman McSorley of the Committee on International Relations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Committee Chairman McSorley: Mr. Chairman, your committee has finished its work and is now ready to complete its report to the convention. Secretary Woll will make the report.

Committee Secretary Woll submitted the following report:

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

(Executive Council's Report, page 146)

We recommend approval of the Executive Council's report on the activities carried on by the International Federation of Trade Unions. The organization now necessarily under emergency controls is watching over the interests of Labor of the countries which are the scene of military activities as well as planning for the future. The Emergency Executive has prepared a plan for the reorganization of the international organization under the title World Federation of Labor and a report on the social and economic demands of international labor.

We recommend that the Executive Council give very careful consideration to the reorganization proposal and the new statement of objectives. Provisions to safeguard the autonomy of national organizations with respect to policies within home country and restriction of affiliation to free national union organizations only will be as important for future constructive relationships as they have been in the past. The International Federation of Trade Unions should continue as in the past to supplement the activities of the International Labor Organization.

With the trend toward more world economic and political agencies, Labor must also expand its international agencies and functions. We urge that the necessary preliminary

steps be taken to have a program in readiness for post-war action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

(Executive Council's Report, page 142)

At the close of the last war Samuel Gompers led the movement for the recognition of Labor in the world machinery. The establishment of the International Labor Office culminated his efforts.

Since that time the conferences, the research activities, the covenants prepared and submitted through the International Labor Organization, have served to promote the interests of Labor throughout the world.

Today Labor must be ready to meet the far-reaching developments which will occur after the close of the war. Labor must have its program ready; a program setting forth the immediate steps to be taken and also plans for the future. To evolve these plans and to implement them the representatives of free labor of the world must meet and exchange ideas, and together chart the course.

The International Labor Organization is the organization equipped and qualified to call such a conference now. There is an immediate urgency for calling such a meeting, for unless such a conference is held, and a program is agreed upon before the war is over, Labor will be at a loss to press its just claims at the Peace Conference when that takes place. We therefore urge that the International Labor Office call a conference at the earliest possible moment to enable Labor to prepare the program for which it will press at the Peace Conference.

It is essential also at this time for us to re-evaluate the purpose, the structure, the method of procedure of the I.L.O.; as well as the scope of its program. The functions of the I.L.O. are advisory and liaison. It has, therefore, continuously rendered service to all nations and for all workers since it was established. The I.L.O. has continued to function—to serve the workers of all nations—even in time of war. Through its research activities it has played a major part in helping workers in many countries to shape a program of social and economic development

within their own land. In those nations where the free trade union movement is strong the covenants submitted through the I.L.O. are ratified and enforced by the appropriate internal national law enforcement agencies of the country accepting them. The I.L.O. does not have and must not have an administrative function, for administration of law within any nation is distinctly inherent in national sovereignty. But functioning not as an administrative but as an advisory and liaison agency, the I.L.O. has rendered a magnificent service of tremendous importance within and among the nations participating therein.

During the last year, as the Executive Council's report sets forth, the I.L.O. has continued to render service. Its activities in this year included; the calling of the first Inter-American Conference on Social Security which met in Santiago, Chile, last fall at which time there was created a permanent agency to act in cooperation with the I.L.O.; the establishment of a permanent committee of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security; it has conducted extensive research on employment problems which demand profound study to enable us to effect a sound social and economic program of employment and reemployment as a part of the post-war program of remobilization of industry; the development of the Canadian-American study project on industrial safety and the prevention of industrial accidents; the rendering of continuous technical assistance to member countries at the request of their governments on a number of subjects.

It is essential also at this time for us to re-evaluate the purpose, the structure, the methods of procedure of the I.L.O. as well as the scope of its program. Today we realize full well the usefulness of the I.L.O. must be extended to enable it to render greatly needed services. The problems of human welfare are today no longer limited to orthodox discussion of labor and social welfare in a restricted sense, but that any effective program of labor and social welfare must extend to a study of the entire economic and financial structure and control within each and among all nations. It is in the newer approach—financial and economic—that the liaison activities of the I.L.O. may well be directed. The growing interdependence of the several national programs, the intimate and immediate effect upon world markets and upon workers' standards in any one country

of the working conditions and workers' standards in any other country are of such tremendous importance today that the research and advisory programs of the I.L.O. in every field which touches workers' lives should have the continuous attention of the members of our organization in their locals, internationals, city and state bodies.

The good offices of Mr. James Wilson, so favorably commented upon in the Executive Council's report may well serve as one means to help interpret the work of the I.L.O. to our entire membership.

We have urged the calling of an international conference by the I.L.O. at the very earliest possible moment. We would submit in this connection that we feel that the functioning of the I.L.O. in an advisory capacity shall not prevent or deter consideration of the urgent trade union program by a full group of trade union representatives which group the I.L.O. might well convene. We must be mindful that to the extent to which we, the entire membership of our free trade union movement keeps well informed of the work of the I.L.O. in social, economic and financial fields of research, to that extent we may the better be served by that organization which we ourselves helped establish.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We will interrupt the report of the Committee on International Relations to receive the report of the Committee on Law just now, because Secretary Volz of the committee has made arrangements to leave very soon.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Tobin of the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Committee Chairman Tobin: The Committee on Laws is ready to report. We have only two resolutions and we won't take very long. Secretary Volz will present the committee's report.

Committee Secretary Volz presented the following report:

Mr. Chairman: Your Committee on Laws after due and careful deliberation wishes to submit the following report for consideration:

Amendment to Article IV, Section 1, A.F.L. Constitution

Resolution No. 107

By Delegate Morton Goodman, Trades and Labor Council, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the American Federation of Labor Article IV, Section 1, states "The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other trade unions, shall be eligible to membership in other trade unions, shall be eligible as delegates from federal labor unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, According to Article IV, Section 1, Central Labor Bodies Affiliated to the American Federation of Labor are entitled only to one regular delegate but not to an alternate delegate to American Federation of Labor Conventions, and

WHEREAS, If a regular delegate of a Central Labor Body should at the last moment be unable to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, According to Article IV, Section 2, of the American Federation of Labor Constitution "delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the secretary-treasurer of this body immediately after their election," and

WHEREAS, Lack of time would prevent a Central Labor Body from selecting another delegate which would leave a Central Body unrepresented at an American Federation of Labor Convention, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor amend Article IV, Section 1, of the American Federation of Labor Constitution to permit the simultaneous election of both a regular delegate and an alternate delegate from each Central Body.

Your Committee recommends disapproval.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Amendment to Article XIV of A. F. of L. Constitution

Resolution No. 71

By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Frank W. Brewster, Robert Lester, John O'Rourke, H. E. Wood, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

RESOLVED, That ARTICLE XIV of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended by the addition of a section, to be known as Section 7, which shall read as follows:

State Federations of Labor shall make no law that will conflict with the laws or procedure of the American Federation of Labor.

State Federations of Labor shall hold their elections of officers at their regular conventions, with only duly elected delegates to the conventions being permitted to vote.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution and proposed amendment to the constitution be referred to the incoming Executive Council for careful study and consideration during the coming year.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Amendment to Article X of A. F. of L. Constitution

Resolution No. 72

By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Frank W. Brewster, Robert Lester, John O'Rourke, H. E. Wood, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

RESOLVED, That ARTICLE X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended by the addition of a section, to be known as Section 4, which shall read as follows:

The President or Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall be empowered to look into the books of National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of determining whether or not they are complying with the Constitution relative to their per capita tax and the number of members in good standing within each respective organization, or

The Executive Council shall be empowered to order the President or Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor to have audits made of such books whenever in the judgment of the Executive Council it is necessary.

The delegates of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, who presented Resolution No. 72, submitted a substitute resolution which they requested be considered by the Committee and the Convention. This substitute resolution reads as follows:

SUBSTITUTE RESOLUTION NO. 72

Submitted by Delegates of International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

RESOLVED, That ARTICLE X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended by the addition of a section to be known as Section 4, which shall read as follows:

The President or Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall be empowered to look into the books of National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of determining whether or not they are complying with the Constitution relative to their per capita tax and the number of members in good standing within each respective organization, or

The Executive Council shall be empowered to order the President or Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor to examine the books of any affiliated National or International Union, for the purpose of determining whether or not the per capita tax is paid on each member in good standing each month in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor. It is further understood that such examination of the books of National and International Unions will deal only with the question of the actual membership, to determine, as stated above, whether or not International Unions are paying or not paying per capita tax on the membership in good standing in their organization each month.

Your Committee on Laws, in dealing with Substitute Resolution No. 72, has given serious and lengthy consideration to the entire subject matter embodied in this resolution.

We endorse fully the principles and objectives of the resolution, which we believe are a necessity for protecting and benefiting the American Federation of Labor and are in conformity with the thoughts, desires and interests of all National and International Unions. We believe, however, that the subject matter of the resolution embodying these objectives is of such a nature that it should be referred to the Executive Council for consideration during the coming year, and that the Executive Council should report its findings and its recommendations to the next Convention.

Committee Secretary Volz: Mr. Chairman, I move concurrence in the committee's report.

President Green: It has been regularly moved and seconded the report of the committee just read be adopted. Are there any remarks?

Committee Chairman Tobin: The Teamsters Delegation will not vote against the report of the Committee. As a matter of courtesy we shall vote for the report of the committee, but we are not satisfied with the report and we are going to insist that the Executive Council give this matter serious consideration during the coming year and if they don't we will bring this matter back to the Convention again.

I never thought there was anybody in this Federation that would object to the President of the Federation or the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation looking at the last line in their ledger to determine whether or not they were overpaying or underpaying their tax. That is all it means. It specifically states in the amended resolution that this does not empower the officers of the Federation to go into all the financial matters of International Unions. It is only for the purpose of determining whether or not the tax was paid to the Federation in accordance with the laws of the Federation. Now what's the use of you making laws unless you know whether they are carried out or not? I fully understand the rights of International Unions, and I will guard the autonomous rights of International Unions. But this Federation of Labor has some rights and the membership has some rights, and the public must be considered at this particular time.

Under the present system four or five organizations now in this Federation can get together and control this convention. Instead of paying on 625,000 members I can pay on a million members. The Teamsters, the Carpenters, the Machinists, the Boilermakers—four or five organizations can pay sufficient per capita tax under your present system to control this Federation. Secretary-Treasurer Meany accepts your money for that tax as you send it in. Of course I don't think that it will be done, because these men are honorable. These men here in this Federation have some sense of justice.

I didn't think when we introduced this resolution we would have anything but the approval of our convention immediately for the protection of this Federation, not only

now but for the future of the Federation. I am looking to the future. There are a number of organizations outside of this Federation. They can send in their check upon affiliation. We have no right to determine their membership. They will tell you, you don't determine your membership within your own Federation, and what right have you to question the membership of the Steel Workers or of the Mine Workers or of the Automobile Workers as to their membership?

Under this amendment to the Constitution, if it is adopted, all that the President or the Secretary can do is to look up your actual membership if they desire to do so. In my judgment it would not happen perhaps but once a year, maybe not at all. But that protection should be there for the future of this Federation.

It is unjust to the small Unions to say to them that organizations with large treasuries, inside or outside the Federation, can come in here and say, here is our tax on a million members, take it, and then after the action of the Convention four or five Unions that could not get control can withdraw, if they don't like the way things are going on. That is what I have in mind.

I am disappointed at the hard, sound thinking heads of organizations who flocked around our Committee during the meetings of the Committee, and who seemed to be afraid we were going to do something to injure their autonomous rights.

We have also some information that there are organizations already affiliated that are not paying on their full membership. We haven't any direct proof, because we cannot go into their books and say to them, "You have more members than you are paying on."

That is the whole purpose of this amendment. When the law establishing the per capita tax was drafted and amended it was distinctly understood that on each member who pays dues each month to his National Union, a tax amounting to one and a half cents would be paid, and if at the end of six or eight months there were a few over or under it could be balanced. But as the condition is now prevailing, any National Secretary-Treasurer sends in his check on so many members and it ends right there.

There is a time coming in this Federation, perhaps—I hope it won't come—when organizations, in order to increase their importance in the public eye, will pay on a membership

that does not exist, and others, to save a few dollars, may not pay on their actual membership.

Then there is a greater danger that those who would attempt to destroy the Federation may continue in that attempt by paying on sufficient members to get control of the Federation, some of those who are not now affiliated.

But, getting back to the intent and purpose of this amendment, it is to give the Executive Council, or the President or the Secretary-Treasurer the right to look at the actual membership of any National or International Union if they desire to do so. I have been told by organizations that are outside this Federation that they had one organization that had a million members. Well, I doubt that very seriously. I hope they have, but I doubt it. But if they come in here we have the right to know what their membership is, and in order to establish that principle we first ought to apply it to ourselves, and it does not apply now, because I have never known the Secretary or the President of the Federation to question the membership of any affiliated International Union.

I do not want to be placed in this position in the eyes of the nation, that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is afraid to have anybody see their actual membership. I invite the President of the Federation to verify our membership. It does not mean that they will have anything to do with the financial conditions obtaining within the International Union, but it does mean that they do have the right to verify our membership.

I hope and trust that when you go back home, during the year you will understand the purpose of this amendment to the Constitution. It is not for the Teamsters. We have no special interest in it. It is for the preservation and the continuance on a sound basis, a fearless basis, of this Federation.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: The American Federation of Labor has been in existence 62 years. I have been a delegate to this convention for 28 years, and never in the 28 years have I heard anyone question the honesty or the integrity of any of the international organizations affiliated with the Federation. I question whether anyone has ever, during the existence of the American Federation of Labor, had the integrity or honesty

of the International Unions affiliated therewith questioned.

The Constitution of the Federation clearly sets forth that the Federation shall not interfere with the autonomous rights of the International Unions affiliated herewith. If the proposal as suggested by Vice President Tobin were to become a law, my viewpoint is that it would be an infringement upon the autonomous rights of the international organizations.

We of labor have recently heard considerable talk and have seen considerable newspaper publicity in regard to Congress passing laws regulating labor organizations. Would we favor the enactment of a federal law, or have we favored the enactment of state laws that we feel would infringe upon the autonomous rights of labor organizations?

I am surprised at my friend, Dan Tobin, that he would question the honesty of any international organization affiliated with this Federation.

I am surprised to hear him say that four or five international organizations could, by paying on a larger membership than they might have, control this Federation. I presume he refers to the number of votes that would be cast on a roll call vote. If we had a roll call vote on every question that came before the convention perhaps that would be true, if they combined. But the records will show that we seldom have a roll call vote. There was no roll call vote at the last convention, and there has been no roll call vote at this convention. Each delegate from a State Body or a Central Body has the same voice as any other delegate from any International Union, regardless of what their vote might be on the roll call. I think if you look over the records of the Federation you may find that some time in past years there were International Unions affiliated with the Federation that did pay per capita tax on more members than they had, but they did it on the request of the officers of this Federation, so that the Federation might have ample funds with which to carry on its work.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is one of these organizations that responded regularly and for a long time, Mr. Chairman, and we did pay on more members than we had for the purpose of assisting this Federation. We are not ashamed of that. I don't think it was a dishonest act. We thought we were helping the labor movement. I hope that time never

comes again, but if it does and the Federation should need additional funds, if the Brotherhood is in position to assist you, you can make up your mind they will be liberal and they will pay enough to assist the Federation to carry on its work.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the proposed change in these laws, and our organization will object to that becoming a part of the law of the Federation.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Valz, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of the Committee on Laws which is respectfully submitted.

Daniel J. Tobin, Chairman
Edward J. Volz, Secretary
Joseph N. Weber
Patrick E. Gorman
William J. McLaughlin
J. J. Farnan
Charles Jordan
James Killen
William J. Gorman
James J. Murphy
A. E. McCormick
Herbert Rivers
William J. Buckley
George C. Slater
John J. Egan
Sol Cilentio
John P. Redmond
Sam J. Byers
F. C. Allen
John Blackburn
William Tracy

Committee on Laws.

Secretary Volz: I move approval of the report of the Committee on Laws as a whole and as adopted by this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Vice President Tobin, Chairman of the Committee: In view of the fact that there has been no amendment and no change to the constitution, this concludes the report of the Committee on Laws. However, in order to keep the record clear I will move now the adoption of the Constitution as a whole as it is at present.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman McSorley, of the Committee on Building Trades.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate McSorley: Mr. Chairman, pinching for President Gray of the Building and Construction Trades Department and acting as Chairman of the Building Trades Committee, I desire to state our report is ready and will be made by Secretary Durkin for the committee.

Delegate Durkin, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Prevailing Wages on Public Construction

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Workers, members of the A. F. of L., have been indispensable in the construction of plants for the manufacture of implements of war absolutely necessary for the successful prosecution of the war for the preservation of our democratic institutions for this and future generations, and

WHEREAS, Upon the completion of these plants, when production and assembly lines are in operation, the management of said plants refuse to pay the prevailing rate of wages to Building Trades Mechanics for work vitally necessary in the operation of said plants, and

WHEREAS, The prevailing rate of wages is usually recognized as the basic wage scale by private enterprise, the war production plants, mostly under government supervision ought to do likewise, and

WHEREAS, The continuation of payment of wages below the prevailing wage scale tends to tear down conditions obtained through years of bitter struggle and to lower the American standard of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert its influence in an endeavor to have all plants operating under government contract recognize the prevailing rate of wages for the Building Trades Mechanics.

Your Committee concurs with the objects of this resolution to stabilize and unify the wage structure of building trades and metal trades mechanics and laborers by requiring the payment of prevailing rate of wages for them in all plants operating under government contract.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HOUSING

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 79 and 80)

The Executive Council reports on the legislation acted upon by Congress during the past year related to war housing. We commend the efforts of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor and of the housing committee for their diligence in presenting labor's views to the Congressional Committees concerned with regard to housing legislation of vital concern to labor.

There is a growing need to make sure that the views of organized labor in each community are made known to the members of Congress and that local support be mobilized to put into effect the American Federation of Labor policies on housing and post-war housing.

To this end your committee recommends that the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor be directed to urge all central labor unions and building and construction trades councils to call on their representatives in Congress to press for sufficient appropriations to meet the post-war needs of each community for housing construction after the war. In making such presentations to Congress, local labor representatives should be urged to seek advice and guidance of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor in seeking assurance by Congress of financial aid to duly constituted land and housing authorities for slum clearance, land acquisition and development of housing consistent with the adequate standards of sound construction. Information necessary to sustain such legislative efforts should be made available periodically to central labor unions, building and construction trades councils and national and international unions in order to secure wide Congressional support of a post-war housing program sufficient to launch a nationwide program to reconstruct our communities and to afford greater employment opportunities to building workers and to workers in all related industries.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

WAR HOUSING

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 135-138)

The Executive Council has rendered an excellent report on war housing developments.

Housing provided to meet emergency wartime needs in overcrowded war production centers has been far from adequate. The failure to provide enough as well as proper dwellings must be corrected so that war workers, on whom the nation relies for production, will not be continuously exposed to the hazards of over-crowding, epidemic and fire hazards inevitable under existing conditions. In hundreds of communities throughout the land men, women and children are forced to huddle in cramped trailers, hutments, shacks and shanties with no prospect of prompt relief indicated in the program of the National Housing Agency or of Congress. An immediate drive for extension and improvement of the war housing program is imperative. To carry this out, all central labor unions and national and international unions should be directed to re-establish without delay active local and national housing committees which would enable wage earners to achieve effective representation in housing programs and which would protect their interests. Provision of additional war housing, elimination of unsanitary conditions, improvement of the sub-standard shelter and achievement of full labor participation in local and national housing administration are the immediate wartime objectives of the American Federation of Labor.

A large portion of wartime housing has been of temporary and demountable construction. All such sub-standard housing should be removed where dismountable within two years after cessation of hostilities. Where need for housing accommodations remains pressing, early plans should be laid to provide permanent housing of sound construction in time to permit an adequate supply of housing for those now quartered in temporary projects. Clear-cut policies with regard to the standards of housing construction for both war and post-war housing should be formulated by our housing committee and given wide publicity.

With these recommendations, your committee asks the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 169-170)

The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled deeply mourns the untimely passing of John P. Coyne, past president of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Brother Coyne has given of his strength and health to the services of the trade union movement to fulfill his duties in the critical time of war. His efforts to stabilize wage standards, to assure smooth adjustment of jurisdictional difficulties, and to achieve unity and harmony in the ranks of building trades labor have been a real and valuable contribution to our entire movement and to the nation.

The Executive Council of the Building and Construction Trades Department exercised wise judgment in selecting Brother Richard J. Gray, Secretary-Treasurer of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America to carry on the exacting duties as acting-president of the department. We congratulate the Department on its choice.

The American Federation of Labor commends the officers of the department for their success in formulating a constructive agreement covering maintenance workers. We congratulate the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department on their substantial achievements during the past year culminated in a successful convention held in Boston.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee Secretary Durkin: The report just given was approved by the following members of the Building Trades Committee:

Richard J. Gray
William J. McSorley
Joseph V. Moreschi
F. B. Comfort
Oliver W. Carter
John H. Lyons
Martin P. Durkin
Wm. J. Bowen
C. W. Sickles
Pete Yablonski
Charles Stenger
J. M. Gavlak
M. J. McDonough

John J. Conway
John O'Brien
James L. McDewitt
D. E. Nickerson
C. A. Fink
I. E. Lane
Laurence Foley
James J. Ryan
Paul A. Givens

Committee on Building Trades.

President Green: Now we will take up the report of the Committee on International Relations which was interrupted a short time ago.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

(Continued)

Committee Secretary Woll continued the report as follows:

GREETINGS TO THE WORKERS OF LATIN AMERICA

As the tide of war runs its full and tragic course to the inevitable victory of the United Nations, the American Federation of Labor, through its representatives assembled in convention in the city of Boston, sends a special fraternal message to the workers of Latin America.

We in the United States are aware of the Latin American worker's contribution to the war effort. We know that from the bleak straits of Magellan to the island republics of the Caribbean you have backed the attack with your daily toil. Your solidly democratic sentiments have not wavered in the face of all the adversity which the war has brought upon you.

From such a demonstration of loyalty and solidarity, the people of the United States have learned much. We have felt more deeply than ever the power of Bolivar's ideal of continental Americanism. We have seen our national security protected on both flanks by the vigilance of two friendly peoples—the Canadians on the north and the Latin Americans on the south. More than ever, we have become aware of our common destiny both amid the dangers of war and the vicissitudes of peace.

Furthermore, the war has made us closer economic neighbors. The visible and invisible ties of investment, transportation, trade, communications and exchange have been strengthened. We must understand this increased economic inter-dependence, and resolve that it shall not again be used for the purpose of exploiting any single group of Americans for the benefit of another group of Americans. Exploitation of the imperialist type does not suit the temperament of the workers of the United States, and we shall oppose its continuation or its revival in the relations between the peoples of this hemisphere.

This is the only basis on which we can face the future together with confidence. For we know, that in spite of the brilliant progress of science during the past half century, the benefits of progress have been withheld from large numbers of the people of this continent. The war has merely turned back the gray cloud of hunger that has hovered persistently over millions of Latin American workers and their families. Educational opportunity in many of the neighboring republics, as in sections of ours, is still the privilege of the few, not the right of all. Men, women and children often work for a few cents a day, living in crowded tenements, lacking the services and equipment necessary to combat disease and ignorance.

But in the combination of technology and resources there is the hope of a better day for all of us. Improved living standards throughout our continent can be achieved by the application to the riches of our soil of the instruments of production developed or perfected during the war. Greater productivity, security in the job and adequate living standards can make the 130,000,000 people of Latin America the balance wheel of our continental economy.

The American Federation of Labor desires to work out the concrete ways of achieving this common goal with the workers of Latin America on the basis of mutual respect and confidence. The workers of the United States represented in this convention desire no control, no advantage, over the free, genuine and independent labor organizations of Latin America. We desire rather to help in the maintenance of that independence, that freedom and that integrity in a spirit of mutual tolerance for our differences in character, in tradition and culture.

On this basis, the workers of the American continent can face the future with assurance. Through their organizations they can and should secure a voice in all inter-American councils. They can see to it that inter-American policies carry out, in specific and concrete ways, the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

Animated by these principles of neighborly understanding and labor solidarity, the members of the American Federation of Labor send their fraternal greetings to their fellow-American workers of the Western Hemisphere.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation Mr. President, I move that the report of the committee be printed in Spanish for wide distribution among the workers of South America.

The motion was duly seconded and carried unanimously.

BOLIVIAN LABOR COMMISSION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 155)

We recommend approval of the appointment of a Federation representative to make the inquiry into labor conditions in Bolivia and San Martin. It is from such services that constructive labor relations are developed that will help to raise living conditions on the whole Western Hemisphere.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CO-ORDINATOR OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 153)

This part of the Executive Council's Report deals with the increasing activities of the office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, under the direction of Nelson A. Rockefeller during the past year in the various fields of importance to Labor in the United States and in other American Republics.

In accordance with the deep interest of the American Federation of Labor in establishing closer relations with responsibly led labor organizations in the other American Republics, we have encouraged and participated in important developments designed to bring about that necessary friendship and understanding among working men and women of the Western Hemisphere which is indispensable to an energetic prosecution of the war and to a vigorous follow-through after the war.

In March, 1943, Bernardo Ibanez, secretary-general of the Chilean Confederation of Workers came to this country on the invitation of the Executive Council. He was received warmly by the officers of the American Federation of Labor and on a tour of various cities and production centers in the United States, he became favorably known to labor groups throughout our country. His visit has contributed appreciably to the establishment of a community of interest between the labor movement of the United States and that of Chile. It is with great interest and satisfaction that we have just received the news that organized labor of Chile has once again expressed its confidence in Bernardo Ibanez by reelecting him as head of their organization for the ensuing term.

Following Mr. Ibanez' visit, it was believed desirable that the labor movement of the United States should participate in a delegation to tour several of the Latin American countries. President William Green, therefore, appointed Ed J. Brown, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, to represent the American Federation of Labor on this significant enterprise.

The purposes of this visit were:

1. To stimulate war production by stressing the common interest of the workers of the Western Hemisphere in the war effort and in the post-war period.
2. To learn at first hand of the working conditions in the other American republics by direct contact with labor in those countries and at the same time give the Latin American workers and their representatives some knowledge of the trade union movement and working conditions in the United States.
3. To emphasize that Hemispheric cooperation and the advancement of standard of life on the American continent are as deep

and primary concern of the millions of organized workers in the United States as of the workers in other American Republics.

4. To explore the possibilities of concrete methods of such cooperation which can be developed by personal and direct relations with the responsible labor organization within each country.

With the assistance of the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, an itinerary was arranged to include Chile, Colombia, Panama, Cuba and Mexico. The tour began on August 3 and was completed on September 18, 1943.

Following an intensive schedule, the delegation travelled 16,000 miles by air, rail and auto. They were greeted with affectionate enthusiasm by the labor groups in scores of cities and in many distant industrial and mining communities who cheered the appearance of the U. S. delegation and the message they brought.

In the various addresses he delivered and in the conferences in which he participated, President Brown brought out the essential character of our labor organization, pointing out: the importance of general, basic education for solid trade union growth; the free and independent development of the labor groups in this country; the cooperation of labor, management and government in the war effort; the importance of continuous struggle to raise living standards and keep them raised; the essential character of the democratic way of life, as opposed to totalitarian dictatorships of any sort and the resulting contribution which our labor movement has made and is making to our system of society.

The delegation was received not only by the labor groups in the American republics but also by the President of Chile and by the President and Foreign Minister of Mexico, and scores of cabinet ministers who welcomed the delegation as an important evidence of interest on the part of working men and women of the Western Hemisphere in each other's welfare.

On this tour, several important facts were observed:

1. The great satisfaction expressed by Latin American labor with the visit of the U. S. labor delegation was universal.

2. There is an active desire on the part of Latin American labor groups to continue, multiply and reciprocate such relations.

3. There is deep interest in receiving regular information concerning the activities of the trade union movement in the United States and in developing channels to communicate similar information about their organizations.

In short, it is clear that the great mass of the people in the other American Republics are our friends. The American Federation of Labor, therefore, has a great opportunity to crystallize such mutual friendship and interest for the common betterment of the workers and the general welfare of the people of the American continent. We recommend that the American Federation of Labor take those steps that are appropriate to further this purpose.

We warmly commend the cooperation which has been extended in this field to the labor movement of the United States by the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs and urge that in the future the service which this agency renders be further expanded for the common good of the working people of the Western Hemisphere.

In the sound and effective development of strong democratic relations with our fellow workers in the other Americas, the American Federation of Labor has sought and found not only the cooperation of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, but as well that of the Pan-American Union. Recently this organization has expanded its useful role through the operation of facilities with which it can render even a greater service. Its division of labor and of social information charged with gathering information on labor in the Americas and fostering the exchange of that information and the establishment of closer organizational ties among the American trade unions and institutions can and no doubt will prove of utmost value.

It is our recommendation this service be encouraged and further expanded and that a formal relationship with the American Federation of Labor may be established and which may operate to the greater usefulness of that institution and an increased understanding and participation of our movement in inter-American affairs.

In this regard your committee has taken cognizance of the address delivered to this

convention by Delegate Edward J. Brown, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and his suggestion that steps be taken to foster and advance a more direct and immediate relationship between the labor movement of South and Central America with that of the American Federation of Labor.

We find ourselves in complete accord with this urgency and therefore direct the Executive Council to review the formal and organizational relationship that heretofore prevailed in our Pan-American labor affairs, and if found impossible or undesirable to revive or renew such activities that steps be taken and plans formulated which will embrace a complete understanding of cooperation and association for the mutual benefit and advantage to all workers of all the Americas.

The desire and need for close cooperation among the trade union groups of all the American Republics is a tradition of long standing in the American Federation of Labor. This war and the peace that is to follow must give new content and new power to that tradition, so that it may live on in the hearts of men everywhere in the Americas.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADE UNION COMMITTEE

(Now the British Trade Union Congress and The American Federation of Labor Trade Union Committee)

(Executive Council's Report, pages 148-153 and Resolution No. 8)

Anglo-American-Soviet Trade Union Unity

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Max Wexler, Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, As the Government of the United States of America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union have united, through agreements, on a program to win the War and win the Peace, and

WHEREAS, Labor in Great Britain and our United States have come to a better understanding through closer cooperation, and

WHEREAS, The incredible sacrifices of the Russian peoples who are defending their homeland, and all decent humanity, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor ask the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to consider the possibilities of joining with the British and Russian Trade Unions in the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council.

Your Committee, in considering this section of the Executive Council's report, considered as well Resolution No. 8 requesting the Executive Council to reconsider the possibility of the American Federation of Labor joining the British and Russian Trade Unions in the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council.

Your Committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution and approval of the report of the Executive Council, and in support of these recommendations, submits the following:

There has been no aspect of the Federation's international labor relations that has been more willfully misinterpreted by certain special interests than have the subject of our refusal to join the Anglo-Soviet Labor Committee.

Minority groupings within the American organized labor movement which are hostile to the democratic ideals, philosophy and practices of the Federation have conducted a deliberately malicious campaign of misinformation on this question in order to confuse and bewilder the American people. Because of this, it is imperative that this authoritative statement on Anglo-American-Russian labor relation be set forth clearly in order to dispel all doubt.

The Executive Council in this section of the report states the reasons which prompted our refusal to join the Anglo-Soviet Labor Committee. At the same time it clarifies the conditions which made impossible our compliance with the proposal that the CIO be included in the councils of the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee.

As to the former, we need scarcely indicate the abnormal pressure brought to bear on the affiliates to the American Federation of Labor to join the Anglo-Russian group. It is now completely evident that this pressure was specifically designed to submerge the in-

terests of free, democratic American Labor organizations to the foreign policies of Soviet Russia, a power with which we are now allied but which in the past through its controlled agencies had sought to promote disruption and disunity in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.

In rejecting the proposal that we join any Committee on which representatives of Russian trade unions were to be seated, it was the manifest duty of the officers of the Federation to view such an invitation against the extensive and varied background of our experience. We hold that it is eminently proper for the American Government to work out a *modus vivendi* with the Russian Government. However, our desire to support our Government is pursuance of its laudable national and international objectives does not impose upon us any obligation or necessity to recognize or cooperate with the Russian labor organizations, which are not trade unions in the sense that American workers understand the term. The fundamental differences between the Federation and the government-controlled Russian unions are so glaring that no liaison between the two is now remotely possible.

Russian Labor organizations are the instruments of policy of the Russian Government. They are not free and voluntary associations of workers in the sense that characterizes American and British unions. They constitute a department of the Russian state, so to speak, and enjoy no more autonomy than do the various agencies in any totalitarian government. All frequent changes of Russian domestic and foreign policy are obediently echoed by the government officials in charge of the Russian labor front. Also, experience teaches us that approachment between American organizations and their Russian counterparts immediately becomes an instrument to aid in domestic Communist infiltration.

The warp and woof of the American Federation of Labor is the texture of America itself. Its social concepts, its philosophy, its way of life are deeply and essentially American. It is concerned with wages, hours and conditions of labor, of course; but it is also an implement for American social improvement. It is not a political organization. It is not the creature of the Government, nor does it exist at the pleasure of the Government. It claims the right of self-

government and the right of all free men to freedom of speech, press and assemblage. Naturally, its members share with other American citizens a keen and humanitarian interest in the welfare of the people of other nations. But it does not attempt to impose its ideological views on labor organizations of other nations since it does not impose any such views upon its own members.

American Communists, who have been most vocal in the campaign to induce the Federation to join the Anglo-Soviet Committee, did not enter the campaign with clean hands. Our experience with the labor agents of the Communist Party dates back to 1919. From that day to this they have worked ceaseless not for unity in the American labor movement but for domination or disruption. They have joined the unions of the Federation and have disguised their Russian affiliations the better to carry on their disloyal and subversive activities. They have fostered strikes for Communist political reasons and have, in season and out, changed their tactics and policies to conform to the kaleidoscopic changes in Russian foreign policy. The Federation does not question the motives of the Russian Government in pursuing a course deemed necessary for its national interests and security. But we do question and vigorously oppose the right of its partisans abroad to espouse Russian policies to the detriment of the interests of their own country.

This attitude on the part of the Federation in no way diminishes its admiration for the courage, skill and tenacity of the Russian Army. We were the first to recognize and to acclaim the vast contributions which Russia—its army and its people—have made and are continuing to make toward the ultimate destruction of Nazi military power. We regret, however, that the Soviet Union has not seen fit to grant equal recognition to the effective blockade of Germany by the British and later re-enforced by the United States. It cannot be denied that if the United States had furnished Germany with oil, fuel and food supplies, as Russia did during the tenure of the Nazi-Soviet pact, that Russia might quite conceivably now be a vassal state of the Third Reich.

It is because we are fully aware of all these considerations that we express our fullest gratification for the splendid services rendered by our two fraternal delegates to the recent sessions of British Trades Union Con-

gress and for the superb manner in which they conveyed our attitudes on these important questions.

The reports of our delegates to the English congress are substantiated by the official record of Sir Walter Citrine's remarks in which he made it clear that the original purpose of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee was limited to bring about an understanding between the trade unions of Britain and Russia, and if possible the organized labor movement of the United States and none other.

However, as talks between the British and Russian trade union delegates proceeded it was proposed by the Russians, in complete disregard of the official agenda of the Anglo-Russian conversations, that the Anglo-Soviet Committee be widened so as to include the labor movements of some 38 nations, many of which were trade union movements on paper rather than in practice. Sir Walter, like ourselves, balked at this, undoubtedly out of a knowledge of Communist skill in the manipulation of paper organizations. In any event, the British delegation's report was overwhelmingly adopted at the Southport convention of the Trades Union Congress and all proposals leading to a Russian dominated world international labor committee were voted down. In conformance to agreement reached by and between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor, the Congress also concurred in the change of the name of the Anglo-American Committee to read "British Trades Union Congress and American Federation of Labor Committee" in order to make it clear that the CIO was not and could not be represented in any manner.

More forceful and logical than anything we can say, the reasons which impelled the British Trades Union Congress to reject all proposals for the inclusion of the CIO in the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee are succinctly set forth in the General Council's report to the British T. U. C., which reads, in part, as follows:

"Great disappointment was felt at the result of our interview with the CIO. The CIO has publicly declared its realization of the need for international collaboration, and it had been hoped that they would have been willing to initiate discussions with the AFL or to make some concrete suggestions whereby joint collaboration with the British T. U. C. could be obtained. Nothing of the kind, however,

was forthcoming as to the CIO claim for equal status with the AFL, the information to the Delegation (British) by them was wholly insufficient to substantiate their claim."

It is evident from the foregoing that the pressure exerted from without upon the councils of the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor were completely unsuccessful. The political forces which stood to gain from Anglo-American labor misunderstanding have failed dismally. In this vital situation, Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, is to be congratulated upon his skill and consummate statesmanship.

The extension of British-American cooperation is not only desirable but urgent. Today with totalitarianism still in the saddle in most of Europe, free trade unionism acts as a lodestar, as a powerful magnet, for the courageous forces fighting in the underground passages of Hitler's fortress of Europe. We look forward to the day when free democratic trade unions, such as benefit the workers of the United States and Great Britain will be re-established throughout all Europe from the Bay of Biscay to the Urals. We look forward to that great day when the Russian people will be rewarded for their sacrifices by the blessings of a free trade union movement, the keystone of all modern political and economic democracy. When that day arrives, the American Federation of Labor will rejoice in welcoming the millions of Russian working men and women into a free democratic international labor organization in the spirit of true organized labor solidarity.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Nagler. Delegate Nagler was one of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress designated by the Executive Council to serve in that capacity.

Delegate Nagler, Ladies Garment Workers: Mr. President, and fellow delegates to the Sixty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor—I want to take the opportunity at this particular time to express my appreciation and thanks—and I believe I can speak for my co-delegate, Harold Ulrich, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks—for the great honor you bestowed upon us in selecting us as your fraternal delegates to the great British Trades Union Congress.

I did not intend to participate in any discussion, because the report of your committee speaks for itself. It is impressive, intelligent and constructive, and I am sure it will meet with the approval of the delegates to this convention.

Rather have I risen to speak at this particular moment because of the remarks that the Chairman of the committee has made here on the floor, that there has been a great deal of confusion created in the minds of a good many Americans and within the trade union movement, especially as to developments dealing with the Anglo-Soviet Committee and the original proposal that the American Federation of Labor join in that committee. It is important that I merely give you an observation, and I ask your indulgence for these few minutes because I think it is for the welfare of the great masses comprised within the American Federation of Labor. Before I left this country for the British Trades Union Congress, a pernicious propaganda campaign by Communist elements had already started before they knew what my address would entail at the Congress. Let me just read a few lines to give you the picture. One of the editorials appearing in a Communist paper known as *The Daily Worker* in the city of New York reads as follows:

"Sir Walter Citrine speaks for the majority of the British workers no more than the A. F. of L. Council speaks for American labor."

And another observation—and out of the entire editorial I am merely reading a few lines:

"It is high time that the American part in this sabotage of international labor unity came to an end. The entire labor movement must see the harm the Allied cause has already suffered because of the AFL's Council's attitude. The issue must be put squarely and fought out at the Boston convention of the AFL on October 4th."

Mind you this was prior to my leaving for the British Trades Union Congress.

I merely want to say in passing, friends, that I wish it could have been possible for every delegate of the American Federation of Labor to have been given the privilege of sitting in that Congress and listening to that great statesman, Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress in his analysis of this important question. Reading the proceedings would not do it justice. You would have to witness the re-

sponse on the part of the delegates to that Congress.

I knew, and so did my co-delegate know, that this would be a controversial matter before the British Trades Union Congress and that some discussion might take place, and I referred to that in the report which I have made to the British Trades Union Congress. My remarks on that subject are similar to the statement in the Executive Council's report on page 127, which has been submitted to every delegate. When I was selected as a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, I was not selected to represent Nagler as a Vice President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; I was selected to represent the entire Federation of Labor, its decisions, its ideals, its traditions, and surely I was not there to represent the Communist party of America.

I have made the following observations in my report dealing with this particular subject matter:

"One of the heartening developments of this war has been the cooperation between the labor movements of various countries in furthering the war effort, in relief work and in planning for the post-war period. Despite the decimation of labor organizations in many countries, the International Federation of Trade Unions, now established in London, has maintained its organization, carries on its invaluable work of coordination labor cooperation on a world-wide scale.

"There have, of course, always been particularly close ties between the American and British Trades Union movements. The establishment last year of the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee has provided an excellent medium for cementing and extending such cooperation.

"In this connection it might be appropriate to set forth the position of the American Federation of Labor with regard to American representation on this Committee as well as on the question of cooperation with the Soviet Trade Unions—matters which, I note, are touched on in the general council's report to this Congress.

"The American Federation of Labor has opposed inclusion of representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on the Anglo-American Trade Committee primarily because this would strengthen the tendency to freeze the existing division which unfortunately exists in the American trade union movement.

"It would be most unwise in our judgment to take any steps which may serve to perpetuate the split in labor's ranks, or to assume that the split is anything but a temporary condition.

"Fortunately, there are many factors at work in our country which give solid ground for hope that the Congress of Industrial Organizations may at last return to the great

family of labor which had represented the bulk of the organized workers in our country for over a half century.

"The question of an Anglo-American-Soviet Trade Union alliance was submitted last year to the American Federation of Labor by Sir Walter Citrine in behalf of the British Trades Union Congress. After most careful deliberation, our Executive Council, in May of last year, based on what we regard as sound, democratic trade union principles, found it impossible to adopt this proposal. Its position was reaffirmed at its quarterly meeting in January, 1943.

"The American Federation of Labor was among the very first organizations in this country to favor utmost military aid to and cooperation with Soviet Russia. We advocated lend-lease to Russia immediately after Hitler's attack upon that country, months before the entry of the United States into the war. We continue to urge such aid to Russia to the utmost degree until victory is won. We are also engaged in large-scale relief activities in behalf of the Russian Army and the Russian people. In fact, President Green of the American Federation of Labor is now serving as a member of the Board of Directors of the organization carrying on Russian Relief work in the United States. However, we believe that any organic liaison with the Soviet trade unions is undesirable, because frankness requires the recognition of the fact that the Soviet trade unions are not free labor organizations in the democratic sense of the term but are the instruments of a state.

"We would oppose any liaison with such trade unions in any country. Moreover, any liaison with the Soviet trade unions would not help the war effort. On the contrary, it would only accentuate already existing ideological differences and conflicts and would carry division into the ranks of labor in this country, thus injuring the task of primary concern to the United Nations, the task of speeding war production and prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion.

"I fully recognize that the British Trades Union Congress has taken a different position on the question of direct collaboration with the Soviet trade unions. Naturally that is your right and privilege and, under no circumstances, would I or the American Federation of Labor presume to influence your views or decisions. Indeed, the resolution of the 1942 American Federation of Labor Convention approving the establishment of the Anglo-American Trade Union Committee recognized that the British members of the Anglo-Soviet Committee may act as a liaison in matters of direct concern to the trade unions of our respective countries.

"In conclusion, I wish to emphasize beyond any possibility of misunderstanding that, despite our inability to join in any organic relationship with the Soviet trade unions, the American Federation of Labor is for wholehearted cooperation with Soviet Russia as well as with Britain and the other members of the United Nations in prosecuting the war to victory and in post-war reconstruction for the maintenance of world peace."

This is the policy, this has been your policy. This is the report of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor, and I presented it as representing your views and the views of this American Federation of Labor.

How does this confusion come about, in what form? These people that have been mentioned in the report of the committee have taken advantage of our present military alliance with Soviet Russia. Now so far as Russia is concerned, it is needless for me to make any observation as to our desire to work and cooperate with the Soviet Army and with Russia until victory is won, and Nazism and Fascism have been licked to a standstill. My own organization, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, has contributed from its funds the sum of \$175,000 to Russian Relief since Russia's entry into this war. I am sure many organizations have made splendid contributions as well. I don't know how many, but surely no one can doubt our serious interest in the ultimate outcome of this global conflict, and our desire to help the Russian people.

But under the cloak of our military alliance with Soviet Russia, these people have attempted to inculcate into the minds of our American people and into the trade union movement the thought that just as we accept Russia as our ally on the military front, and just as we embrace the Russian people at this time, we ought to embrace as well its political, its economic, its social philosophy. That is where the confusion comes in.

I will not be deterred nor diverted, and I will not subordinate my conscience and my convictions, and I pray to God that this is the opinion of every delegate sitting in this convention, that we will not subordinate our convictions when we deal with vital principles affecting the freedom and the liberty of the millions of men and women in this world today. Notwithstanding the fact that this policy may not meet with approval in some circles, or that it may lack political expediency, notwithstanding the fact of all the pernicious propaganda and vilification that is being conducted by this group of irresponsibles in our nation, we will not be deterred one bit in pursuing this policy.

Not until Russia entered this war were we

able to hear pretension of patriotism on the part of these people. Oh, we remember very well just about two years ago, before Russia's entry into this conflict, when this great American Federation of Labor, through its Chairman, Matthew Woll, and President Green and the rest of the leadership, called upon the American workers to come to the aid of the British workers when they were fighting in the battle of Britain, with their backs to the wall, fighting alone—and I have seen the devastation caused. I know about the thousands of people lost in that devastation caused by the Nazi Luftwaffe. No motion picture, no book, no magazine will ever describe those scars of war that we were able to see with our own eyes.

At that particular time they sabotaged every move on the part of the American Federation of Labor to help British labor and the British people. When our International Union decided to work one-half day for British labor, for British relief, they stopped from work and caused other individuals to stop from work. Every conceivable bit of sabotage was practiced by these people. Now they want us to forget entirely all these actions, under the cloak of a military alliance with Russia.

Today we hear them cheer not only three times for the great Commander-in-Chief of our nation, but a hundred times a day. Oh, what threadbare propaganda that is! They want us to forget their past performances as easily as that!

Before Russia entered this war they were picketing the White House. The President was called a war-monger. They opposed him in 1940 for re-election. They were singing "The Yanks Are Not Coming." They were fomenting strikes in every nook and corner of our country, practicing sabotage of the highest order in order that the British people might not receive the assistance and the help of our great country.

Today they have wrapped themselves in the Stars and Stripes, and anyone who dares to speak out against injustices committed by them is branded immediately as an individual who is hindering the war effort. Tear those Stars and Stripes away from them and you will see the true color of those people. They are not Americans in any sense. They hold alle-

giance to another country and not to America. Today and always they follow the line that will be laid down by certain leadership.

As I stated earlier in my talk, before I left New York, certain attacks against Sir Walter Citrine and the American Federation of Labor appeared in the New York Daily Worker (the Communist press). When I arrived in England, just about two days later, I found the Daily Worker of England repeating the same arguments and charges, and a few days later, a newspaper item appeared from Russia with similar language. I hope the Comintern has been given up anyway.

I do not wish to occupy too much of your time, having regard and the regard of this convention for the pressure of time. I wish to state, however, that I am glad of the fine observations made by the committee, relating to the actions of the British Trades Union Congress. When I delivered the remarks previously referred to in my address, the Russian delegates requested of Sir Walter Citrine that they be given an opportunity to reply to my talk. They felt offended because I stated the position of the American Federation of Labor. Sir Walter Citrine informed them that this would create a precedent in the British Trades Union Congress. Notwithstanding that, they were persistent, and he informed them that he would put their request before the Congress.

My friends, I repeat I wish you had all been there to see the response on the part of the British Trades Union Congress when it voted—eight hundred delegates, with the exception of two, voted practically unanimously not to grant the request of the Soviet delegates. And in that respect, may I state that the British Congress measured up to its high standard of dignity and prestige.

Let us, my friends at this convention, when we go back to our circles, say to these people what one of the most outstanding political figures in the world today said a few weeks ago. While I was in London, I had the privilege of being in the House of Commons when that great statesman, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, returned from these United States, and in a speech delivered before the House of Commons on the war situation, he dealt with the subject of the second front, and when a gentleman, a lone Communist by the name of Gallagher, interrogated him with some sort of

flimsy question, Mr. Churchill said, "The British Government is not going to ask the British Communists how to conduct its affairs," and we want to say to the American Communists, "We are not asking the American Communists how to conduct the affairs of the American Federation of Labor."

Thank you a great deal for your time.

Delegate Rogers, Stamford, Connecticut Central Body: That was a very impressive speech of Brother Nagler's, but I want to make a couple of suggestions.

There were a number of speeches also given here at the convention that were just as impressive as Brother Nagler's and they all seemed to me to indicate three points: the first was a desire to win the war; the second point, I thought, was a desire to win a just and lasting peace; and the third one was to promote the ideals and interests of organized labor.

I believe that the one step that could be taken here at this convention would be to try and secure real collaboration with all the Allies—the trade unions of all the Allied countries. I think it would be a step in the direction of real peace.

That was also a very impressive report of the Executive Council and I think Mr. Nagler made a number of remarks that I really don't think he was called upon on the convention floor to make to the extent that anyone who spoke against the Executive Council's report would be labelled a Red. By getting up here I hope I am not leaving myself open to that accusation. However, I also feel if organized labor, especially the American Federation of Labor, justly expects a place at the peace table and a voice in the post-war planning, they will, at this convention, do everything in their power to get some active collaboration with all the trade unions of all countries. We are now already working with the British Trade Unions and we have heard from the Latin-American countries and Australia and they have all indicated this same desire.

I think if governments, schools and churches can take this step organized labor will be sadly lacking in leadership if they don't follow that action.

I thank you.

President Green: The motion recurs on the adoption of the committee's report. All in favor of the adoption of the committee's

report as read will say, "aye". Those opposed will say "no".

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted

Secretary Woll continued the report, as follows:

NATIONAL WAR FUND

The opening of the annual convention of the Federation this year coincides with the launching of the nation-wide campaign of the National War Fund, which is seeking \$125,000,000 from the American people to assure the continuation of vital war relief services at home and abroad. These war-related services are performed by the USO, War Prisoners' Aid, United Seamen's Service, the American Committee for the Care of European Children, the British, Chinese and Russian war relief societies, as well as the other war relief agencies of the United Nations.

Every member of the Federation, we are certain, understands that the actuating motive of the National War Fund is the humanitarian impulse of every man and woman of this country to render aid and succor to the hapless and suffering peoples of the world. It is universally conceded that working people, and particularly members of the American Federation of Labor have always been in the forefront in responding generously and without stint to every worthy appeal for aid in the hour of distress.

It was therefore natural that the Labor League for Human Rights and its United Nations Relief Committee, the relief arm of the American Federation of Labor, should be among the founders of the National War Fund. The Federation's representatives have helped to create this great organization and today sit in its councils, nationally and in each State and in each local community, sharing in the establishment of its policies and lending of its vast reserves of energy, volunteer manpower, initiative and enthusiasm in the execution of its program.

A new recognition of the important role organized labor can perform in this field, and with it a new responsibility has devolved upon the unions of the Federation. It is generally recognized that the active sponsorship by our unions of a worthy appeal has increased the interest and the generous support of such causes manifold.

It is noteworthy that the structure of the National War Fund is federalistic and parallels in many ways the democratic structure of the Federation. The success of the National War Fund, therefore, depends in great measure upon the loyal support of the people in each local community. In urging all affiliates of the Federation to render all possible aid to their respective community and war chests, through which the National War Fund operates locally, the Federation is confident that its members will contribute overwhelmingly to the success of this great voluntary enterprise.

Since our entry into the war, the Federation has mobilized its entire membership for service on the three major fronts of this global conflict. To recount again labor's contributions on the production front is at this time unnecessary. Two million members of the American organized labor movement are in the armed services of their country on all the fighting fronts. On the third front—that of morale and relief—labor's contribution is equally impressive.

There is no need to stress once again the strong bonds which exist between the members of the Federation and our armed forces. Our unions have always eagerly offered their services of skills and crafts, and their open-handed contributions of money to ever improve the recreational facilities and social centers in each community that serve the men and women of our fighting forces.

The strong fraternal bonds with our brothers and sisters of the trade union movements in other countries has always been characteristic of the Federation. As a consequence, our hearts go out to the victims of Nazi, Fascist and Japanese savagery.

We welcome the opportunity to render all possible voluntary assistance to the peoples of the United Nations and particularly to our armed forces which is offered to us through participation in the National War Fund. Without the loss of time on the job, members of the Federation, through their contributions to their respective community war chests, stand with their brothers on every fighting front and help relieve to some extent the tragic conditions of the peoples of the United Nations.

A further consequence of the program of the Labor League for Human Rights and its United Nations Relief Committee is the development of a new confidence and understanding between labor and management and

between labor and the rest of the community. This new labor-community relationship is proof that the democratic way is still the best way. It proves what Hitler and the other totalitarians can never understand—that a democratic people can do voluntarily what totalitarians believe can be accomplished only through force; that they can sink their mutual differences and unite unconquerably in their devotion to a great cause.

The American Red Cross—the only major war service organization outside the National War Fund—also looks to the American people for the fulfillment of its mission of mercy. The Federation through the Labor League for Human Rights has accepted an equal responsibility to support the American Red Cross with its contributions of skills and crafts as well as with its financial contributions.

Representation and participation by the Federation's unions on the executive and deliberative bodies of the American Red Cross, nationally and in each local community, is likewise gradually developing. The successful culmination of this development will assure the most effective mobilization of our vast memberships in the work of this great organization.

This work of healing and of mercy will not end with the war. Side by side with other groups in the American community, the American Federation of Labor, through the Labor League for Human Rights, will help to ease the hard transition from war to peace to the end that human rights everywhere may be preserved and extended.

Your committee recommends that this convention call upon all of its affiliates throughout the country to participate actively in the program.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Woll: This report is signed by William McSorley as Chairman and William Green as cooperating Chairman and myself as Secretary, as well as the remainder of the committee.

Wm. J. McSorley, Chairman
William Green
Matthew Woll, Secretary
D. J. Tobin
George L. Berry
W. D. Mahon
Wm. L. Hutcheson
Wm. J. Bowen
Albert Adamski
Joseph V. Moreschi
Joseph P. Ryan
E. E. Milliman
J. A. Franklin

John P. Frey
Christian M. Madsen
Edward Flore
Henry F. Schmal
W. C. Brithright
John B. Haggerty
P. J. Morrin
Felix H. Knight
James Maloney
Isidore Nagler
Harold D. Ullrich

Committee on International Labor Relations

Vice President Woll moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

The motion was duly seconded and carried unanimously.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Committee on Labels. Chairman Flore of the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

Chairman Flore of the Committee submitted the following report:

Patronization of Union Barber Shops in Toronto, Canada

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate W. C. Brithright, P. H. Reagan, A. Merlino, C. T. Crane, J. B. Robinson, Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union of America has for many years maintained a local union in the City of Toronto, Ont., Canada, and

WHEREAS, The International Union has from time to time endeavored to build a stronger and more militant union by sending representatives of the organizing department into that city, who appealed to the members or organized labor in Toronto, where there are approximately forty thousand workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which appeal fell on deaf ears, with the result that our local union in Toronto is still in a very weak condition, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Unions represented in this convention be appealed to, and the Card and Label Department of the American Federation of Labor make an appeal to the various local unions in the city of Toronto, together with the Central Labor Union and the Card and Label League of Toronto to look for the Union Shop Card of the Journeymen Barbers and Cosmetologists

International Union of America when they or the members of their families patronize barber shops.

Your committee recommends adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Reagan, Barbers: I beg the indulgence of the Chair for just a moment. Our International Union has attempted for many years, especially in the last two years, to organize the Barbers of Canada and especially in the city of Toronto. Last year we were successful in gaining a large number of applications and just about the time that we were about to put our regulation into action the government stepped in and put a ceiling price on prices and wages for the Barbers.

They set that ceiling and price back to October, 1941, and of course, when the Barbers had to drop back on their prices and on their wage scales the result was we lost them all. We are still anxious to put on a campaign in that city, but really we have nothing to offer to those men in the way of better wages or better prices, until we build a strong organization, so for that reason we are appealing to the various International Unions to ask their membership in the city of Toronto to look for the union shop card of the Journeyman Barber.

We feel that by the demand for that shop card we will be able to add thousands of members to our International roster, as well as to the roster of the American Federation of Labor.

I am pleased to vote for that report and I hope we will get action from it.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Recommendation of Committee

Your committee has reviewed carefully the report of the officers of the Union Label Trades Department to the convention held here in Boston, October 1, and wishes to offer the following recommendations:

1. That affiliated national and international unions urge all chartered local unions to affiliate with City and State Union Label Leagues, Councils or Departments wherever they exist. The reason is simple as it is through these agencies that the greatest amount of good results can be obtained in cooperation with the

Union Label Trades Department in creating a greater demand for Union Label products and services.

2. That all affiliated national and international unions give favorable consideration to the formation of Women's Auxiliaries and urge their local unions to do likewise. The Auxiliary movement launched by the Union Label Trades Department in 1935 has made great strides and as a consumer group has demonstrated conclusively and to the satisfaction of all concerned that they are a great asset to the Labor movement of America; not only by creating a greater demand for union products and services but have become a force that now commands the respect of our enemies in the political and industrial field.

3. That all State Federations of Labor and City central bodies sponsor legislation to give greater protection to all bona fide trademarks, labels, stamps, buttons and show cards as was recently enacted into law in New York City. This law places the entire responsibility for the registration, cancellation and revocation of labor union insignia with the Commissioner of Labor and sets up safeguards heretofore ignored.

4. That the Union Label Trades Department continue to call upon all national, international, local chartered unions, State federations of labor and City central bodies to continue to send to all men and women in our armed forces cigarettes that bear the union label of the Tobacco Workers International Union. This is not only a patriotic gesture but will do much to offset propaganda our enemies are endeavoring to make effective among the enlisted personnel of our country. We also wish to call attention to the fact that a number of cigarette manufacturers are soliciting union business on the pretext that the cigarettes they have to offer are union made but do not bear the union label. This is clearly a subterfuge and we urge the refusal of all offers coming from these sources.

Your committee also wishes to call attention to the report of the Executive Council to this convention and urge all delegates to read that part of the report that appears on pages 148, 149, 150 and 151. This section of the report will enlighten all on the progress of the Union Label Trades Department and the splendid work that is being done by its officers and the fine spirit of cooperation that

exists between the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the department.

Your committee also wishes to call attention to the voluntary committee formed by the officers of the Union Label Trades Department and known as Labor's Nutritional Committee.

The purpose of this committee is to augment the nutrition campaign of the Federal Government in order that workers and the members of their families may know the proper food with adequate supplies of vitamins for the daily diet. A great deal of enthusiasm has been demonstrated through local unions as a result of the work of this committee throughout America. Arrangements have been made for a series of most valuable and most timely feature articles on food and diet by several outstanding authorities on nutrition.

While upon this subject we desire to compliment the editors of all labor publications who are cooperating so wholeheartedly in the educational program of the Union Label Trades Department. We commend the officers of the Union Label Trades Department for having furnished such a valuable and important service to the labor publications without charge.

Your committee also wishes to commend all national, international, chartered locals, State federations of labor and City central bodies for the fine support they have given to the Union Label Trades Department in the work it has undertaken and urges that this cooperation continue with greater effort now in order that the high standards established by the American Federation of Labor over the past three-score of years continue to prevail in the post-war era.

Delegate Kearney, Boston, Massachusetts Central Body: Mr. President and delegates, one of the casualties of this war may be our shop cards, labels and buttons. May I ask the delegates that are interested in shop cards, labels and buttons to bear with me for a moment to indicate the danger of our labels in the processes that are emanating from Washington in the regulation of our standards of life?

Union shop cards, labels and buttons are the standards that our labor movement portrays as publicly as possible, the high ideals and standards of living in America. If we are not on our guard with all the restrictions that are handed to us, there is a wide possi-

bility of the danger to the influence and power of our labels, buttons and shop cards that we have for so many years endeavored to establish.

Inflation is the answer. For fear of inflation we must hold the line. Now let me say to you that this economic philosophy that is coming from Washington comes from the teaching of two men—one named Taussig of Harvard, and one named Fisher of Yale. And many of these young men that are in the service of our government in Washington who are preparing this new war time regulation of life for us, take their teachings from Taussig and Fisher. These are economists who have been teaching the young college men of America the fundamental philosophy of the law of supply and demand.

Let me give you an illustration of the law of supply and demand. I have upon my finger a small diamond presented to me by my Union. This diamond is given to me because it is rare and there are not many of them, and the cost of it is enormous. If coal were as scarce as diamonds I would perhaps have a piece of coal in this ring instead of a diamond.

This is the economic philosophy of Taussig and Fisher. If it should rain \$10.00 gold pieces this afternoon would you bother rushing to the streets to pick them up? Oh, no, \$10.00 gold pieces would not be any good, because there would be so many of them they would be useless. That is the philosophy of the economics of Taussig and Fisher that we are now confronted with in this so-called war time regulation. To prevent inflation, monetary inflation, is presumed to be the purpose. I say, Mr. President, it is not the fear of monetary inflation, it is the fear of inflation of wages that is causing the War Labor Board to vote 8 to 4 constantly against our progress.

And, Mr. President Green, let me ask you a question. Don't you think that the American Federation of Labor made a mistake when they introduced into the establishment of this War Labor Board set-up four representatives of labor and four representatives of industry and four representatives of the public? I have been trying to find out where is the public and who is the public. Some years ago it seemed to be that the public represented people who are not affiliated at all with industry or with labor. If what the Department of Labor in Washington tells us is true,

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

there are approximately 60,000,000 gainful workers in the United States today. Give a half a dependent to the 60,000,000 and we have 90,000,000 people in this nation representing directly the labor field of our nation. Then we will have the employers, representatives of corporations, the aged, the infirm, the children, and I want to ask you again, where is the public that has four representatives in our War Labor Board sitting with the employers voting 8 to 4?

Inflation we do not want. We do not want these boys to come back to our country and pay fifty cents for a loaf of bread. We do not want our dollar to travel to the extent of monetary uselessness.

But is this, Mr. President, the real philosophy of inflation? Is it not rather the fear of the employers and the public representatives in our War Labor Board, who fear labor's constant advancement of wages for the post-war period? In other words, you will suspend all of your trade union philosophy, you will suspend all of your trade union activity. We might as well have suspended this convention. You will suspend, because the young folks in Washington preach the doctrine of Professor Taussig and Professor Fisher, the philosophy of economics. I have read Taussig. I went to school to study economics, and I read Professor Fisher of Yale, but I have never found in any book on economics in this whole country anything about a living wage, a saving wage, an old age wage, an educational wage, or any other kind of a wage. I simply read the old economic philosophy of the law of supply and demand.

I repeat again, one of the victims and casualties of this war will be our shop cards, our labels and our buttons, and that, to me and to many others, will be a sad thing if we are suspended in our progress to maintain these emblems as the high standard of American living and American progress. I don't want our members removing their buttons because of the inability of our labor movement to maintain conditions as we have promised.

Mr. President, I thank you for this opportunity.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Vice President Flore: That completes the

work of the committee, Mr. Chairman, and the report is signed by the entire committee:

Edward Flore, Chairman
Charles E. Sinnigen, Secretary
Charles Hanson
Anthony Merlino
M. S. Maxwell
Michael P. Greene
Anne Peterson
Tony Gallo
Joseph Addy
James A. Taylor
Anthony J. DeAndrade
James T. Slaven
John Zitello
Mary G. Morley
George Baxter
R. E. Van Horn
Max Bluestein
Robert Lester
W. G. Desepete
Joseph Sylvia
Gust Ladik
Daniel J. Goggin
Joseph Levitsky
Committee on Union Labels.

Vice President Flore moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Union Labels as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Harrison, of the Committee on Education.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Vice President Harrison: Mr. President and delegates—At the meeting of the Committee on Education the committee elected Brother Irvin Kuenzli, of the Teachers Federation, as Secretary of the Committee. Brother Kuenzli will present the report of the committee to the convention.

Delegate Kuenzli, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

The Committee on Education of the sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor considered a wide range of subjects covering the outstanding educational problems facing a nation engaged in all out war. The comprehensiveness of the educational activities of the American Federation of Labor deeply impressed the members of the committee.

The work of the committee was divided into three principle categories:

1. An analysis of the report of the Executive Council on educational matters.
2. A study of the report of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.
3. Recommendations to the convention for action on resolutions on education presented by affiliated bodies.

Included in the problems emanating from these three sources were the following:—child labor; keeping the children in school in the present crisis; financial support for public schools; adequate salaries to keep teachers from leaving the profession; junior colleges; adult education; preservation of native culture and traditions in post-war reconstruction; teaching of labor history and problems in public schools; vocational education; federal aid to education; condemnation of the yellow dog contract for teachers in Oklahoma City; teachers salaries in Puerto Rico; federal projects in education in relation to the war; education for rehabilitation of soldiers and workers; apprenticeship training; teaching trade unionism in colleges; labor-educational institutes, and exchange of educational leaders with Great Britain.

This vast program of education emanating from the thinking of the workers of the nation is graphic evidence that the American Federation of Labor is devoted now, more than ever before, to its traditional philosophy that education is the foundation of a free democratic society. Organized labor in America believes that successful democratic government is predicated upon a citizenry so enlightened through education that it is able intelligently to participate in the affairs of the nation.

Pages 105 to 116 of the Executive Council's report are devoted to the general subject of Education. The following educational problems are discussed in this section of the report:—

School Finance
Training and Rehabilitation
Apprenticeship
Industrial Rehabilitation
Vocational Education
Education and New World Organization
Harvard Trade Union Fellowship Plan
Workers Education Bureau of America

The committee recommends that every delegate make a careful study of the statement by the Executive Council on these important

educational problems. It is probable that in no other place can so clear a picture be obtained of practical educational problems related directly to the war effort. The report is convincing evidence that the Executive Council and the research staff of the A. F. of L. headquarters have followed closely the developments in education in relation to the war.

Introduction

In its introduction to the general subject of Education, the Executive Council makes the following significant statement, "The intelligence with which rank and file citizens have gone about their responsibilities in this war emergency is testimony of the value which we as a nation have placed on education and our struggle to make our minimum standard of education at the high school level." The 1942 convention of the A. F. of L. in Toronto, Canada, declared "The high level of educability of our citizens has proved to be one of the nation's strongest bulwarks of defense." These statements substantiate the declaration of the 1941 convention in Seattle, Washington, that education is the first line of national defense and as such should be extended rather than curtailed. Labor believes that education is not only indispensable to the successful functioning of democratic government in peace but also essential to the defense of the nation in time of war.

The report calls attention to the serious decline in school enrollment since Pearl Harbor. During the present year school attendance has declined by nearly a million and a half children or 6% of the total enrollment. Because of extremely low wages thousands of teachers are leaving the profession and the turnover of teachers creates so serious a problem as to threaten the welfare of the Nation's children. One out of every six teachers now in the schools is a new teacher, and thousands of unqualified teachers have been pressed into service. To remedy this situation the American Federation of Labor has recommended a minimum salary of \$1,500.00 for teachers. As indicated elsewhere in this report more than half of the teachers of the Nation receive less than \$1,500.00 annual salary and thousands receive less than one-half that amount. Teachers cannot be expected to stay in the classrooms at starvation wages. Payment of living salaries to

teachers will solve the teacher shortage problem definitely and immediately.

SCHOOL FINANCE

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 106-107)

The Executive Council has wisely devoted considerable space to the discussion of school finance. Eventually the consideration of nearly every educational problem is related to the question of financial support. The Council takes the position that two separate types of federal aid should be provided for the schools: (1) emergency aid to relieve serious situation caused by the dislocations of war and (2) a permanent program of federal aid should be worked out to equalize educational opportunities of children of the Nation. These matters are discussed elsewhere in this report in relation to a resolution dealing specifically with this subject.

TRAINING AND REHABILITATION

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 108-109)

On pages 108 and 109 of its report the Executive Council discusses problems of training and rehabilitation which are vital to organized labor. Your Committee on Education agrees with the position taken by the Council that education for reconstruction should be a civilian rather than a military task. The armed forces, although highly competent in training for the skills of war are not experienced in educational problems of reconstruction. It has been the contention of the A. F. of L. over the years that all educational matters should be controlled by the agencies of government established for that purpose. With these regularly established agencies the A. F. of L. has cooperated for many years. The Council's report relates that the President of the United States, by executive order, has created a commission on training and rehabilitation headed by General Osborne. The American Federation of Labor is not represented on this important committee despite the fact that the A. F. of L. has had a wider experience in vocational education than any other large group in the Nation. In fact, information is not available as to the work of the committee and its findings. The American Federation of Labor has, therefore, been compelled to conduct its own research and develop its own

program for training and rehabilitation of workers and soldiers. Your committee recommends that the position of the American Federation of Labor in this matter be called to the attention of the President of the United States together with a request that the A. F. of L. be represented on all committees dealing with the government's plan for training and rehabilitation. The rich experience of the A. F. of L. in the vital field of specialized vocational training should not be neglected or disregarded.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

INDUSTRIAL REHABILITATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 109)

The committee concurs in and desires to emphasize the recommendation of the Executive Council that local and state labor bodies study the provision of the LaFollette Vocational Rehabilitation Act which reviews and extends the provisions of the original Industrial Rehabilitation Act.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

APPRENTICESHIP

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 109-110)

The matter of apprenticeship training which the Executive Council discusses on Pages 109-110 of its report represents one of the most important problems in American education. The apprenticeship plan provides for the youth an opportunity to learn a skilled trade on the job and at the same time receive sufficient general education in the schools to secure a high school diploma. The apprenticeship system is a planned program with standards built up over the years from actual experience. Joint labor-management committees on local, state and federal bases have supervised the program.

Recently the Apprentice-Training Service has been transferred from the U. S. Department of Labor to the War Manpower Commission. By executive order, the entire department remained intact. Your committee is happy to note that the Executive Council feels that the service will be strengthened rather than weakened under the War Manpower Commission.

The report on Page 110 lists four recommendations which are proving sound in actual practice. The final part of the section points out the importance of the apprenticeship program both for supplying war manpower and in the education of youth in this emergency. Because of the importance of this subject we recommend that this entire section be included in the report of the Committee on Education in the printed proceedings.

The section referred to reads as follows:

Apprenticeship. When the War Manpower Commission was established by Executive Order to handle all public questions relating to the procurement, training and utilization of manpower, the Apprentice Training Service was transferred from the United States Department of Labor to the Commission in order to give centralized attention to the various aspects of training. Labor was consulted regarding this transfer as it has a special interest in the establishment of programs for the employment and training of apprentices. Labor was fearful lest the policies, practices and standards established under the guidance of the Labor Department would be upset by new administrators having less experience with the problems of Labor.

The Labor Department wisely recognized that the promotion and development of a nation-wide apprenticeship program should have specialized attention and that policies and standards should be set up under the guidance of practical men from the field of Labor and management. In conformity with that policy, it appointed the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, on which the American Federation of Labor is represented to develop over-all policies and to provide a general program guidance. Special industry joint labor-management committees were established to work out policies particularly applicable to those industries.

The same procedure was followed in the states. Under the guidance of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, the apprenticeship program was carried out in the states by state apprenticeship councils which were made up of equal numbers of labor and management representatives. Again at the actual operating level—the local community—the development of apprenticeship programs was done by local joint management-labor apprenticeship committees.

Labor was equally interested in the problem of staffing the apprenticeship agency. Long

before the establishment of this agency, it had objected to some of the rigid requirements of the Civil Service Commission. It felt that for many jobs too great weight was placed on college degrees and that capable people from the ranks of the workers were automatically barred from entering government service regardless of their capabilities because they had been compelled through sheer necessity to earn a living. The Federal Committee on Apprenticeship was able to secure the cooperation of the Civil Service Commission in establishing standards for the employment of an apprenticeship field staff which enabled competent men from the ranks of labor to enter the federal service. At the same time the agency was spared the evils of personnel appointments for the sake of political expediency.

The President, knowing the fears of Labor with regard to the transfer of the Apprentice-Training Service from the Labor Department to the War Manpower Commission, inserted a clause in the Executive Order effecting the transfer which provided that the organizational entity of the service was to be preserved. This means that the Division will maintain its established practices and standards.

With the growing appreciation on the part of the War Manpower Commission of the significance of gaining and maintaining the confidence and support of Labor in the handling of the great and complicated manpower problem, we are confident that Chairman Paul V. McNutt and his principal executives will act to strengthen rather than weaken this agency which has so successfully earned the support and respect of all branches of organized labor.

Turning now to the field of operations it is worthy of note that the Apprentice-Training Service did not give up its efforts to assure the nation an adequate supply of all-round skilled workers in spite of what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles. This is true despite the fact that the activities of the service necessarily were broadened to provide assistance in the over-all industrial training problem. The growing demands of the armed forces for young physically fit men made it apparent that practically all of the group from whom apprentices are normally drawn as well as apprentices in training would be required for military service. The problem was presented to the Federal Com-

mittee on Apprenticeship for consideration. After weighing all of the aspects of the problem the committee concluded: (1) The nation could no better afford to take a chance on a short war by failing to train all-round skilled workers than it could neglect to train doctors, dentists, nurses and chemists. (2) That the apprenticeship question should be considered as two parts; one where all-round skilled workers are imperatively needed for war production or maintenance and repair work; and the other, where the nature of the work is such that other forms of training would prepare workers for the kind of work to be performed.

Summarized the recommendations agreed upon and which are proving sound in practice follow:

1. Establish apprenticeship programs on the basis of regular peace-time standards, but including such wartime standards as necessary to develop the trained workers essential to the conduct of the war.

2. Amend existing apprenticeship programs to provide for the training of apprentices as rapidly as they can acquire reasonable proficiency in each trade process.

3. Improve job supervision and job and related classroom instruction so that the period of learning time may be shortened. Advancements should be measured by objective tests established or given by joint apprenticeship committees.

4. Where it is imperative in the interests of war production to secure all-round skilled workers in the minimum of time, apprentices should be selected from groups least vulnerable to military service. Preferred groups in this category include married men from 20 to 30 years of age with one or more children; men classified as ineligible for military service for physical reasons; military personnel released from active service; and, for some trades, women.

Full details regarding the application of these recommendations cannot be given because of shortage of space, but it is especially worthy of note that both Labor and management are showing great interest in providing apprenticeship opportunities for men released from the military forces. Within the Federal committee's report there were special recommendations regarding the employment and training of 16-year old appren-

tices. While this program is taking hold in some areas it is recommended that all agencies concerned with youth get solidly behind this program and make it work. It is essential that in a global war of such tremendous proportions that we be realistic. If management and Labor can provide systematic on-the-job training through apprenticeship combined with sufficient school work to assure completion of high school, that approach appears much sounder than any program which provides little advantage to the youth other than completion of high school and an opportunity to earn money. In this connection it would seem fortunate if all groups interested in youth whether public or private could well support that part of the report of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship which reads:

Youth of 16 and 17 years of age need the training and discipline which comes with learning a trade. . . . Under present conditions the nation cannot afford to allow this generation of young men to spend all of its time in schools or in dead-end jobs or idleness, waiting for its time to enter the military forces. We need now the goods they can produce. We need the skills they can acquire. We will need those skills if they are called to military service, but most of all we will need the sound citizens they will be upon restoration of peace.

Even in the midst of the hardest, most merciless and probably the longest war in which this nation has ever been engaged, the committee is convinced that to fail to train the nation's youth is to court eventual disaster.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 112-113)

The report of the Executive Council on Vocational Education should be an inspiration to every member of the American Federation of Labor. The tremendous contribution of the vocational schools of the Nation to the war production program is largely a result of the educational program of organized labor. For many years the American Federation of Labor has supported vocational education—often with the opposition or apathetic attitude of school administrators. As Major Fred J. Conlay

pointed out in his address of welcome to the 1942 A. F. of L. Convention, labor has stood for technical and vocational education which have been largely responsible for the success of the war production program. Even though we had practically no planes, tanks, or ships immediately after Pearl Harbor we did have millions of men trained in skilled trades through our vocational schools. As in the case of apprenticeship training the American Federation of Labor has worked closely with governmental authorities in developing a vocational training program and in adapting it to the war program.

From July 1st, 1940 to June 30, 1943, the vocational schools of the Nation have trained 6,114,000 workers for war production. During the one year period 1941-42, an additional 2,629,000 persons were trained in the regular vocational classes. This makes a total of 8,743,000 persons trained for work. Here again is a practical exemplification of the statement of the 1942 Convention of the American Federation of Labor that "education in the larger sense will eventually win the war and plan the peace after the dictators have been crushed."

Your Committee concurs in the recommendations of the Council that local unions, state federations and central labor unions see to it that labor representatives serve on representative advisory committees. Many of the problems of vocational education would be solved if representatives of labor would carry out, to the fullest extent, their duties on advisory committees. Such service is vital to the war effort and to the welfare of labor.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

EDUCATION AND NEW WORLD ORGANI- ZATION

On Page 113-114 the report of the Executive Council supports the plan to include a Department of Education in any such world agency which may be established. The reports recommend that such a Department should respect the cultures and ideologies of nations and not attempt to impose a uniform pattern of education on all nations.

An international office of education should

include a department of adult education with a branch devoted to workers' education. This suggestion is in accord with the Council's report on the same subject.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that this convention approve the general plan for an international office of education in the post-war program as recommended by the Executive Council and that this office include a department of adult education with a section in the field of workers education.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

THE HARVARD TRADE UNION FELLOWSHIP PLAN

(Executive Council's Report, Page 114)

The Executive Council reports favorably on the trade union fellowship plan at Harvard University under which thirteen members of organized labor have been trained in leadership for the labor movement. The discussion of this matter by the Committee revealed the interesting fact that not only did the university provide technical training for labor leaders but also the labor leaders themselves brought to the students and faculty of the university first-hand, practical information about organized labor. Many false impressions concerning organized labor were corrected by the presence of these labor leaders on the university campus.

Your Committee recommends that affiliated bodies study this plan of extending the services of the university to the labor movement and to establish similar programs whenever and wherever possible and practicable.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 114-116)

No reference to the Workers Education Bureau would be complete without a tribute to Dr. Spencer Miller, Jr., who for so many years served as director of the Bureau and consultant in the field of education. Identified with the Bureau from its inception, Dr. Miller became an outstanding authority on workers'

education and a tireless worker for the cause of building the labor movement through education. The Committee recommends that this convention extend to Dr. Miller its best wishes for success in his new field of service and our heartfelt appreciation for his services to organized labor over a period of many years.

The Committee further recommends that this convention extend its heartiest greetings and welcome to John D. Connors, who has been selected by the Board of Directors of the Workers Education Bureau to fill the directorship left vacant by the resignation of Dr. Miller. An experienced educator and labor leader, Mr. Connors brings to the Workers Education Bureau a type of leadership which should assure the growth and expansion of the Bureau's activities.

The report of the Executive Council shows that labor institutes were held in Minnesota, Iowa, New Jersey, Nebraska, and Massachusetts. Institutes and conferences were also held in connection with conventions of several state federations of labor.

During the past year the Bureau has performed an important service in arranging exchange lectures with the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain. These speakers have done much to implement the war effort by improving morale and by cementing the friendship between the United States and Great Britain. Such speakers have also assisted in counteracting false rumors and reports spread by enemy agents. The Committee recommends that this type of service be continued by the Bureau and that all affiliated bodies cooperate in arranging meetings for the lecturers from the labor movement of England.

At a meeting of the Executive and Advisory Boards of the Bureau on October 8th, an enlarged program of educational activities and public relations was outlined. Plans were made to set up regional offices throughout the nation to assist in implementing the expanded program of the Bureau. To carry such a program of service to the labor movement, additional funds will be needed. It is impossible to meet the educational programs of the enemies of labor with the ridiculously small budget on which the Bureau now operates. It should be remembered that the Smith-Connelly Act and the anti-labor bills adopted in several states resulted largely from the pressure of public opinion created by the edu-

cational activities and public relations programs of the foes of organized labor. It is up to the labor movement to inform the public as to the true facts regarding the accomplishments of organized labor in building American democracy and in the war effort. This job has not been adequately done. The Committee feels that the Workers Education Bureau should greatly expand its activities and that greater financial support should be given to the Bureau. We recommend that international unions not now affiliated with the Bureau arrange to affiliate as soon as possible, and that the Executive Council increase substantially its contribution to the Bureau as soon as funds are available for this purpose.

At the meeting of the Bureau on October 8th, a new type of affiliation was created for local unions which may now affiliate for the small sum of \$2.00 per year. National and international unions, state federations, and central labor bodies are requested to urge their affiliated local unions to join the Workers Education Bureau under this new plan.

Special attention is called to the publications of the Bureau many of which are displayed at this convention. During the past year, the Bureau published a booklet entitled "Workers' Education in War and Peace" by Fannia Cohn, Secretary of the splendid educational department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. This book is an excellent outline of activities in workers' education and is recommended to all persons interested in this field of education. As Spencer Miller, Jr., says in the foreword, "It deserves to be read and reread by those who are called to leadership in education of American labor."

In relation to the critical problem of child labor and employing of school children in war industries, the Bureau circulated a pamphlet published by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor entitled, "Back to School". The distribution of this timely pamphlet was an important service to American education in relation to a critical situation affecting the Nation's children.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt this section of the committee's report.

Delegate Voorhees, Denver Central Trades and Labor Assembly: On this workers' education, last Tuesday afternoon Dr. Connors called a meeting of the Central Body and State Federation delegates. In spite of the

fact that it was a very fine day and in spite of the fact that we had a historical parade outside, this meeting was very well attended. All who attended the meeting were very much interested in workers' education.

Dr. Connors asked the question of those delegates, what does the Bureau do for you? And the answer was that they wanted someone to come out and set up a workers' education plan in their Central Body or in their State Federation of Labor.

It seems to me that after 22 years this workers education program should be developed a lot further than it is. We have heard statements today on education and what happened to one organization by one man under an absolute dictatorship, in my opinion, and it seems to me that the American Federation of Labor and their Executive Council should develop the workers education bureau further and that they should provide funds in order that this work may be carried on.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the Executive Council of the Federation will give recognition to this fact and do everything in their power to make the workers education bureau what it should be, big enough to take care of the needs of the workers of this country.

Certainly we need education for our workers now more than ever. There have been thousands and thousands of new workers who have come into the organization in the last three years, and many of them know nothing about the organizations or nothing about the fundamental principles of them.

That is not all we have to contend with. It is no longer a case of where we can sit down across the table and negotiate agreements. These people who will step into our shoes very soon will have to be educated along the line of something more than negotiations. They are going to have to have some background in order to go further into the economic things confronting us today.

I sincerely hope that the Council will give enough consideration to this that they will have the budget big enough so that this Bureau can operate.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Salaries of School Teachers in Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, The School Teachers of Puerto Rico have ever been the poorest paid employees of the Government, receiving in the rural zone salaries as low as sixty-six dollars (\$66.00) a month after deductions made by the Government to collect the 5 per cent as victory tax and the 6 per cent for the saving and pension funds, and

WHEREAS, It has become impossible for the teachers to live on such ridiculous income under present war conditions, the cost of living being such that it would not permit them to keep a half decent standard even in normal times, and

WHEREAS, After careful consideration the Teachers' Association has submitted demands to the Government of Puerto Rico for a minimum salary of one hundred dollars (\$100.00) a month for those teachers comprised in the lowest brackets; a 20 per cent increase for the Special, High School teachers and other classes; the construction of more school buildings; a substantial increase in the appropriation for free text books for the poor children and the appointment of the necessary number of School Teachers to provide educational facilities for those children who, while willing to attend school, no school facilities are provided for them at the present, and

WHEREAS, During the last two (2) years a great number of school teachers have given up school teaching to accept different federal government positions where they can get a better pay, the possibilities being that others will do the same and,

WHEREAS, The Teachers' Association, conscious of the law, has also requested from the Governor of Puerto Rico and from the leaders of all the political parties represented in the Insular Legislature that a Short Special Session of the Legislature be called to tackle this problem, and

WHEREAS, While twenty (20) out of the thirty-nine (39) Representatives constituting the House (which is in the majority) and nine (9) out of the nineteen (19) Members constituting the Senate, have willingly accepted that it is most necessary to call this Special Session of the Insular Legislature, because this is the only body legally empowered and authorized to meet the demands and they, these Members of both Houses, have also requested the Governor to call the Special Session, the Governor has decided to recommend some administrative measures granting increases to the teachers of as low as three (3) dollars and six (6) dollars per month—these measures being considered as illegal by those well versed in the interpretation of our local laws and of our Organic Act—and has also absolutely refused to call the Insular Legislature to a Special Session, which is the proper action to take under the circumstances, and

WHEREAS, The School Teachers' Association in Special Convention assembled in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on the 4th of Sept., 1943, decided (a) to stand for their demands; (b) to wait until the 11th of September as the dead line for the Governor to call the Special Session of the Legislature; (c) to stop all educational activities, walking out of school for 24 hours if no Special Session has been called, and (d) then meet again to take a definite action that may result in the declaration of a strike by all the teachers, an action which will adversely affect education and threatens to endanger our whole educational program, if immediate steps are not taken by the Insular Legislature which, as already stated, is the only body legally authorized to confront this problem, and

WHEREAS, If the Teachers' Association carry out its threat of a general strike, paralyzing all educational activities, more than five thousand (5,000) teachers would be affected and more than three hundred thousand (300,000) children now attending school would be deprived of educational facilities, which would bring the figure of the people of school age lacking school facilities and school accommodation to more than one-half of a million (500,000) people, since there are already over two hundred thousand (200,000) people of school age in the island without school accommodation, and

WHEREAS, Official figures show that Puerto Rico had receipts for the year ending last July amounting to more than ninety-one millions of dollars (\$91,000,000) and there is at the present a net surplus in our Treasury of more than six millions of dollars (\$6,000,000), which is more than sufficient to remedy conditions and meet the just demands of the teachers, and

WHEREAS, The demands of the School Teachers of Puerto Rico are supported by all the parents' associations and by all classes in Puerto Rico who realize the very delicate mission of the teachers, while the Governor of the Island, emulating the Governor of the English Crown during the old times of the oppressed thirteen American Colonies, has insistently and absolutely refused to call a Special Session of the Insular Legislature to deal with this problem which is so vital to the very life of our country, be it

RESOLVED, By this Sixty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor as follows:

If by the time this Convention adjourns, the Governor of Puerto Rico still insists in refusing to call a Special Session of the Insular Legislature of Puerto Rico to meet the demands of the Puerto Rican teachers and to provide adequate legislative means to properly attend to the whole school problem affecting the childhood of the Island, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed—and it is hereby instructed—to present this whole problem to his Excellency the President of the United States—who appoints the Governor of Puerto Rico—and to demand from the President that either the Governor of the Island be instructed and directed to call a Special Session of the Insular

Legislature, as requested by the Teachers' Association and by the members constituting the majority of the Legislature, to adopt adequate remedies, or that steps be immediately taken by the United States Congress to remedy this situation.

This resolution describes deplorable conditions in the public schools of Puerto Rico which have no place in the schools of any territory which flies the flag of the United States. The resolution reveals the astounding fact that more than 200,000 children of school age in the island are out of school for the simple reason that there are no schools for them to attend. Nearly one-half of the children of Puerto Rico have no opportunity to go to school. The President of the Puerto Rico Federation of Free Workingmen, P. Rivera Martinez, a delegate to this convention, appeared before the committee to plead for assistance in providing better educational facilities for the island. Mr. Martinez stated that 41.6% of the citizens of Puerto Rico cannot read and write and it was necessary, therefore, to reject a large percentage of the young men who were called for military service. Thus the defense of a valuable and strategic territory of the United States is seriously handicapped through the lack of educational facilities. Here is an impressive example of the declaration of the 1941 convention of the American Federation of Labor in Seattle, Washington, that education, in the larger sense, is the first line of national defense and as such should be extended rather than curtailed in the present emergency. The loss of a whole division in military operations would be considered a major military tragedy. Yet enough men have been lost to the armed forces in Puerto Rico through lack of educational facilities, to create a whole division. We respectfully call the attention of the Commander of the American Legion to this amazing fact.

Your committee urges that it be the unqualified recommendation of this convention to the President of the United States that immediate steps be taken to provide at least an elementary education for every child on the island of Puerto Rico and that a program of adult education be inaugurated immediately to wipe out—in so far as possible—the illiteracy which exists in the island. The American Federation of Labor has declared repeatedly that widespread public education is indispensable to democratic government. In relation to Puerto Rico we point out emphatically that true democratic government can-

not exist where a large percentage of the citizens are illiterate.

To the teachers of Puerto Rico who are demanding a \$1200.00 minimum annual salary the committee points out that the American Federation of Labor has recommended a minimum salary of \$1500.00. However, we wish to point out that only a few teachers of the island are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The sad plight of the teachers of Puerto Rico emphasizes the serious need for organization of the teachers in the labor movement. It has been amply demonstrated that teachers organized independently in non-union organizations have little professional strength to improve either educational facilities for children or working conditions for teachers.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the recommendation that immediate steps be taken to assist in raising the standards of education in Puerto Rico and in improving the working conditions of teachers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Junior Colleges

Resolution No. 62—By Trades and Labor Assembly, Sioux City, Iowa.

WHEREAS, Organized Labor has always advocated education among the masses of working people in order that they be better prepared for the battle of livelihood and fulfill their respective places within the movement and in society in general, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through persistent and proper activities, was instrumental in instituting the program of free education for the children of this Nation, including high school training, and

WHEREAS, It is universally recognized that the individual who is properly educated and trained finds suitable employment more readily than one who possesses only a limited amount of schooling, and

WHEREAS, Because of tuition costs, together with the need for subsistence, the average person is unable to acquire any desired schooling above the regular high school courses, and

WHEREAS, At the present time, in certain localities throughout the nation, there are certain schools known as Junior Colleges, where regular university studies are offered, tuition free, upon certain minor requirements, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of the Junior

College as a means of offering opportunity for a higher education to all young people of this nation with limited resources, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor promote suitable activities tending to encourage the establishment of such educational facilities throughout the entire nation.

The purpose of this resolution is to extend public education in local communities beyond the high school through the first two years of college. The Junior College makes it possible for students to secure two years of their college training in the same manner in which they received their high school education. Such a program makes it possible for the student to secure a college education at a much lower cost both in tuition and in costs of living. Consequently the Junior College makes possible a college education for many students who could not afford otherwise to go to college. The need for extending public education beyond the high school was emphasized by the fact that thousands of students returned to the Nation's high schools for graduate work during the years of economic depression.

In a general way the Junior College plan is consistent with organized labor's stand over the years in favor of public education in the higher levels. Your Committee therefore recommends concurrence in the general purposes of the resolution; endorsement of the principle of the Junior College; and—where local conditions permit—urges affiliated bodies to cooperate with school authorities in establishing and supporting such institutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Support of the Public Schools in the Present Emergency

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has taken the position throughout its entire history that adequate public education is indispensable to a successful democratic society, and

WHEREAS, The 1941 and 1942 conventions of the American Federation of Labor declared that widespread public education is essential to victory over the Axis dictators and to the success of the post-war democracy, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of classrooms of the public schools did not open this year because

of a shortage of teachers resulting from the failure of many boards of education to pay a living wage to teachers, and

WHEREAS, More than half of the teachers in the United States receive less than \$1500 in wages and thousands receive less than one-half that amount, and

WHEREAS, Past experience both in England and the United States indicates that the costs of crime and juvenile delinquency resulting from the closing of the schools are far greater than the costs of maintaining adequate educational facilities, and

WHEREAS, The closing or curtailment of the public schools and the wreckage of human lives resulting therefrom undermines the very foundation of our democratic government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, in October, 1943, urge all affiliated organizations to make a careful study of the school systems in their respective states and communities and to make every effort to see that adequate educational facilities are provided for every child and that sufficient wage scales are paid to teachers so they will not be compelled to leave the teaching profession to secure living wages, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated organizations be urged to cooperate in organizing teachers in the American Federation of Labor in order to assist them in providing better educational facilities for children and better working conditions for teachers.

In November, 1940, President Green, at the request of the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor, presented to President Roosevelt a statement on education in relation to the national defense program. This declaration stated in part, "We feel that education is the most permanent responsibility of any nation which no emergency should interrupt.—We recommend that our whole program of education be expanded in the emergency created by the war of the dictators so that citizens and future citizens shall have all possible opportunities for progress and satisfaction in living. While spending freely for the defense of democracy we must make sure that its basic sources are not obstructed." In this statement, which was approved by the 1940 convention of the A. F. of L. in New Orleans, the crisis facing the schools of the Nation at the present time was anticipated. Today the whole nation is alarmed over the fact thousands of classrooms are closed because teachers are not available. As indicated in the Executive Council's Report, the American Federation of Labor last year recommended a minimum salary for

teachers of \$1500.00. Inadequate as such a minimum is, more than one-half of the teachers of the Nation receive less than \$1500.00 and thousands do not receive one-half that amount. The compensation received by the teachers of the United States—the most wealthy nation in the world—is a disgrace to the nation. Teachers, representing one of the largest groups of highly skilled workers in the Nation, have not yet raised their wage scales to the level of unskilled workers. This is the fundamental reason for the exodus of teachers from the profession and consequent shortage of teachers. Teachers cannot be expected to remain in the class-room at starvation wages. Proper adjustment in wage scales will solve the teacher shortage problem definitely and immediately.

In some cities tax dodging groups have carried on active campaigns to curtail the public schools with ruthless disregard for the welfare of pupils, teachers, and non-educational employees. In Toledo, Ohio, for instance the schools have been kept in a status of constant turmoil for several years because tax economy groups, by means of well organized campaigns, misrepresenting the true facts, have constantly defeated the tax levies necessary to operate the schools. In this wealthy city, the school term has been shortened, many important educational services have been eliminated, and teachers salaries slashed. At the beginning of this school year the non-educational employees were compelled to strike to secure an adjustment in salary to meet in part the advanced cost of living. Only by a vigorous battle on the part of organized labor in Toledo have further curtailment and retrenchment in the schools been prevented.

Organized labor believes that the welfare of the Nation demands wages for teachers commensurate with the high degree of training and skill required by their occupation. Labor believes that costs of education are not an expenditure but an investment. If World War II has proved anything it has demonstrated that the education and physical fitness of the Nation's youth are the very foundations of national defense. The fact that nearly one-third of the young men called for military service were rejected because of physical disabilities or lack of education is tragic evidence of the need for better care of the Nation's youth. We believe that the strength of teachers will be greatly increased

for fighting their economic and professional battles by affiliating with the labor movement.

Your Committee therefore recommends concurrence in this resolution and urges all affiliated bodies to assist in providing adequate financial support for the schools and in organizing teachers within the ranks of organized labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Education and Post-war Reconstruction

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its 1942 convention in Toronto, Canada, adopted a statement on education and the post-war world declaring in part "The new world order can be achieved only if there is added to all those other aims the last and most important aim: a new and better education for all. Reconstruction will mean essentially re-education," and

WHEREAS, There is an immediate need for formulating definite plans for educational procedures both in the allied nations and in the nations freed from the Axis dictators, and

WHEREAS, Educational problems are entirely separate and distinct from other problems involved in reconstruction and require separate organization and machinery, and

WHEREAS, there are many educational problems related to reconstruction in addition to formal education in the public schools and universities, and

WHEREAS, Every nation has its own culture and traditions which constitute an important part of the educational scheme of the nation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Mass., in October, 1943, reaffirm its stand in favor of adequate educational facilities in the reconstruction program and recommend to all governmental authorities charged with the responsibilities of reconstruction that separate educational agencies, under the direction of trained and experienced educational experts, be established to counsel and guide in the field of education, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to educational authorities in the reconstruction program that in all nations the cultures and traditions which are consistent with human welfare be respected and that educational facilities be extended wherever possible to adults as well as to children in the public schools for the purpose of

promoting goodwill and understanding among the nations in the post-war world.

The American Federation of Labor is in accord with the general principles (1) that any program of post-war reconstruction which is not grounded on a sound program of education is destined to ultimate failure, (2) that all ideologies, traditions, and cultures of all nations, which are consistent with human welfare, should be respected and nurtured in any educational program of the post-war period and (3) that all educational activities in the reconstruction program should be worked out and supervised by skilled and trained educators under separate educational agencies established for that purpose. We recommend that in building the post-war society, American educators make available to all conquered countries as well as to our allies whatever helpful assistance they may render out of the educational experience of our democracy. In order that American education may render its greatest possible service to our own Nation and to the post-war world we urge that every school room in America be made a living laboratory of democracy. Hundreds of American schools are operated as almost exact counterparts of the Fascist states of Europe. If America is to point the way to a successful and peaceful democratic society in the post war world we must first of all "place our own house in order" and democratize those school systems of America which operate on a totalitarian basis.

With these observations your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Post-War Reconstruction.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Child Labor in the Present Emergency

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The 1942 convention of the American Federation of Labor took an emphatic stand against the use of child labor in industry until all other sources of man power and woman power have been completely exhausted, and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Paul McNutt, Chief of the War Manpower Commission, has stated that the best place for children

under eighteen years of age during the present emergency is in the public schools, and

WHEREAS, An alarming number of young people of school age have left the schools to take advantage of high wages in war industries, and

WHEREAS, Many children who have left the schools will never return and will be seriously handicapped in life because they have sacrificed their schooling for a few months of high wages incident to war, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of children of school age are working part time or even full time and attempting to carry a full load of school work without definite planning or supervision, and

WHEREAS, Such practices are damaging to the lives of school children, to the school system, and to the welfare of American democracy, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, October, 1943, urge all affiliated organizations:

(1) To cooperate with local and state man power authorities in securing sufficient man and woman power so that it will be unnecessary to take the children from the schools;

(2) To cooperate with the schools and interested organizations in a movement to keep the children in the schools, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the sixty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the Permanent Committee on Education that the Committee study carefully a system of carefully planned and supervised part time work for high school students subject to the general standards built up over the year by the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Office of Education.

The American Federation of Labor has battled for more than fifty years against the curse of child labor in our democratic society. The fact that child labor is highly profitable in many industries has rendered that battle one of the most difficult in which the labor movement of America has participated. For many years educational, church, and social organizations have joined in the fight to remove children from the sweat-shops and place them in the public schools where the children of a democracy should be. However, comparatively little progress was made in this battle until wages and hours laws, both state and federal, were enacted which prevented the use of child labor. Just before Pearl Harbor, the United States Department of Labor reported that 75% of the child labor in American industry had been removed by wages and hours laws. These laws were enacted largely through the legislative program of the labor movement. Thus, before

the beginning of World War II, organized labor had been responsible for a gigantic "back to school" movement for literally millions of American children. This movement, incidentally, during the years of economic depression created jobs for thousands of teachers.

Since Pearl Harbor the shortage of manpower has created anew the demand for the use of child labor. The 1942 convention of the American Federation of Labor in Toronto, Canada, adopted a strong statement demanding that child labor be employed only after all other sources of manpower and women power have been exhausted and that child labor be carefully supervised by competent persons when and if it becomes essential to victory.

In recent months the child problem has become alarmingly acute. The chairman of your Committee reported that thousands of children of school age have been employed in the railroad industry—many of them in hazardous positions. Other members of the committee reported that violations of child labor laws are so numerous and so flagrant that authorities of government agencies cannot hope to prosecute all of the violators. The black market in American children is one of the most serious problems of the war effort.

The American Federation of Labor is emphatic in its declaration that the best place for children even in war-time is in the public schools under the direction of qualified teachers. The American Federation of Labor during the past year has been successful in opposing attempts of organized industrial groups to launch nation-wide child labor programs based wholly on profit motives. In cooperation with the Teachers' International Union we have urged upon government agencies the grave importance of keeping children in the schools.

The Committee recognizes that children have a place in the war program and that for some high school students programs of part-time employment may be desirable. Such programs, however, should be carefully planned to create a wholesome balance between the industrial work of the student and his school activities. Up to the present time there has been little planning of this type and student labor has been chaotic and disorganized. It is probable that a plan of part-time student

labor carefully worked out and supervised and devised in terms of the welfare of the student rather than in terms of the profit motive would make available thousands of young workers.

The American Federation of Labor believes that children should not be permitted to sacrifice their education and handicap themselves for their entire adult lives for the sake of a few months of lucrative war wages. We are mindful of the tremendous price paid in child delinquency in England for permitting extensive child labor on a full time basis. Reports to the Federal Bureau of Investigation indicate that America is already beginning to pay the same price.

Your committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in this resolution and urges all affiliated bodies to cooperate in helping to solve this crucial educational and social problem.

Delegate Landis, Teachers: We are very anxious that the position of the American Federation of Teachers on the problems of youngsters leaving school to engage in productive activity be absolutely clear. It can be stated in seven words: "Keep your boys and girls in school for two reasons."

First, because the military authorities in charge of drafting and training of draftees have repeatedly testified that in the modern mechanized technical warfare no young man lacking a high school training or its equivalent is equipped to render full and complete service in a military way to his country.

We believe the only hope of economic security in the post-war period lies in training now. We are in complete accord with the report of the committee, that when the available manpower and womanpower of a given area is completely exhausted and demands for production call for youth to enter industry, we believe then that a program such as was suggested should be employed so that the youngsters can aid in production and also adequately train themselves by remaining in school.

We are in complete accord with the recommendations of the committee.

Thank you.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Permit the Chair to announce that Delegate Landis, who just spoke is the newly elected President of the American Federation of Teachers.

Federal Committee on Apprenticeship

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Wm. Nagorsne, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, An effective working relationship has been developed between the field representatives of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship and the Apprenticeship Division of the Industrial Commission, which is resulting in a rapid expansion of apprenticeship under the Wisconsin Apprenticeship Law, and

WHEREAS, This relationship should be made more effective through additional personnel in order that all plants, shops, shipyards, etc., who employ skilled men may be induced to train their own future skilled mechanics through cooperation with the individual state apprenticeship laws, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, use its best efforts to have the activities of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship implemented by increasing its personnel, and that the appropriation of funds for the same be increased accordingly.

The American Federation of Labor has cooperated for many years with the Federal Apprenticeship Committee. The demands of war industry for skilled trades have rendered the work of the apprenticeship committee more important than ever. The American Federation of Labor has consistently advocated that all vocational and trade training should be subject to the standards built up over the years by the federal committees on apprenticeship and vocational training. Elsewhere in this report attention is called to the report of the Executive Council on these subjects.

The Committee concurs in the purposes of this resolution that the Federal Committee on apprenticeship be adequately financed and provided with adequate personnel to carry out its important services. The Committee recommends that the Permanent Committee on Education and the Legislative Committee cooperate in carrying out the objectives of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli: Your committee reports jointly on Resolutions 66 and 68 which are as follows:

Public School History Textbooks

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Dexter D. Clark, Central Labor Union, Marquette, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The progress of the working men and women of the United States of America rests wholly upon the education the masses receive, and

WHEREAS, The public schools are the main source of education for the majority of Americans, and

WHEREAS, Few schools ever make any attempt to enlighten the pupils as to labor's part in the founding and maintenance of the United States of America, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as demanding that all branches of organized labor bring pressure to bear on their respective State Legislatures to make it mandatory that Public Schools History text books contain the true story as to who made the Declaration of Independence, who staged the Boston Tea Party and the true facts as to the origin and progress of the American Labor Movement.

Labor Education

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, Joseph Levitaky, International Ladies' Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, One of the important functions of the trade union movement is to educate the trade unionists in order to understand the problems confronting the labor movement and the best policies and methods to be adopted in order to solve these problems, and

WHEREAS, Labor education is necessary in order to combat anti-union propaganda which is carried on continuously by enemies of labor through the press, radio, movies and textbooks, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations be and are hereby requested to enlarge and extend their educational activities, making use of the press, special pamphlets, radio and the movies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we use our influence in order to bring about the establishment of trade union courses in high schools and extension courses giving the history, structure, policies and accomplishments of the trade union movement so that the boys and girls that will enter industry after graduating from these schools will take along with them some basic knowledge of the true facts of the trade union movement.

Resolution No. 66 advocates the teaching of labor problems, American history, and citizenship in public schools. Resolution No. 68

advocates not only teaching of labor problems in the public schools but also a more extensive program of education and public relations by means of the press, radio, movies and pamphlets. The committee calls attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor has already taken steps to establish a public relations department and that this service will be further extended in the near future. Also the Workers' Education Bureau, at this very convention has launched an enlarged program of education and public relations. The American Federation of Labor has long advocated the teaching of labor problems in public schools and colleges. The extent to which such subjects are taught varies widely. Elsewhere in this report reference is made to the Harvard Fellowship plan. Professors from several universities are visiting this convention to study at first hand the problems of organized labor so they may give their students reliable information about labor.

The committee therefore concurs in these two resolutions and urges affiliated unions to follow the example of the A. F. of L. in enlarging educational and public relations programs and promoting the teaching of labor history and problems in public schools and colleges.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Aid to Education

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The war has brought into glaring relief the inequities in educational opportunity which exist in our nation, and

WHEREAS, The United States Army has rejected an alarmingly large number of selectees for illiteracy, and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice in some states to discriminate against Negroes and other groups in the provision of educational opportunities, and

WHEREAS, The financing of an equalized program of education on a national basis is impossible by local and state governments alone, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the Congress to enact legislation which will provide:

1. Federal aid to the States to enable the States to maintain their schools

2. That in the program granting aid provision for permanent aid be in a bill separate from the bill granting emergency aid

3. That the fund be distributed among the several States on the basis of an objective standard which will be predicated upon the recognition of the relative need among the several States for such aid

4. That the funds for the benefit of the schools be distributed within the States in keeping with the State law

5. That funds be made available to the States to enable them to care for the well-being of all the children in every State.

6. That the following minimum essentials be written into federal law as a condition for granting such aid to the States:

A. All funds be distributed in such a manner as to prevent discrimination against minority groups or minority races

B. The plan of distribution adopted within each State be made public before the funds are actually disbursed

C. Each State be asked to work toward a minimum entrance salary of \$1,500 per year for every professionally trained, properly certified teacher in that State

D. Minimum length of school year

E. Statutory protection of tenure of employment for teachers

7. The introduction and extension of a sound program of adult education in all states.

This resolution is in accord with previous declarations of the American Federation of Labor on the subject of federal aid to education and parallels in a general way the recommendations of the Permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. After carefully analyzing the problems involved in a program of federal aid to education both with relation to the immediate needs of the schools and the practical possibility of enacting legislation, the Permanent Committee on Education concluded that emergency federal aid should be provided to relieve serious tensions caused by the dislocation of total war, and that work should be continued for the enactment of a permanent program at a later date. The Permanent Committee feared that the attempt to enact a general program of federal aid, under almost impossible conditions, would hamper the emergency program and result in near disaster for the schools in many areas. Attention is called to the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

Your committee wishes again to emphasize the position of the American Federation of Labor that federal aid to education shall not be construed to mean federal control of the schools. The A. F. of L. believes that ad-

ministration and supervision of the schools and determination of the curricula should be left to states and local communities. Federal aid is designed to assist states and local communities in providing and maintaining adequate school systems which they themselves operate and control.

With these comments the Committee recommends concurrence on the resolution.

Delegate Borchardt, Teachers: Mr. Chairman: The bill providing Federal aid to education, S-637, is right now before the United States Senate. That bill combines permanent Federal aid and an emergency Federal aid program.

We do not like certain features of that bill: first, under that bill the money can be administered in such a way that no teacher will get one cent of benefits out of it. The bill carries no safeguard to assure the teacher, who needs the money, one cent of it.

Second, the hypocrisy of certain people from certain Southern states would use this bill—supposedly they say—to help the Negro get something, and yet the bill is so worded that he may be denied one cent to raise his status.

Third, an emergency program of Federal aid can be given in such a way as to meet the emergency where it occurs, but a permanent program should recognize the fact that some states have an income tax—some do not. Some states have an equitable program of equalization of opportunity within the state—some do not. This bill makes it possible for the states which tax their people very heavily to share the full burden, while the states which do not tax their people do not share equitably in that burden.

Finally, this bill does not meet the essentials of the American Federation of Labor in establishing a minimum salary for teachers. Teachers in this country are paid from \$300 a year—I repeat, \$300 a year; for college graduates up to—and this means 50% of the teachers in the United States—less than \$1200 a year. This Federation has repeatedly said we stand for a \$1500 minimum entrance salary for teachers—which goodness knows is low enough. There are some people who are making a fictitious religious fight out of it. There is a Klu Klux Klan fight being made on the basis that it is a religious issue. I make an appeal to knock out all of that Klu Klux Klan talk and stand for the princi-

ples of the American Federation of Labor in fighting for the real principles in opposing these falsehoods.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Yellow Dog Contract in Oklahoma City

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates John M. Fewkes, Joseph F. Landis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The Board of Education in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, has offered to the teachers of the city a "yellow dog" contract providing that no teacher shall be employed who is a member of the American Federation of Teachers or any other labor organization of teachers, and

WHEREAS, Such a contract is a distinct violation of the fundamental principles of democratic government for which the American Federation of Labor has battled over the years and for which we are now waging global war, and

WHEREAS, The right of public employees—local, state, and national—to affiliate with organized labor is generally recognized throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, The resurrection of the out-moded yellow dog contract in Oklahoma City is an alarming example of the attempt to use the war effort for the purpose of crushing organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The danger of the spread of the yellow dog contract to other unions is a serious threat to all organized labor in the nation, and

WHEREAS, The Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools in Oklahoma City are hampering the war effort by compelling organized labor to battle against totalitarian practices on the home front at a time when undivided effort should be used in waging war against the enemies of democracy on the battle front, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has stated that the American Federation of Teachers can contribute much to winning the war and establishing a lasting peace, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Boston, Massachusetts, in October, 1943, condemn the Board of Education of Oklahoma City and the Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Herbert Bruner, for attempting to enforce a contract which conforms to the principles of the Axis dictatorship rather than to the philosophy of American democracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor congratulate the Central Labor Union of Oklahoma City and the Oklahoma

Federation of Labor for the courageous battle against this outrageous violation of the principles of American democracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions render all possible assistance to the International Union of the American Federation of Teachers and to organized labor in Oklahoma in this battle to eliminate the vicious yellow dog clause from the contracts of the teachers of the city.

Your Committee believes that the enforcement of a yellow dog contract in Oklahoma City prohibiting teachers from affiliating with organized labor is a challenge to the entire labor movement as well as to the Teachers' International Union. It is unthinkable that any employer in this enlightened age of American democracy would resurrect the out-moded yellow dog contract which was prevalent a quarter of a century ago. The Board of Education and superintendent of schools who are responsible for the education of the children of Oklahoma City have compelled those who teach in the schools to sign a contract which in industry would be subject to prosecution under federal law. Such regimentation of employees in the public schools should serve as a grave warning that the battle for democracy exists on the home front as well as on the battle front. The boys in the armed forces from Oklahoma City are fighting and dying for a principle which is being violated in their own home town.

The committee, therefore, concurs in this resolution and urges the Executive Council to use every possible means including legal advice in assisting to abolish the yellow dog contract in the public schools of Oklahoma City.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli: That concludes the report of the Committee on Education and the names of all the members of the committee which were listed on the second day's proceedings have been attached to the report as follows:

George M. Harrison, Chairman
Irvin Kuenzli, Secretary
E. E. Milliman
Carl H. Mullen
Edward J. Hillock
Louis Horibeck
William J. Horner
Thomas E. Wilkinson
James Petrillo
Andrew Wigstrom
Lealie L. Myers

William L. McPettridge
 Harry H. Cook
 Isidore Nagler
 Harry Lundeborg
 Robert Bruck
 William Schoenberg
 James J. Doyle
 Charles J. MacGowan
 W. L. Allen
 Irvan Cary
 Joseph Belsky
 A. P. Bower
 Charles A. Coombes

Committee on Education

Committee Secretary Kuenzli: I want first to thank this audience for listening to a voice that has been badly wrecked by a Boston cold and in the second place to move that the report of the committee as a whole be adopted by this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Maloney of the Adjustment Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Committee Chairman Maloney: Mr. Chairman and delegates: The Adjustment Committee is not going to take up much of your time. We will be through in about three minutes. I don't believe that there will be any argument or discussion unless it is from the Molder's President, delegate Harold Stevenson.

For the first time in the history of American Federation Conventions no resolutions or controversies of any kind have been referred to your Adjustment Committee.

In our judgment this happy situation as far as jurisdictional controversies within the ranks of the Federation are concerned is conclusive proof that a condition of harmony and good will prevails toward each other. We are hopeful and confident this will continue for the duration, as well as the post-war period, and is in accord with the "no-strike" pledge made to our government by our great and able leader, President Green.

Your committee desires to take advantage of this opportunity to most heartily congratulate him for what we feel was the most able and dramatic address of his entire career in replying to the speech of the Commander of the American Legion.

The record labor is making during this second world war, on land, on the sea, in the air, and in the shops, the mines, transportation, and throughout our entire industrial system will go down in history as the miracle of the Twentieth Century.

The American Federation of Labor, with all other loyal Americans, in this United States of America is on the march.

Chairman Maloney: Mr. Chairman, that concludes the report of the Committee on Adjustment, and it is signed by the committee:

James Maloney, Chairman
 Felix H. Knight
 Roy Horn
 John F. McNamara
 J. B. Etchison
 Charles L. Bagley
 Arthur Seward
 W. Jewkes
 Frank Brewster
 Ed. J. Brown
 E. J. Manion
 Alfred Yoder
 George W. Lawson
 George Bradley
 L. M. Raftery
 Harry Nacey
 Joseph J. Delaney
 John M. Christenson
 Joseph O'Neill
 Joseph P. McCurdy
 Samuel R. Diskan
 Louis Krouse
 Philip Salem
 J. Raymond Britton

Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Maloney moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

President Green: There is one other convention committee that has not reported. It is my opinion that there were no resolutions referred to that committee—the Committee on Industrial Relations. I think Vice President Hutcheson is Chairman of that Committee. Is there anyone here authorized to speak for the committee?

Vice President Bates: Mr. Chairman, the other day Chairman Hutcheson of that committee made an announcement that he had nothing referred to the committee, therefore he did not think it was necessary to make any other than that form of report.

President Green: Very well.

RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED FROM FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.

Secretary Meany: I wish to announce the report of the action of the Executive Council on resolutions received from Federal Labor Unions, which resolutions are, under the Constitution, referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition.

Resolution on union waiver of initiation fees for returning members of the armed forces: by Cannery Workers Union No. 22473, Sunnyvale, California. The subject matter of this resolution was covered by Resolution No. 30, which has been reported on by the Resolutions Committee and acted upon by the convention. Therefore, there is no necessity for any Executive Council action on this resolution.

Resolution calling on the Brotherhood of Painters to turn over to the American Federation of Labor charters and membership in the city of Los Angeles which come under the jurisdiction of office employees: by Office Employees Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, California. This resolution has been disapproved by the Executive Council.

Resolution restricting A. F. of L. rights to issue charters for office workers in localities where such charters are already in existence: by Office Employees Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, California. Disapproved by the Executive Council.

Resolution enlarging jurisdiction of Federal Labor Union No. 22473: by Cannery Workers Union No. 22473, Sunnyvale, California. Referred by Executive Council to President Green for his consideration and such action as he may deem appropriate.

President Green: No action is necessary upon these resolutions, merely a report of the decision of the Executive Council in conformity with the laws of the Federation.

FINAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: By action of the convention the Committee on Resolutions was directed to prepare a tribute to William D. Mahon, Presi-

dent of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. Complying with those instructions your committee submits the following:

Tribute to William D. Mahon

In the midst of the pressing affairs which have engaged the attention of the 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, we now pause to pay tribute to William D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, on the occasion of his jubilee anniversary which marks his fiftieth year as president of that magnificent union.

The Federation concurs in the words of our great American poet, Carl Sandburg, in describing this sterling leader of labor: "It would take a man-sized book to tell how and why Bill Mahon is one of the figures to give meaning to the cause of labor and the mystery of democracy. His integrity and sagacity, his fidelity to the plain folks from whom he came, his modest needs and humble ways of living, are worth looking at in this time of world crisis when the war and the peace after the war are to bring such hard tests of labor and democracy."

Bill Mahon spent all his adult years in a ceaseless, relentless struggle against economic and social injustice. And today, as in the early years of his struggle his watchword is, "Freedom Through Organization."

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the lot of the street car workers of America was pitiful indeed. They labored from twelve to eighteen hours a day and for this they were paid from ten to fifteen cents an hour. They were inadequately fed, they lived in slums, their families suffered the social indignities of poverty, want and squalor. They were scorned by the press, sneered at by the politicians and ignored by the general public.

Among the first to work for the organization of these men was Bill Mahon who, together with the immortal Samuel Gompers, decided to organize an international union of street car workers. In 1892 at Indianapolis, Indiana, such a union was formed. The organization was immediately subjected to hostility of the most vicious kind; men were

bribed, detectives and spotters were employed against active members of the union, violence was used and provoked on the slightest pretext. But Bill Mahon and his associates worked ceaselessly and never faltered for a moment, although the early days of the union were frequently black indeed.

Today, Bill Mahon and his early co-workers have been amply repaid, not in terms of personal reward but in the satisfaction of a job well done. Members of the Amalgamated Association today receive from eighty cents to a dollar and twenty-five cents an hour, they are protected against discrimination, they enjoy the rights of seniority; they live as all American workers should live—in decent comfort, worthy of their hire, providing for the comfort, health and education of their families. All these things—and more—the street car men of America and Canada owe in great measure to the labors of William D. Mahon and those who worked at his side.

Although all his life Bill Mahon has been humble and modest, honors came to him at frequent intervals. In 1916 he attended the British Trades Union Congress as a fraternal delegate of the Federation. He was elected vice-president of the American Federation of Labor in January, 1917. Shortly afterwards he was appointed a member of the Federal Electric Railway Commission, created by President Wilson to investigate and recommend a plan for the rehabilitation of the street railway industry. He resigned as vice-president of the Federation in 1923, but twelve years later, in 1935, was appointed vice-president.

We have merely been able to sketch a few of the outstanding achievements in the life of this tireless, outstanding citizen and leader of labor. Much has been said and written about Bill Mahon. Officials, delegates and guests to the 63rd annual convention observed with regret that, due to ill-health, he was unable to be with us. To the many expressions of admiration, love, and respect which have been voiced on the floor and in the corridors of the convention, the Federation now adds this official and yet warm tribute to an absent colleague.

God grant him added years of fruitfulness, not only for the sake of the splendid union which he heads, but also for the sake of all of us who have been privileged to know him!

Vice President Woll: I move the adoption of this tribute.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate McMorrow, Street Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, I desire at this time to thank the Federation for the respect shown the President of our organization. Those of us who know him intimately know that that tribute is deserved. It is sad for those of us who worked with him so long to sit here in his absence. Our prayer is that he will be restored to health to carry on the work of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America.

In his declining years he sees his first love fading from the picture. He inaugurated the means to bring into the fold of the American Federation of Labor the vehicle that was the succession to the street car. I am proud to report to this convention that we have practically 85 per cent of all the buses on wheels organized into the Amalgamated Association.

We are now confronted with the organization of the helicopter, which is entering our industry—if that is the correct name. We are going to man that, too, and we expect, if the airship succeeds to the bus, that we will man that. And in the event some other form of transportation comes in locally, we will operate that, too.

In spite of CIO encroachments upon our jurisdiction we are advancing, and it will be an encouragement to the Amalgamated Association and its old champion when he receives the testimonial of the other day in this convention and this resolution.

I thank you sincerely on behalf of our organization for this tribute.

The motion to adopt the tribute as read by Vice President Woll was carried by unanimous vote.

Vice President Woll: I move that the officers of the Federation be directed to send a copy of this tribute to William D. Mahon.

President Green: Are there any objections to the adoption of the recommendation? Hearing none, the instructions will be carried out and it is so ordered.

APPRECIATION TO BOSTON

Resolution No. 126—Submitted by the Convention Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, the trade union movement of the city of Boston has been untiring in its efforts

to extend hospitality and minister to the comfort and pleasures of the delegates and guests of the 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, the press and broadcasting facilities of the city have been very cooperative in affording opportunity for publicizing information regarding our deliberation and activities while in Boston, and

WHEREAS, the officers, delegates and guests of the Boston 1943 Convention have been accorded all possible consideration by the city and state officials, the churches and representative groups of the city, and

WHEREAS, our stay in the City of Boston will ever be recalled with a feeling of kindness and appreciation toward the people of the city and state, and

WHEREAS, the delegates, officers and guests of the convention are fully conscious of the difficulties as a result of wartime restrictions which had to be overcome in order to provide so generously for our enjoyment and comfort during our stay, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the 63rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby expresses its appreciation, gratitude and thanks to all who have contributed in one way or another to making this convention one of the most pleasurable and enjoyable in the history of the Federation; the officers and delegates to the convention express their heartfelt thanks to Governor Saltonstall and his charming wife for their gracious hospitality, to Mayor Tobin and the City of Boston, for welcoming them to this fine old historic city and for the superb banquet to the officers and delegates of the convention, to John J. Delmonte, Chairman of the Convention Committee for his untiring efforts, to Mr. and Mrs. John J. Kearney for the reception given to the ladies of the convention, to Harry Grages, Secretary-Treasurer of the Boston Central Labor Union for his indefatigable efforts to provide for the comfort and pleasure of the delegates, to the officers and members of all AFL unions in Boston who acted as hosts to the convention and to the newspapers and the radio stations which reported the convention's proceedings with traditional fairness and impartiality.

Vice President Woll moved the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Vice President Woll: This completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions, and it is signed by the committee:

Matthew Woll, Chairman
John P. Frey, Secretary
J. A. Franklin
John M. Gillespie
William E. Maloney
P. J. Morrin
David Dubinsky
John B. Haggerty
L. P. Lindelof

R. G. Soderstrom
Thomas H. O'Donnell
John J. Mara
Fred Baer
J. L. Reilly
M. A. Hutcheson
Arnold S. Zander
John E. Rooney
Joseph P. Ryan
Frank Kasten
Richard F. Walsh
Harold D. Ulrich
Max Zaristky
Hugo Ernst

Committee on Resolutions.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions as a whole was adopted by the convention.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the Hancock Room on the Mezzanine Floor tomorrow morning at ten o'clock.

President Green's Closing Statement

We have now reached the end of our deliberations and we have completed the work of the 63rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Permit me to thank the convention committees, all of them, for the devoted and most valuable service which all members of the committee rendered during this session of the 63rd Annual Convention.

The reports of these committees speak more emphatically than I could speak in support of the statement I just made, that the committees have rendered most excellent and highly valuable service to the convention. They are discharged with the thanks of the convention, every one of them.

It seems appropriate for me to say in closing that I but echo the feelings in your hearts and minds and the words which you would utter when I say that we have reached the end of the best, one of the finest and one of the most highly educational conventions that the American Federation of Labor has ever held. It has been what we have always classified it as being—an open forum of debate, a great democratic meeting of men who cherish fondly within their hearts and minds the value and the importance of democratic procedure and democratic control.

Every one who wished to speak on any subject during the time we have been in session

has been accorded ample and wide opportunity to do so. Let no man go from here and say that he was denied the opportunity of speaking to support reports of the committees or to oppose anything proposed in this convention, or to criticize anything that was said or proposed here. We have measured up to the high standards set for a democratic institution. We have made a genuine contribution toward the promotion of the economic, social and industrial welfare of the workers of the nation.

And now as we leave Boston to return to our homes, it will be with a deep appreciation of the kindness extended to us by the people who reside in this city. We have been permitted to enjoy the hospitality and to carry on our deliberations in a friendly atmosphere and in a most happy environment. We are encouraged to face the future with a feeling of security and a feeling of determination that this great American Federation of Labor shall go forward, upward and onward in the execution of its policies and in the performance of its work.

This convention has shaped policies for the next year. We have obligated ourselves by action taken in this convention to give support to our government during the war emergency. Perhaps we will be called upon to make sacrifices of which we have not yet dreamed. But it must be the spirit of labor to give and to sacrifice, if necessary, in response to any appeal which may be made to us by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.

We will continue to make a record of which we will be proud, a record without a blemish

—the record of the American Federation of Labor.

I deeply appreciate the cooperation of the delegates in attendance at this convention and the discharge of my duties as your presiding officer. The spirit manifested here is outstanding, brilliant, inspiring, and our associations together for a period of two weeks will enable us to go forward with a new determination to carry on.

Now may I express the hope that each of you may return to your homes safely and that you will carry back to your fireside and your loved ones the fondest memories of a delightful visit spent here.

We are going to close this convention by singing that inspiring song, "God Bless America." Berk Nickerson, a member of Musician's Union No. 9 of Boston, will be at the piano. Miss Florence Toder, a member of Office Employees' Union No. 14965 employed as secretary of Meatcutters' Union Local Union No. 592 of Boston, will lead in the singing. Now let me ask all of you to join in the singing of "God Bless America"—delegates, officers and visitors to the convention and join in it with a spirit. Sing your best as I know you can do.

The audience joined in the singing as requested by President Green.

President Green: And now, delegates and visitors, at this solemn moment I declare the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 6:25 o'clock, p. m., Thursday, October 14, 1943, the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

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